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THE SEVEN AGAINST THEBES
OF
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THE
SEVEN AGAINST THEBES
OF
AESCHYLUS

WITH INTRODUCTION, CRITICAL NOTES, COMMENTARY,
TRANSLATION AND A RECENSION OF THE
MEDICEAN SCHOLIA

BY

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PREFACE.

THE present work follows the principles adopted in my edition of the *Choephoræ*. Its object is the conscientious interpretation of the *Septem* as a work of dramatic art and a monument of Greek literature. To this aim all else is subordinate. It has been tempting, and would often have been easy, to expand a note on a point of language, literary art, history, or archaeology until it became virtually a monograph. But whatever contributions such discursiveness might possibly make to general Hellenic study, it is not required of an editor of a play of Aeschylus that he should go beyond the elucidation of the work before him. The proposed dimensions of the volume have also to be considered.

The questions which an editor is called upon to meet appear to be these. In what circumstances and with what motives—if there are other motives than simple impulse to dramatic creation—was the piece produced? Whence did the poet derive his material, and with what effectiveness of art does he use it? How did his play ‘strike a contemporary,’ and, if it strikes us differently, what are the causes of this difference of effect? What precisely did his lines mean to those of his audience whose intelligence responded to the demands made upon it, or, to put the question otherwise, why does he select this or that word or phrase, and this or that place for it, rather than any other? And, finally, how far is the text before us presumably that which Aeschylus actually wrote?

Before attempting to answer these questions much is demanded of an editor. Textual criticism, for example, is an exceedingly subtle thing, and should indeed be πολλῆς πείρας τελευταῖον ἐπιγένημα. It is not sufficient that the critic should

be versed in palaeography and should know the Greek of the dictionaries and grammars. He must have cultivated a lively sense of the possibilities of that language in respects concerning which the grammars and dictionaries can hardly be exhaustive or definitive. He must also have steeped himself perpetually and for years in the Greek of the particular author, until, so far as is humanly possible, he gets to know and sympathise with the workings of that author's mind and his idiosyncrasies of style. He must have endeavoured to live mentally in the age and amid the ideas of the author's environment. Nor will all this equip him for the adequate comprehension of any great poetry unless he himself possesses some measure of the poetic sense and imagination.

A competent interpreter of a work of Aeschylus will return again and again to the piece (*nonum in annum*), until he possesses it thoroughly and is keenly alive to all its suggestions and problems. He will, thus prepared, read with alertness all Greek writing of repute, to see if perchance he may be able to illustrate those suggestions or solve those problems. It is astonishing how often this practice will supply the complete vindication of a suspected text, parallels to doubted phrases and meanings, elucidations of puzzling expressions and figures. Nor should the student stop at Greek. The mind of a Shakespeare or a Dante is frequently found to work with a startling similarity to that of Aeschylus. Bold figures, often traduced as 'grotesque,' occur sometimes identically, sometimes with close analogy, in such great moderns.

It is after at least a fair degree of such preparation, and in this spirit, that I have endeavoured to interpret the *Septem*. The result is perhaps what may be called a 'conservative' text. This, however, does not mean that emendation is avoided, or previous conjectures rejected, where a passage is demonstrably corrupt, or where its interpretation defies the last effort of conscientious research and meditation and the last exercise of such poetic sense as one may happen to be blessed with. Moreover there is all the difference in the world between, on the one hand, restoring a missing stone in an ancient building or filling up a defective place in an injured tracery whose pattern is manifest,

and, on the other, chipping off an architectural ornament and substituting another (in a kind of critical putty) which happens to be more to one's fancy.

Dr Wecklein has observed that our respective manners of dealing with Aeschylus differ widely in 'Geschmack.' I am desirous of speaking with all due respect of a scholar who has done such laborious service for students of the poet. He is, however, himself the challenger, and I feel that some answer is due. Perhaps there would be little profit in disputing about 'Geschmack' if the question were purely aesthetic. When, in vv. 321 sq., for the perfectly intelligible and entirely apposite *διαμεῖναι δωμάτων στυγερὰν ὁδόν*, Wecklein writes *διαμεῖναι ὀμφάκων τρυγερὰν δρόσον* and so alters three words out of four and substitutes a new metaphor, I not only find the conjecture technically improbable, but my own 'Geschmack' instinctively recoils from the expression itself. Probably, however, no amount of disquisition on such a question could prove very convincing. It is more a matter for feeling than for demonstration. But the question here goes much deeper than that of aesthetic taste. We are compelled to ask whether any editor can claim the moral right to cast out three excellent words, to present us with three others, suggested by superficial considerations and very questionable taste, and to print them in an educational text as the writing of the poet. The same editor acknowledges a similar difference between our notions of what is 'nützlich.' To me the 'useful' is that which helps to a luminous comprehension of the poet. What it is to Dr Wecklein appears from the foregoing instance as well as from the following passage: 'Die Sage, dass zwei Brüder sich gegenseitig töten, kann sehr wohl auf den Wechsel von Tag und Nacht bezogen werden. Der eine Bruder, Eteokles, erscheint als der unholde, finstere, der andere, Polynikes, als der milde.' In what way this remarkable application of the discredited 'solar myth' interpretation can help us to understand Aeschylus I cannot conceive. Nor can anyone have read the *Septem* very intelligently if he deduces from it this particular distinction between the brothers. While, therefore, there is every reason to be grateful to Wecklein for various subsidia highly valuable to an editor, one may not

regret that there is room for the exercise of a 'Geschmack' and a sense of 'Nützlichkeit' differing widely from his.

Of previous editions of the *Septem* I have chiefly consulted those of Hermann, Paley, Weil, Wecklein, Verrall and Sidgwick, and I have found profit in Dr Headlam's pamphlet *On Editing Aeschylus* as well as in sundry other contributions of his to the study of Aeschylus. It is increasingly difficult, especially in this part of the world, to make acquaintance with all the notes or articles which have appeared only in periodicals, but I have carefully studied such as have been accessible to me. Extremely helpful have been the monograph *Theben* by Fabricius and the notes and references in Frazer's *Pausanias* which deal with Thebes and its story. It will, I trust, be found that due acknowledgment has been made in all cases in which I am conscious of appreciable assistance.

Had Dr Way's admirable verse translation been in my hands while I was preparing this work, I should have been tempted to make a very free use of it, and should have been indebted to it for frequent inspiration.

In selecting for mention various critical conjectures which I have not seen fit to place in the text I have been guided partly by the degree of their technical excellence, and partly by a desire to show that a note is not superfluous. The fact that a number of conjectures have been made upon a passage which I believe to be sound is sufficient evidence that it requires discussion and support.

I have to thank my friend Dr Leeper, Warden of Trinity College in this University, for his usual scholarly criticism of my work in proof. To him I owe the parallel passages quoted in Appendix B, some of which come from his own ripe reading, others from the collection of illustrations by Boyes. I am also especially indebted to the staff of the Cambridge University Press for the scholarly vigilance exercised during the printing of the book.

MELBOURNE,

December 1907.

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INTRODUCTION.

A. PRIMITIVE THEBES, ARGOS AND THE THEBAN SAGAS.

§ 1. It was natural that the plains about Thebes should have been a centre of conflict from the earliest times. The *πεδίου Βοιωτίου* was *Ἄρεως ὀρχήστρα* for untold ages before Epaminondas so described it¹. Primitive struggles are for food-supplying lands and key-positions. Men seldom fight for mere fighting's sake or for idle sentiment; their purpose is to secure the means of subsistence² or points of vantage. The historical wars for the Thyrean³ and Lelantine plains are but the counterpart of many others which were prehistoric. The levels of Boeotia were famous for their fertility⁴. Though not large in extent for another country, they are large for Greece and exceptionally well watered. Not Argos with its Inachus, nor Sparta with its Eurotas, nor Calydon⁵ with its Euenus, could fairly rival the territory of the city of Ismenus and Dirce. In size the Boeotian plains were second only to those of Thessaly, while in point of central position they were superior. Lying in the trade route between Chalcis and the Corinthian Gulf, and directly in the midway of all land-transit from Northern Greece to the Peloponnese, it was inevitable that such a region should be a bone of contention. It was inevitable also that it should be one of the most populous parts of prehistoric Greece.

Antiquity
and im-
portance
of Thebes.

¹ Plut. *Marcell.* 21.

² Hesiod (*Opp.* 161 sqq.) is probably much nearer the truth than the *Thebais* when he makes the *ἥρωες* fall at Thebes fighting *μήλων ἔνεκ' Οἰδιπόδαο*.

³ *ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου*, Luc. *Char.* 24.

⁴ Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 643 *πεδία πυροφόρα*, *Hymn. Apoll.* 228 *Θήβης πεδίων πυρηφόρον*.

⁵ Euripides (*Jr.* 515) speaks of the *πεδία εὐδαίμονα* of Calydon.

In 'Mycenaean' or pre-Hellenic times Thebes was already strongly fortified. From the earliest Hellenic date it was famous for its walls¹. Only by supposing them to have been built in times beyond the memory of man can we account for the myth which attributed them to the miraculous lyre of Amphion². It is only when a structure is of unusual form or strength, and when the record of its building is lost in the immemorial past, that its origin calls (as at Thebes and Troy) for a miracle, or (as with the Athenian Acropolis³) for the work of Giants or (as at Tiryns) of Cyclopes⁴. In Teutonic lands the builder is apt to be the Devil. Early Thebes must also have been a place of exceptional size, otherwise its 'seven gates' would not have existed in Homeric times⁵, nor would the description have been applied at all, if there had been no special admiration for an unusual fact. Thebes possessed seven gates because it was extensive enough to make them convenient. Nothing could better illustrate the importance of the place than the fact that, in the historical period, eight roads are known to have led from it towards different points of the compass. It is no wonder, therefore, that various tribes contended for it, nor that it passed through many hands. Moreover, since Thebes was the centre for a northern group of 'Mycenaean' communities, while Argos was the centre of a southern group, it is easily understood that contests of strength might chiefly occur between these two predominant cities even in pre-Hellenic days.

The Phoe-
nicians.

§ 2. We cannot hope to convert the legends of Thebes into rational and systematic history. That it was thus ancient and important is certain. That it in some way received a Phoenician

¹ Hom. *Il.* 4. 378 *ἱερὰ...τελχεα Θήβης*. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 55, Pind. *I.* 5. 76, Bacchyl. 11. 77.

² Eur. *Phoen.* 823 sqq., Apoll. Rhod. 1. 736 sqq., Paus. 9. 5. 7, Apollod. 3. 5. 5, Hor. *Od.* 3. 11. 2, &c.

³ Harrison *Primitive Athens* pp. 22 sqq.

⁴ Bacchyl. 11. 77, cf. Paus. 2. 16. 5, 25. 8. Eur. (*Tro.* 1087) has *Ἄργος, ἵνα τελχη λαίνα Κυκλώπι' οὐράνια νέμονται*.

⁵ *Il.* 4. 406, *Od.* 11. 260. To dispute the existence of seven gates appears to be a perversity of scepticism. See §§ 14, 16.

settlement is now scarcely to be doubted¹. Its position is one upon which the trading and exploiting Phoenicians would be eager to seize if they could, and there is nothing laudable in the positiveness which would brush aside all the tradition concerning 'Cadmus' as if it were empty imagining. Modern research is but making us the better aware of the width of Phoenician activity and settlement. Those who doubt whether Phoenicians would proceed inland to Thebes have perhaps rather looked at the map than realised the distances. The enterprising people who could establish colonies and develop a powerful empire in the Western Mediterranean, who could occupy profitable regions of Thrace and islands at all points of the Aegean, and who certainly made some sort of settlement in the Attic Melite, were not likely to shrink from entering a tempting land to the extent of a dozen miles from the coast and grasping a site which commanded the trade route from Chalcis to the Gulf of the Western Sea. That they should have traded across that isthmus (as Strabo rightly calls it) was practically inevitable. That a body of them should have established themselves in its midst—whether after conflict with the natives² or in amity—is entirely natural. When a consensus of ancient tradition asserts that the Phoenicians did a certain thing, it is surely no answer to retort that the story sounds romantic, and that one would not have thought the thing *a priori* likely. In point of fact nothing could be more likely. The only argument against the Phoenicians seizing upon the

¹ Poets would naturally conceive of a time when there was no Thebes, and when the region was a forest (*Hymn. Apoll.* 225). Of the founding itself there were two versions. Thus Homer (*Od.* 11. 260) makes Amphion and Zethus 'the first' who ἐκτίσαν and πύργωσαν (cf. *Apoll. Rhod.* 1. 736). Others (e.g. *Eur. Bacch.* 171) attribute the work to Cadmus. Strabo (9. 2. 3) has it that Cadmus with his Phoenicians τὴν Καδμείαν ἐρείχουσε while his issue τὰς Θήβας τῇ Καδμείᾳ προσέκτισαν. The truth seems to be that the notion of Cadmus 'founding Thebes' (whereas he probably only founded a new polity with a mixed people) was naturally regarded as incompatible with the old tradition of Amphion and Zethus. Some left the contradiction, others attempted to remove it by placing the brothers later than Cadmus.

² It is perhaps no unlikely guess that when Cadmus 'cast stones' among the 'earthborn' Sparti (*Pherecyd. ap. Apollod.* 3. 4. 1) and set them killing each other, he was but stirring up feud among the autochthonous tribes and taking advantage of the situation.

attractive site of Thebes would lie in their manifest inability to do anything of the kind. But there is no more reason why they should be unable to occupy the Cadmean hill than why they should be unable to occupy Mt Eryx. Whether their leader was actually named 'Cadmus' and the Cadmea was named after him, is not perhaps a question of much moment; but there is nothing improbable in such a tradition. The modern world is apt to scorn the mention of the *ἐπώνυμος* of antiquity, although names like Tasmania or Bolivia contain nothing surprising. In the absence of recorded evidence the statement that Rhodesia is named after a certain Rhodes, who lies buried at a certain spot on the Matopo Hills, might be matter for scepticism in the fifth millennium A.D.; nevertheless the statement would be literally true. Those who have made most study of local traditions are least inclined to deny them some sort of foundation, and investigation or accidental discovery often proves them to be surprisingly near the truth. At a time when 'Minos' is becoming almost a historical personage, and when the traditions recorded by Herodotus and Thucydides are being in a large measure converted into historical fact, it may be hoped that there will be some stay to the facile dismissal of Cadmus and his Phoenicians. Most of the details concerning them may have won their way *ἐς τὸ μυθῶδες*, and the legends of Cadmus may be garnished with much pre-Phoenician and post-Phoenician circumstance, but we have little right to cast aside contemptuously the main item in the tradition itself. That Thebes did not remain Phoenician, nor even become in any marked degree Phoenician in character, is not to be wondered at. Probably Phoenicians never formed any large part of the population. The dominant families were always Sparti, that is to say, natives of the soil. Even a considerable Phoenician element would soon be merged, especially if there is a basis of fact to the story that Thebes fell to the 'Epigoni,' who were Achaeans. Nor can we disregard the legend that Cadmus 'withdrew' to Illyria. The 'Boeotians,' who entered later from Thessaly, were true Hellenes¹. Whether or not *Κάδμος* has to do with *Qadēm*, or *Ἰσμηνός* with *Eshmun*,

¹ Thuc. I. 12.

may be beyond decision, but the worship of the Cabiri and the *special* prominence of the oriental Sphinx at Thebes are strong arguments for the Phoenician occupation. It is also some excess of audacity to deny that *Ογκα (or *Ογγα) was the name of a Phoenician goddess, when writers who could have been confuted out of the mouth of living Phoenicians assert it¹. Important too is the prominence of Aphrodite among the Theban deities².

§ 3. If the relations between the Phoenicians of Cadmus and the earlier inhabitants are uncertain³, no less uncertain are those between the Cadmean Thebans and the various Hellenic septes who contended on this dancing-ground of Ares. The one conclusion which stands out clearly is that between Thebes and Argos there were intimate relations and acute rivalries, followed by more than one war. At a time when Athens was of comparatively little account—however much, at a later date, her poets may have attempted to glorify her past by exaggerating the influence of a Theseus or a Demophon—the districts of Argos and Thebes were the two dominant and rival⁴ centres of Greece. The city on the Inachus, with an empire including Corinth, commanded the passage from the Corinthian to the Argolic and Sunian gulfs, as well as that along the Corinthian isthmus. The city on the Ismenus held a similarly commanding position further north. Though con-

Legendary relations of Argos and Thebes.

¹ Paus. 9. 12. 2 *Ογγα κατὰ γλώσσαν τὴν Φωνίκων καλεῖται (sc. *Αθηνᾶ). See note to v. 149 of the *Septem*, and Frazer's *Pausanias* Vol. v. p. 49 for bibliography on the subject.

² Paus. 9. 16. 3 'Αφροδίτης δὲ Θεβαίους ξδανά ἐστιν οὕτω δὴ ἀρχαῖα ὥστε καὶ ἀναθήματα Ἀρμονίας εἶναι φασιν, ἐργασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκροστολίων ᾗ τοῖς Κάδμου γαστρὶν ἦν ξύλου πεποιημένα. She had three forms Οὐρανία, Πάνδημος, Ἀποστροφία. Frazer refers to the Phoenician πάταικοι (Hdt. 3. 37) or sailors' gods at the prows of ships. See also Farnell *Cults of the Greek States* II. p. 635.

³ See further § 7.

⁴ The rivalry extended to military equipment. To Thebes was credited the invention of the war-chariot (Crates *cl.* 1. 10 Θήβη δ' ἄρμαθ' ἐντα δίφρον συνεπήξατο πρῶτη), while Argos invented the better shield (Pind. *fr.* 83. 5 ὅπλα δ' ἀπ' Ἀργεὺς ἄρμα Θεβαίων). For the Theban chariot (which naturally does not appear in the *Septem*, since the Thebans are πυργηρούμενοι) cf. Pind. *I.* 7. 22, Soph. *Ant.* 148, 844, Eur. *H. F.* 46. Both regions were famous for their horses, cf. Pind. *P.* 9. 90, Eur. *Phoen.* 17 with Eur. *Suppl.* 365.

licts were certain to ensue, and though it is naturally these which figure in saga and epic, other and more peaceful relations existed. There was rivalry, but there was evidently also much passing to and fro and frequent inter-marriage. Around Argos centre various cycles of events, around Thebes centre other cycles. To compare these cycles is to discover many points of contact¹. With the legends of Argos the legends of Calydon also tend to associate themselves². We cannot but recognise that at the date when the sagas arose there were widespread relationships and clan-leagues between the Hellenic petty kings or feudal chiefs.

Of whatever stock—mixed Hellenic and pre-Hellenic—we are to suppose the earliest Cadmeans to have been, it is clear that the dynasty of the Labdacidae is regarded by old poetry as thoroughly Hellenic, in line with the rulers of Argos or Calydon. The ‘Cadmeans’ of their day are not indeed ‘Achaeans’³, but it is evident that in pre-epic times some branch of the Hellenic stock had found its way into what was afterwards called Boeotia, and had Hellenised the Thebans⁴. Their town is still ‘Cadmea,’ and they call themselves ‘Cadmeans,’ but they are Hellenic in their rulers and in their speech and civilisation. Those rulers have their inter-marriages with Achaeans of the

¹ Thus Niobe, sister of Pelops, marries Amphion of Thebes. Amphitryon had withdrawn from Mycenae to Thebes, where he had married his son Heracles to Megara, daughter of Creon; subsequently Heracles (Eur. *H. F.* 15) Ἀργεῖα τεύχη καὶ Κυκλωπίαν πόλιν | ὠρέξαι’ οἰκεῖν. (The service of Heracles to Eurystheus looks suspiciously like a period of vassalage for Thebes.) Further intercourse is shown by the harbouring of Laius by Pelops as well as of Polyneices by Adrastus.

² Thus Tydeus came to Adrastus, and Diomedes is assisted by Sthenelus of Argos in an invasion of Calydon in order to restore his grandfather Oeneus. Cf. also the league of the Calydonian boar-hunt.

³ Cf. *S. c. T.* 28.

⁴ *S. c. T.* 72, where the Cadmeans use the φθόγγον Ἑλλάδος. I draw from this a different conclusion to that of Verrall (Introd. p. xviii). He takes Ἑλλάδος in its narrower ethnological sense, and considers that it distinguishes the true Ἕλληνες from the Achaeans, to whom the word does not originally apply. I feel that this would have been unintelligible to the audience. Rather the point is that, though Cadmus was Phoenician, the Cadmeans are now as ‘Greek’ as the Achaeans. [The true ‘Boeotians’ are said by Thucyd. (i. 12) to have come into the land ‘formerly called Καδμυλῆς’ from Arne in Thessaly 60 years after the Trojan war: i.e. three generations later than the war of the *Septem*.]

Peloponnese. They also have their feuds and jealousies with them, and these form excellent pretexts for wars and invasions. There is no reasonable ground for doubting that one such war, fought on a larger scale than usual¹, is the basis for the bardic poetry of which the cyclic *Thebais* and thence the *Septem* are an outcome. However much of romance and prodigy may have gathered about it, there is probably this nucleus of historical fact. The war in question is so far like the war against Troy that it began with a large and organised invasion. The king of Argos evidently once held suzerainty over an extensive region², and a number of chiefs were amenable to his orders. Others may have been induced to join with a view to a share in the winnings.

§ 4. The history of the war would be fairly recent when the minstrels of Argos or Thebes began to compose their lays concerning it. In the course of very few generations the sagas which had gathered about it would be numerous, would both deliberately and unconsciously accumulate τὸ θαυμαστόν, and would embrace many incompatible elements, exactly as a very few generations were sufficient to develop from the historical nucleus the Carolingian cycle of *chansons de geste* with all their chronological and other huge impossibilities. The early bard was something of a novelist.

Theban
saga-
cycles.

Not only were there Boeotian sagas concerning the great war; there were other cycles of Theban story³ connected with (1) Cadmus and the Sparti, (2) Amphion and Zethus, with Antiope and Dirce, (3) Heracles, (4) Dionysus and Pentheus, (5) Niobe,

¹ Cf. Paus. 9. 1 τὸν δὲ πόλεμον τοῦτον, ὃν ἐπολέμησαν Ἀργεῖοι, νομίζω πάντων, ὅσοι πρὸς Ἑλλήνας ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων ἐπολεμήθησαν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, γενέσθαι λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον—a view which is probably correct, although we may not put the same simple trust in legends as did Pausanias.

² See § 11 and note 6.

³ Among tragedies connected with Theban stories the following are recorded. Aeschylus—*Alcmena*, *Argea*, *Epigoni*, *Laius*, *Nemea*, *Niobe*, *Oedipus*, *Pentheus*, *Semele*, *Sphinx* (satyric): Sophocles—*Alcmeon*, *Amphitryon*, *Amphiaraus* (sat.), *Antigone*, *Epigoni*, *Eriphyle*, *Niobe*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Oedipus Coloneus*: Euripides—*Alcmeon*, *Alcmena*, *Antigone*, *Antiope*, *Bacchae*, *Cadmus*, *Hercules Furens*, *Hyppsiyle*, *Oedipus*, *Phoenissae*, *Supplices*: Theodectes—*Alcmeon*, *Oedipus*: Achaeus—*Alcmeon*, *Adrastus*: Meletus—*Oedipodea*: Astydamos—*Parthenopaeus*.

(6) Oedipus. It was inevitable that there should be confusions between these, and more or less ingenious attempts to combine and relate them in some intelligible order. During the saga-period of the Hellenic world Boeotia was doubtless specially fertile in bards. We are so accustomed to see Boeotia through Athenian spectacles as *ἀναίσθητος* that we too often forget the significance of 'Helicon,' 'Aonian' Muses, and the legend of Amphion. Hesiod, Pindar and Corinna are not the only poets who sang in Boeotia, and it is apparently to that region that we should look for the earliest stock of those Grecian *κλέα ἀνδρῶν* which were to take a fuller epic shape in the 10th—8th ✓ centuries. The saga-cycle of Thebes was in existence before that of Troy¹. In the Homeric poems it is presupposed. It was the fathers who fought for Argos against Thebes; it is the sons who fight at Troy. Nor is this knowledge of Theban story confined to the 'Catalogue'², where it might be somewhat suspicious, as coming from a Boeotizer.

The
Thebais.

§ 5. From the Theban lays and legends, or from the Argive lays and legends relating to Thebes, there emerges the *Thebais* of the epic cycle. Though, as part of the *κύκλος*, this is later in taking organised shape than the *Iliad*, its materials were manifestly older. As in the *Iliad*, the antique atmosphere must have been preserved with remarkable fidelity. So far as the indications go there must have been comparatively little that the shaping poet—the "*Ὅμηρος*" in this case—actually invented in the light of contemporary civilisation and manners. There is no mistaking the remoteness of the period to which we are

¹ Schol. Ven. A on *Il.* 1. 5 says (with a reference to the *Cypria* of Stasinus) that the earth was overpopulated and called for relief, and that Zeus *πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς ποιῆσαι τὸν Θηβαϊκὸν πόλεμον* and afterwards the Trojan. Similarly Hes. *Opp.* 161 sqq.

² *Il.* 4. 370 Agamemnon, addressing Diomedes the son of Tydeus and Sthenelus the son of Capaneus, says that Tydeus came with Polyneices to Mycenae *λαὸν ἀγείρων*, but no contingent was sent because of unfavourable signs. The king of the *Καδμείωνες* was then Eteocles. Diomedes retorts (405 sqq.) that the sons are better than the fathers, since *ἡμεῖς καὶ Θήβης ἔδος εἰλομεν ἐπταπύλοιο*. In *Il.* 5. 801 *Τυδεὺς τοι μικρὸς μὲν ἔην δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητῆς*: *ibid.* 6. 222 Diomedes was but a little child when *ἐν Θήβῃσιν ἀπώλετο λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν*. In *Od.* 10. 490 sqq. Teiresias is the seer, *ibid.* 11. 260 sqq. Amphion and Zethus are the builders of Thebes. Cf. *ibid.* 260 (Alcmena), 271 (story of Oedipus and Epicaste).

carried back. The age of Oedipus is the age when iron was new and somewhat uncanny¹; it is the age when skill in artistic metal-work was so wonderful a thing that poets asked it to perform miracles. It is also the age before the divinity of the Theban Dionysus or Heracles was recognised². The whole suggestion is at least pre-Dorian.

The cyclic *Thebais* must be distinguished from the *Thebais* of Antimachus of Colophon, whose work is later than the *Septem*³. He of course drew upon previous *Thebaica*, but such fragments as remain have no value for the elucidation of Aeschylus⁴. Concerning the cyclic *Thebais*⁵ there are doubtful points. The whole Theban story includes the war of the 'Septem' and that of the 'Epigoni.' In a narrower sense *Θηβαῖς* may perhaps have described the former, but it appears to have certainly possessed a wider meaning including the latter⁶. The poem is mentioned by Pausanias (9. 9. 5 ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον καὶ ἔπη *Θηβαῖς*). He evidently knew it well, since he considers it next in merit to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Indeed (says Pausanias) Callinus, the elegiac poet of the early 7th century, attributed it to Homer himself⁷. Besides the *Thebais* we hear of *Οἰδιπόδεια* 'by Cinaethon'⁸, of τὰ *Οἰδιπόδεια* ἔπη (Paus. 9. 5. 11), of ἡ *Οἰδιποδία*⁹, and of an Ἀμφιράου ἐξέλασις εἰς *Θήβας*¹⁰. How far the various ἔπη

¹ See § 9 *ad fin.*

² This is surely the natural explanation of the omission of these names from the invocations in the *Septem*. 7

³ Antimachus was an elder contemporary of Plato. It is he of whom Horace is thinking (*A. P.* 146) in his *nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri* &c. (see Acron and Porphyryon *ad loc.*).

⁴ The schol. on *S. c. T.* 149 tells us that Antimachus names the Ὀγκαῖαι πόλιν.

⁵ The fragments have been collected by Kinkel, to whom many of the accompanying references are due.

⁶ Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1. 308 οἱ δὲ τὴν *Θηβαῖδα* γεγραφότες φασὶν ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων ἀκροθίνιον ἀνετέθη Μαντῷ κ.τ.λ. Leutsch thinks the *Epigoni* was joined to the *Thebais* at a later date.

⁷ This ascription was to be expected. Both *Thebais* and *Epigoni* are credited to Homer in Pseud.-Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* § 9, *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* p. 323. So Herodotus (4. 32) mentions the *Epigoni* with doubt εἰ δὴ τῷ ὄντι γε Ὅμηρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη ἐποίησε.

⁸ Tab. Borg. in Naples Museum, CIG 6129.

⁹ Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1760.

¹⁰ Suid. Ὅμηρος, Pseud.-Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* § 9.

Θηβαϊκά are apt to be all quoted under the title Θηβαῖς is scarcely ascertainable. The *Thebais* itself is said¹ to have begun with "Ἄργος ᾄειδε, θεά, πολυδίψιον, ἔνθεν ἄνακτες. This, if true, would suggest that the poem was written from the Argive standpoint². Since, however, there could be no glory to Argos in the first expedition, it would be necessary to regard the *Epigoni* as from the first an intended part or sequel of the *Thebais*. This view is not contradicted by its first line, as quoted by Aristophanes (*Pac.* 1270), νῦν αὖθ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα, Μοῦσαι³.

The information to be gathered from and concerning the cyclic *Thebais* is meagre, and may be summarised as follows. We learn (through Athenaeus)⁴ that Oedipus cursed his sons for offering him the cup which he had tabooed, and (through a scholion to Sophocles⁵) that he cursed them for sending him an inferior joint from the sacrificial victim. By a scholiast to Pindar⁶ we are told that the utterance of Adrastus over the pyres of his fallen chiefs ποθέω στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμᾶς, | ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάρνασθαι was (according to Asclepiades) taken from the cyclic *Thebais*⁷. Pausanias (9. 18. 6) says that in the *Thebais* Parthenopaeus was killed by Periclymenus, but in the Theban account by Asphodiscus. He also quotes (8. 25. 8) a line telling how Adrastus fled back ✓ to Argos εἴματα λυγρὰ φέρων σὺν Ἀρείῳ κνανοχαίτη. Beyond this we can only be sure that the epic gave descriptions of the champions and their accoutrements, that it gave the names of the Theban gates, and that the boasts of Capaneus in particular were worded similarly to those in Aeschylus. In no other way can we account for the close agreement between Aeschylus and Euripides in respect of these several points.

¹ *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* p. 323.

² The Theban accounts often differed (Paus. 9. 18. 6).

³ Μοῦσαι is supplied by a scholion, which wrongly attributes the line to Antimachus.

⁴ 465 E. Eustathius *Od.* p. 1684 is manifestly copying Athenaeus.

⁵ *Oed. Col.* 1375. (The reference is in each case to the κυκλικὴ Θηβαῖς, and it is quite possible that Oed. repeated his curse for similar offences. But it may be doubted whether one of the references should not rather be to Antimachus.)

⁶ *Ol.* 6. 15 sqq.

⁷ The change of μάρνασθαι to μάχεσθαι probably gives the actual hexameter.

B. CADMUS, THE LABDACIDAE AND THE SEPTEM.

§ 6. The relative antiquity of the various Theban legends is beyond ascertainment, nor is the question of immediate moment to the comprehension of the *Septem*. That piece begins with a reference to Cadmus and ends with the disobedience of Antigone to the order of the Theban provisional government. Our concern is with the mind of Aeschylus when writing the play, with the material of tradition which its contents imply, and with the conception of legendary Thebes and of the whole Oedipodean story which it displays.

To Aeschylus the city is the ‘city of Cadmus’ and its people are ‘Cadmeans.’ Neither ‘Thebes’ nor ‘Thebans’ are to be met with by name. The extant title, though old as Aristophanes¹, was almost certainly not that assigned by Aeschylus. This persistent avoidance of the contemporary name can scarcely be due to mere artistic cult of antiquarian accuracy. It is by no means to be pressed into showing that in the poet’s conception the ancient city was simply identical with the ‘Cadmea’ citadel of his own times. Other poets, epic, lyric and dramatic, use the names ‘Cadmean’ and ‘Theban’ without discrimination; they place their ‘Cadmeans’ in ‘Thebes.’ The cyclic epic was apparently always known as the *Thebais*, and both Homer and Hesiod speak of ‘Thebes’ or the ‘city of Thebe.’ It would have been inevitable for Aeschylus to drop into a mention of ‘Thebes,’ if he had not been alert and resolute to keep the word out. The cause was political. Thebes and Thebans were in ill odour at Athens, especially since the Persian struggle of twelve years before. At the battle of Plataea it was against the Medizing Thebans that the Athenians were pitted. The use of ‘Cadmea’ and ‘Cadmeans’ comes of the tact of the artist. It threw the events back to a time when there were Cadmeans rather than Thebans. The Athenians could spare to these remote ἥρωες a sympathy which was necessary for the poet’s purpose, but which they would not grant to the Thebans of B.C. 467. Doubtless Aeschylus, as artist, carried his imagination

Use of
‘Cad-
means’ by
Aeschylus

¹ *Ran.* 1021.

as completely as possible into the past, but the same might be said of other writers who nevertheless do not avoid the word 'Theban.' In his *Phoenissae* and *Supplices* Euripides is no friend of Thebes, and is not dramatically concerned to present a part of its history in a sympathetic light. To him and his audience the Cadmeans are therefore also 'Thebans.'

Cadmus
and the
Sparti.

§ 7. According to the legend commonly received¹ Cadmus, son of Agenor, had come into Boeotia by way of Thrace and Delphi from Phoenicia (whether Tyre or Sidon). Led by a cow with moon-shaped marks² upon its flanks, and bidden by the oracle to settle with his *στρατός* at the place where the cow wearied and lay down, he found that spot on a spur of the Teumessan range, where he proceeded to found 'Cadmea.' When he sought to draw water from the neighbouring well of Ares³, some of his men were killed by a serpent guarding the water. Having slain the serpent, Cadmus, at the bidding of Athena, sowed its teeth in the ground. From these there sprang up a crop of armed men (the *Σπαρτοί*), who, upon his casting stones among them (or else from mutual suspicion), slaughtered each other till only five remained. These 'Ares spared'⁴, and from them, as some writers loosely express it, the people of Thebes⁵ were descended. The names assigned to the survivors⁶ sufficiently indicate that they were manufactured to fit the story, just as the precise shape of the story itself was in all probability due to the otherwise unexplained word *Σπαρτοί*. To

¹ For the narrative see Apollodor. 3. 4. 1, Eur. *Phoen.* 638 sqq. (with schol.), Apoll. Rhod. 3. 1177, Plut. *Sull.* 17, Ov. *Met.* 3. 10.

² Paus. 9. 12. 1. Some interpret these marks as symbols of the Phoenician moon-goddess. Io is the horned ancestress of the Phoenician Thebans in Eur. *Phoen.* 248.

³ Various identified in later times, either (as by Euripides) with the Dircaean fountain (Paraporti, S.W. of Cadmea) or (as by informants of Pausanias) with the Ismenian spring. See Frazer on Paus. 9. 10. Ares apparently represents the local deity, who resists the worship of the foreign 'cow.'

⁴ *S. c. T.* 399.

⁵ Eur. *H. F.* 4 ἐνθ' ὁ γηγενῆς | σπαρτῶν στάχυν ἐβλασταν, ὦν γένους Ἄρης | ἔσωσ' ἀριθμὸν ὀλίγον, οἱ Κάδμου πόλιν | τεκνοῦσι παίδων παισί, Apoll. Rhod. 3. 1184 Κάδμος Ἀγηνορίδης γαιγενεῇ εἴσατο λαόν, Soph. *O. C.* 1533.

⁶ Ἐχίων, Χθόνιος, Οὐδαῖος, Πέλωρ, Ὑπερήνωρ (Paus. 9. 5. 3, Apollod. 3. 4. 2, schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 942). These were the names in the cyclic *Phoronis* (see Kinkel *Epic. Graec. Frag.*).

the mind of Aeschylus the Sparti are manifestly the ancestors of only a portion or aristocracy¹ of the Thebans. Whatever the Σπαρτοί may have been in sober fact, it can be gathered that they represent a non-Phoenician element in the early Cadmean-Theban population². That population would seem to have been formed by an amalgamation of the Phoenicians with the αὐτόχθονες (or γηγενεῖς) whom Cadmus had craftily set at feud with each other.

Cadmus himself married Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, and all the great Olympians came to the marriage in the Cadmea³. The children of the marriage were Autonoe, Ino, Semele, Agave, and Polydorus, who also play their larger or smaller parts in Theban saga. As leader of the Phoenicians Cadmus might be called figuratively their 'father.' As founder of the ξυνοικισμός he was the 'father' of Thebes. From him also was traditionally descended the royal line. For these reasons it was a habit of poetry to speak of the Thebans as 'sons of Cadmus' (Καδμείωνες) or 'descendants of Cadmus' (Καδμογενεῖς)⁴. If logically there is a contradiction between this expression applied to the whole people and Σπαρτῶν γένος applied to a portion of it, poetically the contradiction is scarcely worth regard⁵.

¹ *S. c. T.* 399. So *Eur. Suppl.* 703, *I. A.* 258, *Plut. Mor.* 563. They were traditionally body-marked with a λόγχη (*Ar. Poet.* 16, *Dio Chrys.* 4. 23).

² The account of Pausanias (9. 5. 1) is probably not far from the truth. The Theban territory, 'they say,' was first occupied by Ἐκτηνες, whose king was ἀνὴρ αὐτόχθων Ὀγυγος, whence 'the majority of the poets' apply the title Ὀγύγαια to Thebes (*S. c. T.* 308, *Soph. O. C.* 1769, *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 1177). Subsequently came the Hyantes and Aones. Cadmus and his Phoenician force came and conquered, but permitted the Aones to remain and ἀναμιχθῆναι τοῖς Φοίνιξιν. The Aones had formerly lived κατὰ κώμας, but Cadmus founded τὴν πόλιν τὴν καλουμένην ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Καδμείαν (*i.e.* he founded the new polity there).

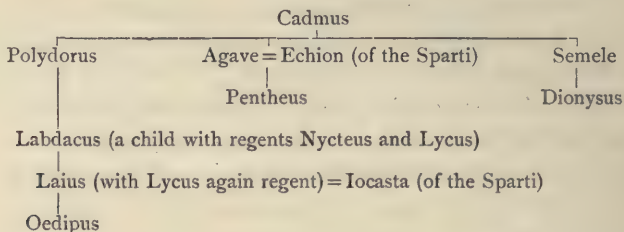
³ The legend probably means that the claims of the local Ares and the Phoenician Aphrodite were adjusted, and that all the chief deities recognised in the Hellenic Pantheon were received into Cadmean-Theban worship. The story of this visit of the gods (*Apollod.* 3. 4. 2) must have been well known, cf. *Theogn.* 15.

⁴ *S. c. T.* 290, cf. 127 (n.). *Eur. Phoen.* 809. So in *Soph. Trach.* 116 Heracles is styled Καδμογενής.

⁵ Whether the subsequent withdrawal or ejection of Cadmus (*Apollod.* 3. 5. 4, *Paus.* 9. 5. 3) is based on an actual migration or ejection of a large part of the Phoenician element, is scarcely to be decided, but the notion is far from improbable.

Confusion
in the
legends.

§ 8. From Cadmus it was natural to derive the royal line which led to Oedipus and his sons. The accepted pedigree¹ was—



Simple as the arrangement thus becomes, it is made so only by selection. We can force into a place connected with Cadmus the story of the birth of Dionysus and of the impiety of Pentheus. The later logographers also found some kind of place for Amphion and Zethus², but no such room can be made for the story of Heracles, although the convenient epoch of 'Lycus' is once more called into requisition. Thebes evidently changed its dynasty repeatedly³, and (apart from the case of Eteocles and Polyneices) there are many indications of dual or divided sovereignty, which so far perplexed the later bards or logographers, that one such sovereign is commonly turned into either a regent or a usurper. Fortunately the question as to how much Wahrheit may be contained among the mass of Dichtung⁴ is not essential to an adequate understanding of the *Septem*. Aeschylus treats Cadmus as the 'father' and founder of Thebes, though there are Sparti among the nobles. For the rest he deals only with events in the Oedipodean family.

¹ Apollod. 3. 4. 2, Eur. *Phoen.* 8 sqq., Paus. 9. 5. 3 sqq.

² The account in Paus. 9. 5. 6 makes Amphion and Zethus overcome Lycus during the early days of Laius. He then makes them add to the Cadmea τὴν πόλιν τὴν κάτω and give the place the name of 'Thebes.' Laius is restored after their death. (Similarly Apollodorus.)

³ Cf. Eur. *H. F.* 27 sqq., where a Lycus Καδμείος οὐκ ὦν comes from Euboea and κτελεῖ Κρεόντα καὶ κρατῶν ἄρχει χθονός.

⁴ How entirely any chronology is disregarded in the poets may be judged from the appearance of Teiresias as contemporary with Cadmus (Eur. *Bacch.*), with Amphitryon (Pind. *N.* 1. 60), with Oedipus (Soph. *O. T.*), with the Septem (Soph. *Ant.*), and with the Epigoni (Apollod. 3. 7. 3). Creon is another standing figure.

§ 9. The Labdacidae are thus by tradition descended directly from Cadmus. If some dynasty of Labdacus¹ actually existed in the dark period before the dawn of history proper, it was probably a new one beginning with Labdacus himself². If, as is probable, there is a basis of truth to the saga, the epoch of the Labdacidae represents some notorious time of trouble to Thebes—trouble within the royal house, and external trouble with 'the Sphinx' and with the Argive league. Disaster began in the reign of Laius, son of Labdacus.

Labdacus,
Laius and
Oedipus.

Where there existed so many variant versions of the whole legend of Laius, Oedipus and his sons, it is not to be presumed that Aeschylus adhered consistently to the same details in each and all of his Theban dramas. It is enough to trace his conception as embodied or reflected in the *Septem*. According to that play³, the curse upon the house of Laius began with his disobedience to the Delphian oracle, which thrice bade him die without children, if he would 'keep the country safe.' The motive for the prohibition is not recorded by Aeschylus⁴. From other sources we are informed that Laius was already under the curse of Pelops, whose son Chrysippus he had carried off⁵. It would not appear from Aeschylus that he had (as one account goes) consulted the oracle because of his childlessness. Laius and Iocasta were newly married⁶, and the oracle seems rather to have been given by the god in timely warning⁷.

¹ The shape of his name (cf. Spartacus, Pittalacus) suggests Thracian affinities. Thracian connection with Southern Greece, and especially with Thebes, was evidently considerable in prehistoric times. The story of Amphion recalls that of Orpheus; Cadmus himself had come by way of Thrace; Dionysus of Thebes is a Thracian divinity.

² This may be the meaning of the break after Polydorus, when regents (Nycteus and Lycus) ruled. Nor must we forget the withdrawal of Cadmus from Thebes.

³ vv. 728 sqq.

⁴ The attitude of Aesch. towards the divine is that, when oracles are given to men, 'theirs not to reason why.'

⁵ Ath. 602 F sq. The curse was that he might die childless, or else be slain by his own child.

⁶ νόμφοι (S. c. T. 742).

⁷ The oracle to Laius (found in the Laurentian Sophocles, prefixed to *Oed. Tyr.*) was in one version: Λαίε Λαβδακίδῃ, παίδων γένος ὀλβιον αἰτείς. | δῶσω τοι φίλον υἱόν· ἅταρ πεπρωμένον ἐστίν | παιδὸς ἐοῦ χεῖρεσσι λιπεῖν φάος· ὥς γὰρ ἔνευσε | Ζεὺς Κρονίδης, Πέλοπος στυγεραῖς ἀραῖσι πιθήσας, | οὗ φίλον ἤρπασας υἱόν· ὃ δ' ἠῶτά σοι τάδε πάντα. A variant of the second line was τέξεις μὲν φίλον υἱόν· ἅταρ τὸδε σοι μόρος ἐσται, and from this (apparently) was derived the ἐγένετο μὲν μόρον αὐτῷ of S. c. T. 735, cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 18 sqq., Apollod. 3. 5. 6.

Laius, however, yielded to the temptation of passion¹, and Oedipus was born. What version the poet adopted of the career of Oedipus till the slaying of his father, does not appear. The story of his exposure², of his sojourn with Polybus at Corinth, and of his journey to consult the oracle at Delphi was probably the same for him as for Sophocles and Euripides. But there existed a somewhat different account of the place and time at which Laius was met and slain by his son, and this account was apparently recognised and (in one of his plays) adopted by Aeschylus³.

The story of the Sphinx necessarily finds its place in his version⁴, and his conception of the monster⁵ is apparently the customary one. He moreover wrote a satyric *Sphinx* to complete the tetralogy to which the *Septem* belonged⁶.

¹ *S. c. T.* 734, *Eur. Phoen.* 21. Apollodorus (3. 5. 7) says *οὐνωθῆς*.

² The word *χυτρίξεν* is quoted from the *Laius* of Aeschylus.

³ The schol. on *Eur. Phoen.* 1760 relates that Oedipus, on his way from Sicyon to Thebes by way of Cithaeron, meets and slays Laius, who is proceeding to Cithaeron to sacrifice; and schol. *Soph. O. T.* 733 makes Aesch. also place the *τρίοδος* near Potniae and not in Phocis.

⁴ *S. c. T.* 761.

⁵ vv. 528 sqq.

⁶ For the Sphinx-legend see Milchhoefer *Athen. Mittheil.* iv. (1879), Jebb App. to *Soph. O. T.* 508, Frazer on Paus. 9. 26. 2. The riddle of the Sphinx is to be found in Apollod. 3. 5. 8, *Ath.* 456 B (quoting Asclepiades), and in the Laurentian Sophocles. A solution is given by the schol. on *Eur. Phoen.* 50. (These hexametrical compositions have no authority for the epic, but are mere efforts of literary practice and ingenuity.) It is impossible to distinguish the Oriental elements in the character of the Sphinx from those of the local (1) earth-oracle, (2) malign power or *Kêr* in general (see Harrison *Prol. to Gk. Rel.* pp. 207 sqq.). In Theban legend the Sphinx plays the part of the mediaeval 'dragon.' For descriptions see Apollod. 3. 5. 7, *Eur. Phoen.* 806 sqq., 1019 sqq. (*ὦ περὸύσσα, γὰς λόχευμα | νετρίου τ' Ἐχίδνας, | Καδμείων ἀρπαγὰ... | μειζοπάρθενος... | φοιτάσι πτεροῖς | χαλαῖσι τ' ὠμοστόις κ.τ.λ.*), *frag. trag. adesp.* 541. The Oriental Sphinx brought by the Phoenicians was identified with the local demon Φίξ, daughter of Echidna (*Hes. Theog.* 326), connected with the Φίκειον ὄρος near Onchestus. According to Apollod. (3. 5. 7) this bane to Thebes was sent by Hera; according to schol. *Eur. Phoen.* 1031, by Dionysus. We may not be far from the mark in guessing that some hostile power (probably of a piratical or brigand nature) harassed Thebes for a time. Paus. 9. 26. 2 says *οἱ δὲ κατὰ ληστείαν σὺν δυνάμει ναυτικῇ πλανωμένην φασὶν αὐτὴν ἐς τὴν πρὸς Ἀνθήδονι σχεῖν θάλασσαν, καταλαβοῦσαν δὲ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἀρπαγαῖς χρῆσθαι, πρὶν ἐξεῖλεν Οἰδίπους αὐτὴν ὑπερβαλόμενος πλήθει στρατιᾶς, ἣν ἀφίκετο ἔχων ἐκ Κορίνθου*. Similarly Heracles delivered Thebes from the Minyae (*Eur. H. F.* 220). The boar of Calydon and the fox of Teumessus are analogous. In the *carmen popolare* ap. Hiller (50. 22) the Aetolian oppressor is called a Sphinx requiring an Oedipus.

After his victory over the Sphinx Oedipus was accepted by the Cadmeans as their deliverer, and married the widowed queen, his own mother¹. Her name does not occur in extant lines of our poet, though it was in all probability Iocasta². That to Aeschylus, as to Sophocles and Euripides, the two sons and two daughters are the children of Iocasta herself, and not of the Euryganeia of another account³, appears from v. 738 of the *Septem*. The subsequent prosperity of Oedipus was pre-eminent⁴, until he discovered the miserable truth⁵, whereupon he blinded himself⁶. There is nothing said as to any plague falling upon the country, nor as to any other indication of pollution such as leads to the *dénouement* in the *Oedipus* of Sophocles. We are simply told that Oedipus learned the truth⁷. Nor do we know precisely what, according to Aeschylus, happened after the revelation⁸. We gather only that Oedipus became the ward of his sons⁹, who ruled in his stead, and who maintained him in his blindness.

Oedipus at Thebes.

At this time they both incurred his anger, and, in his hot temper¹⁰ and distraction¹¹, he launched his curse upon them.

The curse upon the sons.

The exact nature of their wrong-doing as conceived by Aeschylus is not clear, inasmuch as the reading of v. 770 is uncertain. Whether it lay in offering him food which was *tabu*, or in 'scanting his sizes' (as did the daughters of King Lear in the case of their father, whom Oedipus so strangely resembles

¹ For a parallel story in Finland see Frazer *Paus.* Vol. v. p. 23.

² Homer (*Od.* 11. 271) calls her Epicaste. Cf. Apollod. 3. 5. 7.

³ Pausanias (9. 5. 11) gives this variant from the verses ἃ Οἰδιπόδεια ὀνομάζουσι. Cf. schol. *Phoen.* 53 (from Pherecydes), Apollod. 3. 5. 8.

⁴ *S. c. T.* 757 sqq. (n.).

⁵ *S. c. T.* 763.

⁶ v. 769. The self-blinding is given also in Soph. and Eur., but it can hardly be 'an Attic invention.' Hellanicus of Mytilene (circ. 450 B.C.) has the same story (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 61), and it is not to be assumed that he borrowed it from Aeschylus.

⁷ Cf. Hom. *Od.* 11. 274 ἄφαρ δ' ἀνὰ πύστα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισι.

⁸ In Hom. *I. c.* Epicaste hanged herself, while Oedipus continued to rule ἀλγεα πάσχων.

⁹ The natural conclusion from *S. c. T.* 770 sq. In Eur. *Phoen.* 64 the sons κλήθροισι ἐκρύψαν πατέρα to cause oblivion.

¹⁰ *S. c. T.* 711, 771.

¹¹ *S. c. T.* 712, Eur. *Phoen.* 66 νοσῶν.

in temper) depends on an accent (*ἀραιάς* or *ἀραιᾶς τροφᾶς*)¹. Though the latter notion seems the more probable, the two wrong acts would easily become confused. In any case it was the *wrong* food which was offered. In the Cyclic epic² the sons are said to have caused Oedipus to use a tabooed cup.

Form of
the curse.

The curse, as known to Aeschylus, evidently took the cryptic shape usual with oracles and prophecies³. The wording must

¹ Apollodorus (3. 5. 9) makes the curse due to the sons lending no help to the father when he was being banished from Thebes after blinding himself. In Eur. *Phoen.* 874 sqq. the sons ἡμαρτον ἀμαθῶς· οὔτε γὰρ γέρα πατρὶ | οὐτ' ἐξοδὸν διδόντες ἄνδρα δυστυχῇ | ἐξηγρίωσαν· ἐκ δ' ἔπνευσ' αὐτοῖς ἀρὰς | δεινὰς νοσῶν τε καὶ πρὸς ἡτιμασμένους. In Soph. *O. C.* 1354 sqq. there is ill-treatment on the part of the sons.

² Two references to the κυκλικὴ Θηβαῖς conflict with each other (unless we suppose Oedipus to have uttered more than one such curse). (a) Schol. Soph. *O. C.* 1375 says that the two sons δι' ἔθους ἔχοντες τῷ Οἰδίποδι πέμπειν ἐξ ἐκάστου ἱεροῖον μοῖραν τὸν ὦμον, ἐκλαθόμενοι ποτε, εἴτε κατὰ ῥαστώνην, εἴτε ἐξ ὀνουῦν, ἰσχίον αὐτῷ ἐπεμψαν· ὁ δὲ μικροψύχως καὶ τελῶς ἀγεννῶς, ὅμως γοῦν ἀρὰς ἔθετο κατ' αὐτῶν, δόξας κατολιγωρεῖσθαι· ταῦτα ὁ τὴν κυκλικὴν Θηβαῖδα ποιήσας ἱστορεῖ οὕτως

ἰσχίον ὡς ἐνόησε χαμαὶ βάλεν εἰπέ τε μῦθον·
ὦ μοι ἐγὼ, παῖδες μὲν δνειδεῖοντες ἐπεμψαν.
εὐκτο Διὶ βασιλῇ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι,
χερσὶν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καταβήμεναι "Αἰδος εἰσω.

He then quotes *frag. trag. adesp.* 458 (N), where the subject is 'ridiculously' treated; (b) Athenaeus (465 E, copied by Eustath. *Od.* 1684) has ὁ δὲ Οἰδίπους δι' ἐκπώματα τοῖς υἱοῖς κατήραστο, ὡς ὁ τὴν κυκλικὴν Θηβαῖδα πεποιηκῶς φησιν, ὅτι αὐτῷ παρέθηκαν ἔκπωμα ὃ ἀπηγορεύκει, λέγων οὕτως

αὐτὰρ ὁ διογενὴς ἦρως ξανθὸς Πολυνείκης
πρῶτα μὲν Οἰδιπόδῃ καλὴν παρέθηκ' ἐτράπεζαν
ἀργυρῆν Κάδμοιο θεόφρονος· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
χρύσειον ἐμπλησεν καλὸν δέπας ἡδέος οἴνου.
αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ὡς φράσθη παρακείμενα πατρὸς εὐοῖ
τιμῆεντα γέρα, μέγα οἱ κακὸν ἔμπεσε θυμῷ,
αἰψὰ δὲ παισὶν εἰοῖσι μετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπαρὰς
ἀργαλέας ἡρᾶτο· θεῶν δ' οὐ λάνθαν' ἐρινύν·
ὡς οὐ οἱ πατρῷ· ἐνὲ ἐν φιλότῃ
δάσσοιεν', ἀμφοτέροισι δ' αἰὲ πόλεμοι τε μάχαι τε.

[πατρῶαν εἴη φιλότῃ MSS, corr. W. Ribbeck: δάσσαιτο MSS, corr. W. Headlam. Perhaps also we should read ἀμφὶ δ' ἔσσιεν' αἰὲ κ.τ.λ. If these suggestions are not correct, we must take οὐ as belonging to ἐνὲ ἐν φιλότῃ alone, and read ὡς... δάσσαιεν', ἀμφὶ δ' ἔρις τ' εἴη πόλεμοι τε μάχαι τε. It must be admitted that αἰὲ is scarcely in point.] The ingenious suggestion of Verrall (*Introd.* pp. xxx sq.) that we should read χρυσοτέχων πωμάτων ἐπλάγχθη in *S. c. T.* 769 is vitiated (so far as his interpretation goes) by the impossibility of rendering καὶ σφε σιδαρὸν ὁμῶς κ.τ.λ. by 'that *they too* with iron-wielding hand etc.,' since σφε cannot be emphatic.

³ Cf. Ar. *Eq.* 195 ἈΛΛ. πῶς δῆτά φησ' ὁ χρησμός; Οἱ. Α. εὐ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς | καὶ ποικίλως πῶς καὶ σοφῶς ἡνιγμένους, and the parody on such style in Antiphan. ap. Ath.

be gathered from the allusions in the *Septem* itself, where the Chorus offers the explanation of what had been a dark riddle, that is, where the terms used in the curse, or their equivalents, are accompanied by the interpretation. Such are vv. 714 sqq. ξένος δὲ κλήρους ἐπινωμᾷ | Χάλυβος Σκυθᾶν ἄποικος | κτεάνων χρηματοδαίτας πικρός, ὠμόφρων σίδαρος, 924 sqq. πικρός λυτὴρ νεικέων ὁ πόντιος | ξείνος ἐκ πυρὸς συθεῖς | θακτὸς σίδαρος κ.τ.λ., 892, 869. As is pointed out in the commentary on these passages, we may conclude that the enigmatical language actually used was approximately πικρὸς ἔσται χρηματοδαίτης ξένος πόντιος πυριγενής, of which the true interpretation is discovered to be ὁ θηκτὸς καὶ ὠμόφρων σίδηρος, ὁ ἐκ Πόντου (i.e. Χάλυβος) ξένος (i.e. Σκυθῶν ἄποικος), ὁ πυριγενής καὶ σφυρήλατος (v. 801), τὰ χρήματα διανεμεῖ¹.

§ 10. From the utterance of the imprecation till the opening Cause of the *Septem* there is a gap to be filled in the Aeschylean the war. tradition. We discover incidentally that Oedipus is dead², whereas in Sophocles and Euripides he is alive³, at the date of the invasion. He lies buried in the royal tomb at Thebes⁴, not in Attica. We learn also that the brothers have quarrelled through aspirations to μοναρχία⁵, and that Eteocles has ejected his brother⁶, who has sought help from Argos and now claims that Justice will restore him⁷. Nothing is said of the marriage of Polyneices with Argeia the daughter of Adrastus⁸. Nor is there any definite statement of the rights of the case as regards

449 B. In Soph. *Tr.* 1159 ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἦν πρόφαντον ἐκ πατρὸς πάλαι, | τῶν ἐμπνεόντων μηδενὸς θανεῖν ὄπο, | ἀλλ' ὅστις "Αἰδου φθίμενος οἰκίτωρ πέλοι (i.e. by the shirt of Nessus). In Sophocles and Euripides the curse is explicit enough (Eur. *Phoen.* 67 οἷας ἀράται παῖσιν ἀνοσιωτάτας, | θηκτῷ σιδήρῳ δῶμα διαλαχεῖν, but this is the interpretation itself).

¹ While interpreting, we have to remember (1) that iron was still a novelty and a stranger (Hes. *Opp.* 150 χαλκῷ δ' ἐργάζοντο, μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος, Ov. *Fast.* 4. 405 *aes erat in pretio, Chalybeia massa latebat*); (2) that iron was credited with a magical power of malevolence (cf. αὐτὸς ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος). This appears also from Eur. *Phoen.* 350 ὀλοῖτο τὰδ', εἴτε σίδαρος, | εἴτ' ἔρις, εἴτε πατὴρ ὁ σὸς αἴτιος.

² S. c. *T.* 963.

³ Eur. *Phoen.* 64 sqq. In the *Oed. Col.* he dies at Colonus when the Argives have already reached Thebes.

⁴ S. c. *T.* 995. In Hom. *Il.* 23. 679 Oedipus was buried in Thebes after being killed in battle (δεδυνότος) prior to this war.

⁵ S. c. *T.* 868.

⁶ v. 624.

⁷ v. 633.

⁸ Hes. *fr.* 62, Diodor. 4. 65. 3.

the sovereignty of Thebes. There is no reprehension (except in his brother's mouth) of the conduct of Eteocles, nor, on the other hand, is there any explicit argument against the claims of Polyneices (except in so far as Eteocles himself disparages his brother's sense of justice¹). Throughout it would appear that the brothers could claim an equal share². They have been equally cursed by their father, and hence they must, at the moment, have been in equal power. The fact that the desire of *μοναρχία* is deprecated as it is³, shows that *μοναρχία* was not the legitimate position. It is therefore to be concluded that the brothers should have been joint rulers, perhaps somewhat after the manner of the two kings of Sparta. Nor is it easy to resist the impression that, to the mind of Aeschylus, the brothers were twins⁴. This is nowhere positively stated, but, if it be assumed, much more point is gained for the passages in which their relationship is emphasised⁵. A different account is given by Sophocles, who represents Polyneices as being the elder and as having been deposed by Eteocles⁶. Euripides on the contrary makes Polyneices the younger, and supposes an arrangement by which the brothers were to reign alternate years—a compact broken by Eteocles⁷. This divergence of the dramatists may most naturally be taken as indicating that the epic gave no information on the point. Each tragedian offers his own solution, and, if Aeschylus chooses to consider Polyneices and Eteocles as twins, the situation becomes simpler than with the other poets. To the epic writer the dual sovereignty probably offered no difficulties; it was a later age which found a dual *τυραννίς* perplexing.

¹ vv. 649 sqq.

² vv. 714, 773, 801, 891 sq.

³ v. 867.

⁴ Verrall takes the same view (Introd. p. x note).

⁵ *S. c. T.* 916 sq., 874. Cf. 563 (n.).

⁶ *Soph. O. C.* 1292—1325. As elder Polyn. claimed the *πάναρχοι θρόνοι*, but Eteocles expelled him *οὔτε νικήσας λόγῳ, | οὔτ' εἰς ἐλεγχον χειρὸς οὐδ' ἔργου μολών, | πόλιν δὲ πείσας*. From the reply of Oedipus (1354 sqq.) it would appear that Polyn. actually was for a time king of Thebes.

⁷ *Eur. Phoen. prol.*: cf. *Apollod.* 3. 6. 1. In *Suppl.* 149 sqq. Polyn. comes to Argos *ἀραῖς πατρώαις μὴ κασίγνητον κτάνοι*. The flight was voluntary, but *οἱ μένοντες τοὺς ἀπόντας ἡδίκουν* (the *Supplices* is pro-Argive throughout).

§ 11. The quarrel has taken place; Eteocles is sole sovereign, and the Argive (or 'Achaean') league has invaded Thebes in support of Polyneices. Aeschylus apparently adopted the usual account of the relations between Adrastus, Polyneices, Tydeus, Amphiarus and the other chieftains. The league is composed of a number¹ of Achaean chiefs either actually under Argive suzerainty² or else invited from other parts of the Peloponnese³. The leader is naturally Adrastus, king of Argos. The only dissentient and unwilling member of the expedition is the seer Amphiarus, who knows 'how the matter will end'⁴. According to the received account Amphiarus had learned the mind of the Delphian god⁵, but had nevertheless joined the expedition *βίῃ φρενῶν*⁶. This conduct—of which Aeschylus is not concerned to give the explanation in the *Septem*—was due to the influence of his wife Eriphyle, sister of Adrastus, who had been bribed by Polyneices with the necklace of Harmonia.

The cause was the cause of Polyneices, of which—at least in its method—Amphiaraus does not approve⁷, but the most vehement supporter of the cause, and the prime influence upon Adrastus, had been Tydeus⁸, to whom Amphiaraus is in consequence specially hostile.

Aeschylus apparently adopts the account according to

¹ Though seven chiefs besides Adrastus are named, this is not necessarily the total number (see *S. c. T.* 42 n.). Pausanias (2. 20. 4) is in error in saying that Aeschylus first reduced the number to seven (cf. Pind. *O.* 6. 15). Schol. Hom. *Il.* 4. 404 gives nine leaders, and, if we include Adrastus and Menoeceus (Apollod. 3. 6. 3), this represents the full list of names recorded. The differing lists are evidently so many attempts to *make seven*. In Soph. *O. C.* 1305, 1311 (οἱ νῦν σὺν ἑπτά τῷ ἄρχει σὺν ἑπτά τε | λόγχοις τὸ Θήβης πέλων ἀμφοτεῶσι) there are neither more nor less than seven, but this is not stated nor implied by Aeschylus.

² The width of such a pre-historic suzerainty may be gauged from *Il.* 2. 569 sqq., where Agamemnon's kingdom includes Mycenae, Corinth, Cleonae, Sicyon and Pellene, and *ibid.* 2. 559 sqq., where Diomedes and Sthenelus rule over Argos, Tiryns, Hermione, Asine, Troezen, Epidaurus and Aegina.

³ Soph. *O. C.* 1302 (Polyn. loq.) ξυνωμότας | ἔστιν ἑμάντῳ γῆς ὅσοι περ Ἄπας |
πρῶτοι καλοῦνται; Paus. 9. 9. 2 ὁ Ἄδραστος ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας καὶ παρὰ Μεσσηνίων
συνμαχικὰ ἤθροισεν (cf. 2. 20. 4); Eur. *Phoen.* 430 Δαναῶν καὶ Μυκηναίων ἄκροι.

⁴ *S. c. T.* 604.

⁵ *S. c. T.* 604 sq.: cf. *Bacchyl.* 9. 10 sqq. Favourable signs were also lacking (*Pind. N.* 9. 44, *Eur. Suppl.* 155, *Hom. Il.* 4. 406 sqq.).

⁶ *S. c. T.* 599.

⁷ S. c. T. 567 sqq.

⁸ S. c. T. 558 sqq.

which Adrastus returns in safety to Argos¹, and also the view that all the chiefs except Amphiaraus are guilty of ὕβρις and thereby incur divine vengeance². Amphiaraus himself is guilty only of taking up a cause in which he does not believe, and of invading a foreign land unjustly³. Otherwise he is σῶφρων δίκαιος ἀγαθὸς εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ⁴. This, as we gather from Homer⁵, was the conception of the character of the expedition current in the sagas, and if Euripides in the *Supplices* chooses to present a philo-Argive view of the matter, there were doubtless contemporary motives for the innovation.

The details of the expedition previous to the grand assault of the *Septem* are not to be derived from extant work of Aeschylus. Whether he knew of the reputed mission of Tydeus to Thebes⁶ is not apparent; but the story of Archemorus⁷ was known to him and was told in his own *Nemea*.

Concerning the events of the fighting and its results there is a general agreement⁸ among the various versions, although there are many points of difference in detail, some due to existing differences in the legend, some to the deliberate invention of the various poets. Aeschylus simply tells us that, whereas at the seventh gate Polyneices and Eteocles are both slain, at the other six καλῶς ἔχει⁹. This would most naturally imply not only that the Theban champions are victors, but that they also survive. A hint, but no more, of the fate of Amphiaraus in particular is given in the words ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ τήνδε πτανῶ χθόνα | μάντις κεκευθὼς πολεμίας ἐπὶ χθονός¹⁰. For the rest we are told

¹ *S. c. T.* 50 (n.). The cyclic epic or the legends must have given many details concerning Adrastus. He was manifestly the Nestor of the expedition in point of eloquence: cf. Tyrt. 10 (8). 7 ἐλ... | γλῶσσαν δ' Ἀδράστου μελιχόγηρυν ἔχει, Plat. *Phaedr.* 269 Ἀ τὸν μελιγερυν Ἀδράστον (after his favourite Antimachus). Adrastus' horse Arion is known to Homer (*Il.* 23. 346). Cf. Paus. 8. 25. 5.

² *S. c. T.* 538, 598 sq.

³ *S. c. T.* 596 sq., 616 (n.).

⁴ *S. c. T.* 597.

⁵ *Il.* 4. 405 sqq.

⁶ Hom. *Il.* 4. 370 sqq., Apollod. 3. 6. 5.

⁷ Bacchyl. 9. 10 sqq.

⁸ Thus the list of the Argive champions is the same for the *Septem*, Eur. *Supplices*, and Soph. *Oed. Col.* In Eur. *Phoen.* and Apollodor. 3. 6. 3 Adrastus is substituted for Eteocles. The descriptions also tally. Thus Parthenopaeus is γοργός to both Aesch. and Eur., and Hippomedon is to both poets a large and showy man (γαῦρος... γίγαντι προσόμοιος says Eur.).

⁹ *S. c. T.* 784.

¹⁰ vv. 574 sqq.

nothing¹, except the resolution of the Theban *πρόβουλοι* refusing burial to Polyneices and the defiance of that resolution by Antigone and a part of the Chorus². Her coming punishment is threatened (v. 1035), but of course has no further place in the *Septem*.

§ 12. The later war of the Epigoni was well-known to Aeschylus³, who, like Sophocles, wrote a drama with that The Epigoni.

¹ In Paus. 9. 9 the Thebans were first worsted in a battle *πρὸς τῷ Ἴσμηνίῳ*, but the Argives attacked the walls unskillfully and met with much loss. The Thebans then sallied, *ὡς τὸ σύμπαν στρατεύμα πλὴν Ἀδράστου φθαρήναι*, but the loss on the Theban side was so great that *Καδμεία νίκη* (cf. Suid., Phot.) became a proverb for *ἡ σὺν ὀλέθρῳ τῶν κρατησάντων*. In 9. 5. 12 he makes Polyn. fight with Eteocl. in a *μονομαχία κατὰ πρόκλησιν*. Euripides (*Phoen.* 1223) makes Eteocl. utter such a challenge after the first repulse of the assault. After the death of both brothers, while the question of victory is in dispute, the Thebans make a sudden attack and defeat the invaders. The story of the self-sacrifice of Menoeceus, son of Creon, is told by Eur. (*Phoen.* 911), Apollodor. (3. 6. 7) and is referred to by Paus. (9. 25. 1). Aeschylus omits all these varieties of the legends. The fate of Capaneus is narrated in Eur. *Phoen.* 1172, *Suppl.* 496, Apollod. 3. 6. 7, Paus. 9. 8. 7, that of Amphiarus in Pind. *N.* 9. 24 sqq., Eur. *Suppl.* 500. The place where the earth opened to swallow him was not agreed upon. Some showed a spot *ἐκ τῶν Ποινιῶν λούσιν ἐς Θήβας* (Paus. 9. 8. 3), others at Harma (9. 19. 14). Adrastus alone returns to Argos (Pind. *I.* 6. 10). We may assume that Aeschylus was fully acquainted with the stories in vogue, but to introduce them would have been to lengthen his play and to spoil its artistic purpose. For the same reason he is not called upon to mention the refusal of burial to the Argive chiefs (the theme of Eur. *Suppl.*); nor was there entire agreement on that subject. Thus the Theban account (cf. *Il.* 14. 113) placed a tomb of Tydeus at Thebes (Paus. 9. 18. 2). Nevertheless Aeschylus was well acquainted with the story, which was connected with his own Eleusis (cf. Hdt. 9. 27, Paus. 1. 39. 2), and he actually treated of it in his *Eleusiniōi* (Plut. *Thes.* 29).

² The Euripidean story makes Creon give the order; but 'Creon' is manifestly a generic name (at Thebes) for 'regent.' In *Phoen.* 775 sqq. the same poet puts the order in the mouth of Eteocles before the *μονομαχία*. Though Homer, Hesiod and Pindar have nothing to say of Antigone and Ismene, it is difficult to understand why Jebb calls the refusal of burial 'an Attic addition.' It is certainly implied in the Theban story of the *Σύρμα Ἀντιγόνης* (Paus. 9. 25. 2). Athenaeus (277 E) remarks that Sophocles rejoiced in the *ἐπικὸς κύκλος* and drew whole dramas from it, 'following the accounts there.' Salustius (Arg. to Soph. *Ant.*) says that the tragedians follow *ἡ κοινὴ δόξα*. Statius also used epic models, and he brings Argeia and Antigone together in secretly burying Polyneices by night. The fact that Pindar (*O.* 6. 15, *N.* 9. 24) speaks of 'seven funeral pyres' is no contradiction. These are not for seven leaders only, but for the seven *λόχοι* or *τάξεις*. Amphiarus is one of the seven and yet has no pyre.

³ As to Homer (*Il.* 4. 406 sqq.).

title¹. The legend went² that Laodamas, son of Eteocles, succeeded to the throne under the regency of Creon. While he was growing up, there were also growing at Argos the sons of the fallen chiefs of the previous invasion³. Among these was Thersander, son of Polyneices, and in support of his claims the new generation formed a second expedition which was crowned with success. The Thebans were overcome; Laodamas retired ✓ to Illyria; and Thersander remained king of Thebes. Whatever account Aeschylus may have adopted when writing his *Epigoni*, it is certain that in the *Septem* he cannot have contemplated a war between the 'sons' of Eteocles and Polyneices, since both die 'childless.' Nor is one supposed reference to the 'Ἐπίγονοι' to be so interpreted in this play⁴.

C. CADMEA AND THE SEVEN GATES OF THEBES.

'Cadmea'
as con-
ceived by
Aeschylus.

§ 13. In historical times Cadmea is the name of the Theban upper city or acropolis, corresponding closely to the situation of the modern town. There can be no doubt that, like the Acropolis (with the Pelargikon) at Athens, it was the original town round which the lower city gradually grew. It was the Cadmea that possessed the prehistoric walls—answering to the Cyclopean structures of Tiryns—and that Amphion and Zethus fortified by the same miraculous process which had fortified

¹ The iambic verse quoted so often by Cleanthes, which Cicero (*Tusc.* 2. 25. 60) renders by *audisne haec, Amphiaræ, sub terram abdite?* is evidently from a tragedy.

² Paus. 9. 5. 13, 9. 9. 3, Apollod. 3. 7. 2 sqq., Diod. 4. 66. In Eur. *Suppl.* 1143 the children of the Argive leaders promise retribution on Thebes, and Athena foretells (1213) their success, adding 'Ἐπίγονοι δ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα | κληθέντες ὧδας ὑστέροισι θήσετε.

³ Ἐπίγονοι is not the Greek for 'sons,' and the story which furnishes each leader with a son is evidently of later growth among the saga. The list is given in Apollod. 3. 7. 2. The nominal leader was Aigialeus, son of Adrastus, but the most important figure was Alcmeon, son of Amphiaræus. (This fact, connected with 'Ἀμφιαράου ἐξέλασις as the name of part at least of the *Thebais*, might suggest that the whole poem was of Argive construction and in special honour of the Melampodidae.)

Thersander is recognised by Pindar (*O.* 2. 42 λείφθη δὲ Θέρσανδρος ἐριπέντι Πολυνείκει) who uses the word 'Ἐπίγονοι in reference to this second war (*P.* 8. 39).

⁴ *S. c. T.* 886 (n.).

Troy. The walling of the larger city itself was evidently ancient also, but could not have been sufficiently so to create a myth. If, however, in later times the walls of Amphion were confused with the walls of wider Thebes, the occurrence would be natural, especially with those who saw Thebes mainly through literary tradition. 'Cadmea' as an expression for the citadel in particular was necessarily familiar to the Athenians in that sense; but it has already been explained¹ why Aeschylus—apart from epic tradition—would prefer to use the name 'Cadmeans' for Thebans. Though he might know the citadel itself by the title 'Cadmea,' he would hardly, in speaking of his heroic Cadmea-Thebes, think away all the rest of the town. In his day Thebes was—as for generations it had been—a larger city, including the lower town surrounding the acropolis. The mental picture of Aeschylus would naturally be that of the extended city, even if he could have been archaeologist enough to reduce it by an effort to a conception of the Cadmea proper. By the 'Cadmean city' he means simply the town of Cadmus, that is to say, an ancient Thebes. What precise notion he entertained of the city in the days of the Argive siege we cannot tell, since the question would largely depend upon the extent to which he was personally acquainted with Thebes². It is safest to believe that he possessed considerable general information concerning the contemporary town, but that for the most part he is reproducing the language of the epic and of other literary or oral tradition.

§ 14. In the epic, as in tradition generally, Cadmean Thebes ^{The} was manifestly described as possessing seven gates, which bore ^{'seven-gated.'} distinctive names. 'Seven-gated' is an epithet of ancient standing³. Though seven is a mystic number⁴, and might

¹ See § 6.

² He may have been at Thebes with the army after the battle of Plataea, if at no other time. There would at least be plenty of Athenians capable of describing the place.

³ Hom. *Il.* 4. 406, *Od.* 11. 260, Hes. *Opp.* 162, *Scut.* 270 sqq. (Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 100, 118.) Later poets sought to vary the expression with e.g. *ἐπτάπυργος* (Eur. *Phoen.* 245), *ἐπτάστομον πύργωμα* (287), *πύλας ἐπταστόμους* (Soph. *fr.* 701).

⁴ Cf. Hom. *Il.* 9. 85 *ἔπτ' ἔσαν ἡγεμόνες φυλάκων* (to guard the camp).

possibly be taken as symbolic, it does not appear why Thebes in particular should have been credited with that number. It is the case also that Thebes was the meeting-point of eight ancient roads, viz. those to Plataea (and thence to the Isthmus), to Eleutherae (and thence to Eleusis and Athens), to Tanagra and Delium (with a branch to Phyle), to Harma and Chalcis, to Anthedon, to Hyle (and thence to Opuntian Locris), to Haliartus (and thence to Phocis), to Thespieae (and thence to points on the Corinthian Gulf). It does not, of course, follow that each of these roads possessed a separate gate, but it is entirely probable that seven different outlets were in ordinary use. The gates of historical Athens were much more numerous, and the circuit of historical Thebes was but little less than that of Athens¹. Pausanias says distinctly *Θηβαίοις δὲ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, μένουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι*, and it is scarcely conceivable that he would venture upon such a statement, if his contemporaries could have proved it untrue. He proceeds to name them.

Whether so small a place as the original Cadmea, or Cadmea proper, would itself possess seven gates, is another question. It is by no means impossible. The Cadmea was of larger area than the Athenian Acropolis and was accessible from all sides, while the Acropolis could only be approached from the west. But there is an alternative sense in which 'seven-gated' might be understood for even a small fortress. When the primitive city of Athens (consisting of Acropolis and *Πελαργικόν*) is spoken of as *ἐννεάπυλος*², or as possessing *ἐννέα πύλαι*, we are to think not of nine separate entrances, but of nine successive portals along one road of entrance³. It might be the case that the original fortress had an approach guarded by seven successive portals, or by a number traditionally spoken of as seven; that these were the *ἑπτὰ πύλαι*; that, as the lower city grew round the Cadmea and was in turn provided with a wall, its gates

¹ In Thuc. 2. 13. 6 the circuit of Athens minus the space between the Long Walls is 43 stadia, and the circuit of Thebes is given as 43 stadia in a metrical description by a certain Dionysius (*Geog. Graec. Min.* 1. 241. 95).

² Cleidemus *ap.* Suid. *ἄπεδα*. (9 is another mystic number.)

³ See Harrison *Primitive Athens* pp. 32 sqq. (after Dörpfeld).

were placed where they were needed for the several roads; and that these were actually seven in number, either because convenience so dictated or because the traditional title of 'seven-gated Thebes' led to that honourable and mystic number being deliberately retained. Nevertheless, even if such a guess happens to be anywhere near the truth, the seven actual and distinct gates of the larger wall must still be ancient, inasmuch as already in cyclic epic times they are so situated that a champion can stand outside before each and attack it. Moreover the names, as recorded, are not descriptive (as they would probably be, if of more recent origin) of the places to which they lead. They all bear the unmistakable stamp of ancient coinage. For the *Septem* at least it is clear that Cadmea-Thebes possessed seven gates, neither more nor less. Nor is it likely that, in naming them, Aeschylus would ignore all the facts of contemporary Thebes.

§ 15. Concerning the topography of Thebes there has been much discussion. Though the identification of the Cadmea, Dirce, Ismenus and one or two of the gates may be considered as settled, it must be acknowledged that more or less uncertainty attaches to almost every other detail. Though after the destruction of the wider city by Alexander it was restored by Cassander (B.C. 315), it was apparently destroyed again, at least in part, by Mummius (B.C. 146). In the time of Pausanias only the Cadmea was inhabited, although there were evidently many conspicuous traces of the larger town. Nor was the state of the city more flourishing in the days of Strabo (B.C. 20). Subsequent demolitions and decay have left the lines of the walls very disputable. Such evidence as there is, has been best put together by Fabricius, in his admirable monograph *Theben* (1890)¹. Before giving, with certain omissions and slight modifications adapting it to the *Septem*, his chart of ancient Thebes, some words of description and argument are necessary.

The original settlement, or Cadmea, was planted on a site which met the two chief requirements of a primitive stronghold.

Topo-
graphy of
Thebes.

The
citadel.

¹ See also Frazer's *Pausanias*, Vol. v. pp. 31 sqq. and the literature there mentioned. Forchhammer's plan of Thebes (*Dict. Geog. Thebae*) is superseded.

These were, first, an elevation easily defensible, second, an adequate supply of water. A spur of the Teumessus range supplied the one; the stream and fountain of Dirce supplied the other. To the Cadmean it was Dirce, rather than Ismenus, that held the first place¹. Ismenus in fact lay well outside the early town, while Dirce was close to the wall and one of its supplying springs was in all probability enclosed within the fortifications. On a northward spur or ridge from the range, offering a space of some 750 yards in length by about half that distance in breadth, the primitive town appears to have been built in a pear-shaped form, the southern and higher end being at an elevation of about 200 feet, the northern and lower at that of 150 feet. On the southern side the spur is connected with the hills; on the east and west there are gullies of the Dirce and the Strophia, but (except to the S.W.) the sides are in no way precipitous. As compared with the *κάτω πόλις* which subsequently grew up, the Cadmea may be described as lofty², but the expression must be taken in this relative sense.

The larger town.

To east, west, and north of this primitive stronghold there gradually attached itself a larger town of 'Thebes'³, known in contradistinction as the 'lower city,' while the Cadmea, besides bearing its proper names, was also styled the 'upper city' (*ἡ ἄνω πόλις*) or *ἀκρόπολις*. As a natural result there were in historical Thebes two *ἀγοραί*⁴, the older one in the Cadmea, a later one in the lower town. The exact circuit of the walls of the extended city—which could hardly have been the same at all historical times—can scarcely be decided. Fabricius drew his conclusions from the lines of tiles and occasional patches of masonry which he took to mark the course of the *περίβολος* and its towers. The evidence of the tiles is disputed, but the

¹ Cf. *S. c. T.* 259 (n.), Pind. *I.* 1. 29, 5. 74. In Eur. *Phoen.* 823 sqq. Amphion's wall rose *διδύμων ποταμῶν πόρον ἀμφὶ μέσον Δίρκας* (where the reference is apparently not to Dirce and Ismenus, but to Dirce and Strophia, the latter being regarded as a component of the former).

² Paus. 3. 17. 1 *ἐς ὕψος περιφανὲς ἐξίσχουσα*. Fabricius quotes Pind. *fr.* 196 *λιπαρὰν Θηβᾶν μέγαν σκόπελον*. For primitive times it was roomy. In Plut. *Mor.* 598 F we hear of 5000 men being in the Cadmea.

³ Strabo 9. 2. 3.

⁴ Soph. *O. T.* 20 *ἀγοραίσι θακεῖ* and Jebb's note.

results obtained by Fabricius answer very closely to the 43 stades named by Dionysius¹. It is generally agreed that no extension occurred to the south, where the old wall of the Cadmea continued to be part of the wall of greater Thebes. It is also agreed that both Dirce and the less important Strophie now flowed through² the city; in other words, that the lower town spread beyond the gullies of those streams. As to whether it also spread beyond the Ismenus there has been a difference of opinion, but it appears certain that, to the mind of Aeschylus, this stream ran—as Fabricius decides on other grounds—outside the Proetid gate³. There is, however, nothing to show that the city was not further enlarged on that side after the date of the *Septem*, the most likely occasion being in the year B.C. 457, when the Lacedaemonians assisted the Thebans⁴ in strengthening their town. In point of fact, recent excavations have revealed the foundations of walls to the east of Ismenus. Nevertheless ✓ this extension at least may be disregarded for Aeschylus. Whether he thought of the Thebes of his own day or imagined a still smaller Cadmea-Thebes, whether he was simply drawing upon his epic and legendary sources or blending their language with his own information, the truth remains that for him the eastern wall of the Cadmeans is on the near side of Ismenus. In general his town would be considerably smaller than that outlined by Fabricius. This would manifestly not affect the *relative* positions of the gates. The enlargement of the *περίβολος* would simply place a newer gate further out along the road which led from the older one.

§ 16. Of the gates themselves three are tolerably certain. Positions of the Gates.
The *Proetid* gate is placed by Aeschylus on the side towards Ismenus, and Pausanias tells us distinctly that through it passed

¹ Dicaearchus, or rather Heracleides Criticus (quoted by Apollon. *Hist. Mirab.* 19), gives 70 stades as the circumference circ. B.C. 250 (*Geog. Gr. Min.* 1. p. 102).

² Eur. *Antiope* fr. In Paus. 9. 25. 3 the house of Pindar is across the Dirce, but there is nothing to make us suppose that it was outside the walls. Eur. *Phoen.* 823 sqq. διδύμων ποταμῶν πόρον ἀμφὶ μέσον Δίρκας is indefinite; *ibid.* 730 βαθὺς γέ τοι Διρκαῖος ἀναχωρεῖν πόρος (*i.e.* in re-entering Thebes) may very naturally refer to that part of Dirce which runs across the plain below Thebes.

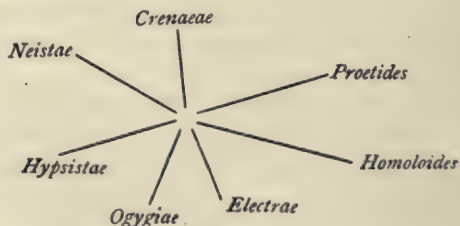
³ *S. c. T.* 364 Τυδεὺς μὲν ἤδη πρὸς πύλαισι Προυτίσιν | βρέμει, πόρον δ' Ἴσμηνον οὐκ ἐπὶ περᾶν | ὁ μάντις.

⁴ Diodor. 11. 81.

the road to Chalcis¹. The *Neistae* were on the road to Thespiæ and the sanctuary of the Cabiri². The name itself would imply that the situation was low. The *Electrae* were entered from Plataea³. According to Euripides they led to Cithaeron⁴, were on high ground, and were in the quarter from which the Athenians would approach⁵ Thebes. Arrian⁶ tells us that they led to Eleutherae and Athens. Pausanias, in his method of enumerating the list, appears to have been insufficiently understood. After giving the three names above mentioned, he proceeds to the other four, viz. *Crenaeae*, *Hypsistae*, *Ogygiae*, *Homoloides*⁷. It is commonly assumed that there is no indication of the order in which these come. In reality what Pausanias does is to name first the three chief entrances, situated somewhat thus



He then begins for the remainder at the north (*Crenaeae*), comes round W. (with *Hypsistae*), makes the explicit statement that to these the *Ogygiae* are 'next,' and last he names the *Homoloides*. We thus get approximately



This arrangement agrees with all the hints that can be gathered from other sources. Thus Aeschylus names no

¹ Paus. 9. 18. 1.

³ Paus. 9. 8. 7.

⁶ An. 1. 7. 9.

² Paus. 9. 25. 4.

⁴ Bacch. 780.

⁷ 9. 8. 4 sq.

⁵ Suppl. 651.

Ogygian gate (probably for metrical reasons¹) but substitutes 'neighbours to Onca Athena'². The situation of Onca's shrine appears to be fairly ascertained as 'about 200 paces S.W. of Cadmea'³. The title *Hypsistae* is manifestly antithetic to *Neistae*, and it is natural to think of the two gates as in line, one being at the highest point and the other at the lowest on that side. It then follows that the *Crenaeae* of other writers are the *Βορραῖαι* of Aeschylus, and this gate is therefore to the north, where in point of fact there exists a spring in the suburb of Pyri by the Dirce⁴. We discover from both Euripides and Aeschylus that the tomb of Amphion and Zethus lay outside the walls⁵, and from Aeschylus (who implies the same) that it was near the *Βορραῖαι πύλαι*⁶.

The list of the seven gates must have been ancient, and the various writers who supply it differ little from each other. Aeschylus, Euripides, Pausanias, Apollodorus and Statius agree in regard to the *Electrae*, *Proetides*, and *Homoloides*. For the rest the correspondences and divergences are:

Aesch.	Eur.	Paus.	Apollod.	Stat.
<i>Neistae</i>	<i>Neistae</i>	<i>Neistae</i>	[corrupt]	<i>Neitae</i>
ἔβδομαι	ἔβδομαι	<i>Hypsistae</i>	<i>Hypsistae</i>	<i>Hypsistae</i>
'Neighbours to Onca'	<i>Ogygiae</i>	<i>Ogygiae</i>	<i>Ogygiae</i>	<i>Ogygiae</i>
<i>Βορραῖαι</i>	<i>Crenaeae</i>	<i>Crenaeae</i>	<i>Crenides</i>	<i>Dircaeae</i>

The dramatists differ as to the particular gate allotted to each champion, but for Aeschylus the arrangement may be represented somewhat as follows, although it would be absurd to consider the poet as having any very clear-cut outline in his mind. He had studied no charts of Thebes.

¹ He clearly avoids the anapaest which other tragedians allow themselves in a proper name. See note to v. 24.

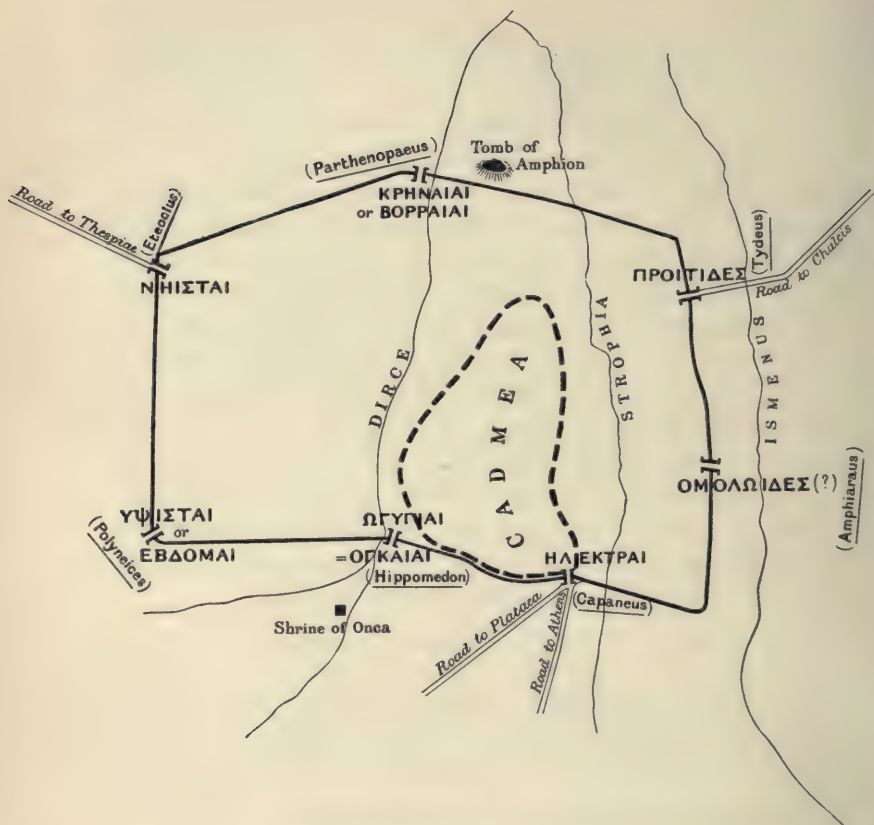
² Hesych. has "Ογκας 'Αθάνας' τὰς 'Ωγκυῖας πύλας λέγει. Nonnus only names two gates, the *Electrae* and the *Oncaeae*.

³ Frazer on Paus. 9. 12. 2. 'There is said to have been a village Oncae on the spot (schol. Pind. *O.* 2. 48, Tzetzes *Lycoph.* 1225).' See note to v. 488.

⁴ Statius (8. 353 sqq.) substitutes *Dircaeae* in his list. Pindar (*I.* 5. 74) in his πῖσω σφε Δίρκας ἀγνὸν ὕδωρ, τὸ...κῆραι | Μναμοσύνας ἀνέτειλαν παρ' εὐτειχέσιν Κάδμου πύλαις should be understood to imply that he himself lives near a gate and that Dirce has a fountain near it. This would be the *Crenaeae* or *Dircaeae*.

⁵ Eur. *Phoen.* 145, *Suppl.* 662.

⁶ S. c. *T.* 514 sq.



D. THE PLAY OF AESCHYLUS.

Political
purpose in
dramas.

§ 17. Though we do not demand of a modern drama that it should convey a definite moral or political lesson, and though we should not be too exacting in this respect when we deal with the corresponding form of art in antiquity, it is nevertheless a notorious truth that the early Greek poet, and not least the dramatic poet, was commonly regarded—and regarded himself—as an exponent of religious, ethical, and political wisdom. In its primary purpose a tragedy was doubtless a composition of art, intended for the public entertainment on its more serious side; but it was meanwhile expected of the tragedian that he should ‘improve the occasion’ and play the part of teacher to

the audience¹. The stage Euripides is not expressing simply his individual opinion, when he maintains in the *Frogs*² of Aristophanes that poets can only claim admiration

δεξιότητος καὶ νοουθεσίας ὅτι βελτίους τε ποιούμεν
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

The traditional σοφία of the poet is to show itself not merely in the varied lore for which he has to thank Mnemosyne, the mother of the Muses, but also in the γνῶμαι and παραινέσεις which are to be expected of his more profound thought and keener insight. His function is not only τὸ ποιεῖν, but also τὸ χρηστὰ διδάσκειν³. Most obviously valuable, and most readily appreciated, was wise admonition applied to contemporary circumstance. When Athens was in sore straits just before the end of the Peloponnesian war, Dionysus seeks to bring back a tragic poet from Hades

ἴν' ἡ πόλις σωθεῖσα τοὺς χοροὺς ἄγῃ.
ὁπότερος οὖν ἂν τῇ πόλει παραινέσειω
μέλλῃ τι χρηστόν, τοῦτον ἄξειν μοι δοκῶ⁴.

And, when Aeschylus has been chosen and is departing to the upper world, the prayer is made that he may be the means of suggesting

τῇ...πόλει μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθὰς ἐπινοίας⁵.

§ 18. In writing the *Septem* Aeschylus duly performs this function of admonisher. But while the general and permanent moral lesson involved in the fate of the sons of Oedipus is obvious, there was also conveyed a special political lesson with a contemporary reference, a lesson so little obtruded that it has apparently escaped the notice of commentators. When Dionysus asks in the *Frogs*⁶

The *Septem* supports the Cimonian policy of fortification.

καὶ τί σὺ δράσας οὕτως αὐτοὺς γενναίους ἐξεδίδαξας,
Αἰσχύλε, λέξον

¹ Ridgeway (*Praelection on the Supplices of Aeschylus*) rightly concludes for the *Supplices* and the *Eumenides* that Aeschylus was 'the apostle of a new and loftier religion, the proclaimer of a nobler and purer humanity, and the advocate of a more advanced and stable social system.'

² vv. 1009 sq.

³ *Ran.* 1057.

⁴ *Ran.* 1419 sqq.

⁵ *Ran.* 1530.

⁶ vv. 1018 sqq.

the poet is made to reply

δρᾶμα ποιήσας Ἄρεως μεστόν,

that drama being

τοὺς Ἑπτ' ἐπὶ Θήβας,

ὃ θεασάμενος πᾶς ἂν τις ἀνὴρ ἡράσθη δάιος εἶναι.

And doubtless something might be caught of that *aura* of valour which so peculiarly pervaded the piece, and which suggested to Gorgias this apt description 'full of martial spirit'. Besides dramatically enforcing his invariable warning against ὕβρις and τὸ ἄγαν in any shape, Aeschylus does indeed stimulate Athenian manhood with the desire δάιοι εἶναι. But he meanwhile 'improves the occasion' in behalf of a debated public policy, or one which at least required the spur. This was the policy initiated by Themistocles, continued by Cimon, and accomplished by Pericles; namely, the policy of fortifying Athens with such completeness that it might thenceforth be secure against assault, whether from barbarian or from hostile Greek. To suppose this purpose included in the 'wisdom' of the play is no idle fancy. The date of the *Septem* is B.C. 467. The date of the commencement of Cimon's wall of the Acropolis is B.C. 468. Themistocles had previously built the new (if hasty) περίβολος of Athens, had fortified the Peiraeus², and had probably devised a larger scheme, which was delayed, and doubtless in part discredited, by his fall and exile in B.C. 472. There were no doubt financial difficulties also. The spoils of the battle of Eurymedon supplied Cimon with the means to accomplish the work upon the Acropolis which is associated with his name. According to Plutarch³ he also commenced the building of the Long Walls, although the actual carrying out of that supremely important work was left for Pericles (B.C. 460—458)⁴.

It is manifest that for some time before and after the production of the *Septem* the question of the nature and extent

¹ The phrase Ἄρεως μεστόν is attributed to Gorgias by Plutarch (*Mor.* 715 E). The adjective contains the notion that the spirit is contagious.

² Thuc. i. 93.

³ *Cim.* 13.

⁴ The actual year is not to be gathered from Thuc. i. 107 κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους (see Poppo-Stahl).

of the fortifications of Athens was one of chief public prominence. Nor could it be otherwise. In B.C. 480 not even the Acropolis, much less the larger city, had been defensible against the Persians. The Athenians had been compelled to take refuge within their 'wooden walls.' In the following year Mardonius had completed the destruction of the city. No one knew when such an experience might be repeated. Nor was assurance against the Peloponnesians much greater than that against Persia. Far-sighted statesmen with the large conceptions of a Themistocles or a Cimon perceived what was necessary. But, as on similar occasions ancient and modern, the more far-sighted the conception, the more difficulty may be found in persuading the body politic to adopt it comprehensively. Especially is this the case when the execution involves heavy financial burdens. That the Athenians required no little pressure of persuasion is manifest, first, from the delay in carrying out the full scheme (whether it be due to Themistocles or to Cimon), second, from such indications as that afforded by Plato¹, who refers to a speech delivered by Pericles in favour of building the Long Walls. For the sake of brevity historians speak of Themistocles or Cimon or Pericles as doing this or that; yet these greater men were but agents of the will of the people, even though they may first have been the moulders of that will. It was but human nature that the eagerness displayed immediately after the Persian invasion should diminish as the wounds of that invasion healed.

In the *Septem* Aeschylus is indubitably lending his aid to the formation of public opinion in support of the Cimonian policy of fortification². He is insisting upon the text 'Trust in the gods, but see to your walls.' Though the scene of the action is in Cadmea, the language is carefully adapted to Athens. If Athena Onca is implored to hold her protection over the Cadmea³, it is easy to grasp the allusion to Pallas Athena of the Acropolis, who *χείρας ὑπερθεν ἔχει*. If she is to

¹ *Gorg.* 455 E.

² It may even be suspected that he also intends a good word for Themistocles in the lines *φερέγγυον φρούρημα προστατηρίας* | *Ἀρτέμιδος εὐνόλαισι* (436 sq.). The chosen guardian deity of Themistocles was Artemis Aristobule.

³ *S. c. T.* 149 (n.).

guard her *ἐπτάπυλον ἔδος*, the Athenian would at once think of the *ἐννεάπυλον*¹. These are occasional reminders, but at frequent intervals throughout the play the importance of the defences is emphasised. The Cadmeans are bidden to man the *πυργώματα* (*ἐπάλξεις, θωρακεῖα*) and there to take their stand,

μηδ' ἐπηλύδων
ταρβείτ' ἄγαν ὄμιλον· εὖ τελεῖ θεός².

The Scout bids Eteocles (62)

σὺ δ' ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸς οἰακοστροφός
φράξαι πόλισμα, πρὶν καταγίγσαι πνοὰς
Ἄρεως.

To the Chorus the tutelary gods are *γᾶς τᾶσδε πυργοφύλακες* (153); they are besought not to 'betray the bulwarks' (237). When the Chorus surrenders itself on the Acropolis to a helpless passion of supplication, Eteocles bids it (202) offer a prayer more to the purpose,

πύργον στέγειν εὐχεσθε πολέμιον δόρυ.

The Chorus itself in a *στάσιμον* of some length describes vividly the fate of a captured city; how it is enslaved, befouled with smoke, and reduced to ashes (307 sqq., 329). The allusion to the burning of Athens by the Persians is unmistakable. And this havoc, it is said, occurs when 'the defences fail' (332). The boasts and threats of the Achaean champions are addressed to the *πύργοι* of the besieged town³, and, in answer, the Chorus prays that the enemy may never get within gate or wall, but may perish *πρόσθε πυλᾶν, πύργων ἔκτοθεν*⁴. After the failure of the assault the Scout reports (780)

πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδία τε, καὶ κλυδωνίῳ
πολλαῖσι πληγαῖς ἄντλον οὐκ ἐδέξατο·
στέγει δὲ πύργος.

It would have been impossible for the poet to communicate his lesson more plainly without violating (as Euripides is so apt to do) the canons of dramatic art.

¹ See § 14.

² vv. 30 sqq.

³ By Capaneus (413), Eteocles (454), Parthenopaeus (536).

⁴ vv. 512, 616. Cf. 300 *ἔξω πύργων*.

§ 19. The action of the play is simple, and requires no further analysis than that which is supplied in the commentary. ^{The play as ‘action.’} Whereas Homer infused into his epic *μῆσις* a dramatic life, on the other hand the dramatic *μῆσις* of Aeschylus, especially in its earlier stages, is wont to retain much of the epic character. Apart from its choruses the *Septem* is in a large measure epic put upon the stage. There is much description, there would be considerable scenic effect, but there is little action in the modern sense. As a study of *πράξεις*, *πάθη*, and *ἡθῆ* the play is apt to strike the reader as somewhat slender. Of the *μελοποιία* we have no information, but it would necessarily count for much. In *ὄψις* it may be readily imagined that the play would not be lacking. We have the burghers in the opening scene, the distracted Chorus amid the images, the armed champions, the funeral procession and the dirge, besides the dancing and acting. When we have supplied these to the best of our ability, we are called upon to allow for sundry differences between the Greek point of view and our own in regard to a dramatic creation and its performance. Our own conception of ‘action’ is not the same as the Greek conception of *πρᾶξις*. A passage of *ἔλεγχος*, or a scene of argument in which a certain mental *πάθος* is produced, removed, or changed, is sufficient in its ‘action’ for the Athenian, who loved these altercations, so long as the degree of *διάνοια* exhibited on either side was sufficiently keen or solid to maintain his intelligent admiration. Meanwhile he experienced a lively appreciation of the dexterity or beauty of the language employed. ‘Action’ also is the ‘keening’ over the bodies of the slain brothers. To the Greek, with his lively sympathies and his ready response to a call upon his emotions, this formed an interesting chapter in the *βίου μῆσις* of the stage. It was not merely that he took—as one modern sarcastically remarked of another—‘a melancholy pleasure in the contemplation of a funeral.’ It was that the attendant ceremonial of death and burial was to him a thing of real significance, for the simple reason that he entertained strong views of the vital importance of such duty to the dead.

§ 20. If the function of tragedy is to evoke keen sensations of *ἔλεος καὶ φόβος*, we must estimate the success of a piece, not by the standard of our own social, moral and religious concep- ^{The motives of ‘pity and fear.’}

tions, but by that of the Athenians in regard to the same matters. If it seems easy for us to realise the tremors which might pass through an audience when the Chorus depicts the miseries of slaughter, desolation, and enslavement in a captured city, we still can hardly experience them with the same liveliness as a people who recognized their literal truth and to whom they were more or less imminent possibilities. If we can understand a shudder of horror at the impending slaughter of brother by brother, we nevertheless cannot experience it with precisely the same acuteness as a people who regarded the tie of blood from a far more superstitious standpoint, and to whom the Erinyes were dreadful and ever-present realities. The curse of a father is to us a deplorable and shocking thing from the point of view of sentiment, but we cannot regard it, like the Athenians, as an embodied and operative power which can work madness in the brain and relentlessly and irresistibly achieve its dire object. To a people accustomed to the enigmas of oracles and prophecies, prone to look for their fulfilment with awe, and keen to feel the irony when the language was interpreted by the event, there were thrilling sensations of apprehension and premonition which are scarcely realisable by a sceptical modern reader, to whom such riddling rede is apt to present itself in a less venerable light. The refusal of burial to Polyneices is to us a cruel and disgusting action, possible only to a stage of civilisation from which we have emerged. To the Athenian such a prohibition came nearer home; it moreover amounted to perpetual damnation of the departed spirit, and the situation is therefore one of much more crushing grief to Antigone and her sympathisers than we can now realise without considerable effort. To us therefore, who have little regard for Erinyes or Curses or cryptic utterances, who have minimised the interest and importance of obsequies, and who have shifted to a different plane our conceptions of the claims of kinship, the *Septem* must lose much of its tragic force. The particular motives of pity and fear which it employs, though not without their effect upon ourselves, have lost not a little of their edge. They have at least lost the peculiar quality of poignancy which they would possess for a Greek of the early part of the fifth century B.C. Not only do we miss much that the piece actually contained, together with

the acting, the ὄρχησις, the μελοποιία, and the ὄψις; we have also been taught by the romantic drama to look for something at which classical tragedy does not aim, to wit, rapidity of action in a plot more 'complex,' and subtlety of characterisation probing to greater depths of 'philosophy,' than even the writer of the *Poetics* would have contemplated. One thing, however, which no competent reader can miss is the Aeschylean power of language, with its extraordinary specific gravity, its magnificent compression, and its brilliant figurativeness, by means of which the poet brings into the modest compass of a little over a thousand lines enough matter to have furnished forth as many more in many another writer.

§ 21. The epic character of the play appears especially in the descriptions of the several Achaean champions with their accoutrements and their utterances. It is chiefly here that modern criticism, proceeding on *a priori* principles as to what is or is not dramatic, raises some question. Have these descriptions a legitimate place in drama? If so, are they seasonable in the mouth of the Scout? Is it, moreover, possible for the Messenger to have seen and heard all that he reports? It is not easy to act the λυτικός to these προβλήματα, if we are to apply to ancient drama the strictest canons of modern realism. But though we are not called upon to undertake this impossible task, in view of the accepted conventions of the Greek stage, it may at least be answered that the criticism is largely misconceived. It is an entirely false notion that the Scout and the King are wasting time in talk while the enemy may be taking advantage of the situation. A point so obvious is not one which would escape so experienced a playwright as Aeschylus. At the very beginning of the Messenger's report we are told that the operations of the enemy are suspended

The descriptions by the Messenger: their dramatic fitness.

πόρον δ' Ἰσμηνὸν οὐκ ἔᾶ περᾶν
ὁ μάντις· οὐ γὰρ σφάγια γίγνεται καλὰ¹.

It is characteristic of Aeschylus that he does not elaborate this excuse. He is too good a dramatist to add 'and therefore I may proceed to give my account at leisure.' We may, if we choose,

¹ vv. 365 sq.

regard the device itself as not particularly convincing. Yet Aeschylus believed it to be sufficiently so for his audience. Here, as elsewhere, he credited that audience with the quick intelligence which accepts few words in place of many. Doubtless he often took that intelligence too readily for granted. But whether the device be an entirely natural one or not—and there is at least nothing irrational in it—if it is once granted, criticism falls to the ground. For how long, after all, does it take the Messenger to make this report and for Eteocles to answer it with his
 (✓) dispositions? The whole scene until Eteocles himself departs occupies 345 lines. Comprised in these there is no interval, and the time thus ‘wasted’ amounts to neither more nor less than it would take to deliver that number of lines upon the stage. It is not even the space of time which a modern critic spends in reading and pondering the lines, but the time which he might take, as a Greek of the date of Aeschylus, in uttering and acting them. This would be measured in minutes. To the spectators almost no time would appear to elapse. There are several single scenes in Shakespeare which are as long, and some which are longer. It can hardly be contended that the delay is rationally out of proportion to the justification offered for it.

Of two passages of Euripides which are supposed to be aimed at this scene in the *Septem*, one will be found on examination to have no such reference whatever. In the *Supplices* (846 sqq.) Theseus says to Adrastus

ἐν δ' οὐκ ἐρήσομαί σε, μὴ γέλωτ' ὄφλω,
 ὅτῳ ξυνέστη τῶνδ' ἕκαστος ἐν μάχῃ,
 ἢ τραῦμα λόγχης πολεμίων ἐδέξατο.
 κενοὶ γὰρ οὔτοι τῶν τ' ἀκονόντων λόγοι
 καὶ τοῦ λέγοντος, ὅστις ἐν μάχῃ βεβῶς
 λόγχης ἰούσης πρόσθεν ὁμμάτων πυκνῆς
 σαφῶς ἀπήγγειλ' ὅστις ἐστὶν ἀγαθός.

But what application has this passage to the Messenger's descriptions in our play? Euripides is simply ridiculing the man—probably too frequently in evidence at Athens—who pretends to know the full details of a fight in which he has been himself engaged. As every veteran acknowledges, the field of observation in a battle is limited to the soldier's own immediate

neighbourhood, and sometimes he can render no very clear account even of his own experiences. But the Scout in the *Septem* has nothing to tell of any fight in which either he or anyone else has been concerned. It should be obvious that to force the lines into a criticism of his fellow-dramatist is to do an injustice to Euripides.

More relevant might seem the passage in the *Phoenissae* (748 sqq.), where Eteocles says

ἔσται τὰδ'· ἐλθὼν δ' ἐπτάπυργον ἐς πόλιν¹
τάξω λοχαγούς πρὸς πύλαισιν, ὥς λέγεις,
ἴσους ἴσοισι πολεμίοισιν ἀντιθεῖς·
ὄνομα δ' ἐκάστων διατριβὴ πολλή λέγειν
ἐχθρῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τείχεσιν καθημένων·
ἀλλ' εἴμ', ὅπως ἂν μὴ καταργῶμεν χέρα·
καί μοι γένοιτ' κ.τ.λ.

Though this particular ῥῆσις is rightly suspected to contain a number of interpolations, and though it might be hoped, for the artistic credit of Euripides, that the dramatically unnatural—because obviously forced—passage ὄνομα...χέρα is one such, we need not avail ourselves of that suspicion. It is enough to remember that the *Phoenissae* is of exceptional length, and that the poet has crowded into it (if it is all his) an unusual variety of matter. His lines here are no reflection whatever upon Aeschylus; they are a defence of himself. If anyone is criticised, it is the audience, which looked for such detail and description², but which Euripides does not this time propose to satisfy. The playwright is aware that he cannot spare room for this matter, and he accounts to the audience for the omission. The tone is not one of sarcasm, but of apology: 'I cannot name them now; it would take time, and the enemy are pressing us.'

It is sometimes further objected that the descriptions themselves are merely picturesque, and therefore undramatic. The same criticism would sweep away many a fine passage of

Greek appreciation of fine craftsmanship.

¹ The MSS have either this or ἐπτάπυργον ἐς πόλιν μολών. Since Eteocles is inside the city, and means that he will go to the walls, Musgrave and Porson read ἐς κύκλον. This is doubtless the sense (=περίβολον), but it does not account for the corruption. I should suggest πόλον ('circumference') as the source of both πόλιν and μολών.

² Eur. has already given such a description of the leaders (119 sqq.) and offers more at vv. 1104—1140.

Shakespeare. Aesthetic dogmatism is of little value unless founded on the facts of experience. That the Athenian audience was intensely interested in such descriptions pure and simple might doubtless be put down to that *ἀσθένεια* to which it was subject. The keen interest itself is beyond doubt. The same taste is met by Euripides¹. And if the strangeness to the modern reader lies not so much in the descriptions of the warriors as in the details of their shields and blazons, it is precisely here that the Greek appreciation was especially lively.

✓ How deeply ingrained in the Greek constitution was the love of skilful workmanship and of the contemplation of masterpieces in any kind, can scarcely be more conclusively shown than in the prominence given to verbal pictures of such things from epic times downwards. The shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* and in the *Electra* of Euripides; the shield of Heracles in the *Scutum* of the pseudo-Hesiod; the sculptures of Delphi in the *Ion*; the breastplate of Agamemnon² in Homer, the bowls in Theocritus, the *τάλαρος* of Europa in Moschus, the *δίπλαξ* of Jason in Apollonius Rhodius, the chest of Cypselus in Pausanias, are a few of the instances in point. It was part of epic convention that a shield of more or less miraculous workmanship should be described, with a combination of sheer joy in decorative art and naive wonder at the marvel of craftsmanship. The earliest Hellenic invaders of Greece could never sufficiently admire the technical productions of their 'Aegean' predecessors or of oriental workmen. As warriors they would be especially concerned with such work upon shields, breastplates, and daggers. They would be eager to possess, and, if they possessed, they would hugely prize, accoutrements so distinguished. Their bards would magnify the possibilities of skill and dream dreams of wonderful inlaying and colour-toning. They would vie with each other in equipping their heroes with a shield of which, as of Nestor's, *κλέος οὐρανὸν ἔκει*³. Of the shield of Achilles in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*, Leaf remarks that 'though of course beyond the power of early Greek, as of any human art, to execute, it yet requires to explain it only such works of art and technique as we know to have been accessible

¹ *Phoen.* 1104 sqq.

² *Il.* 11. 24 sqq.

³ *Il.* 8. 192.

to the Greeks, at least in foreign imports, in pre-Homeric times.' He illustrates by the dagger-blades found by Schliemann at Mycenae.

Exquisite inlaying¹ was realised in fact, and so far there is nothing unreal in such instances as *Il.* 18. 474, where Hephaestus blends bronze, gold, silver and tin, or [*Hes.*] *Scut.* 141 *πᾶν μὲν γὰρ λευκῷ τιτάνῳ λευκῷ τ' ἐλέφαντι | ἡλέκτρῳ θ' ὑπολαμπὲς ἔην, χρυσῷ τε φαιινῷ | λαμπόμενον, κυάνου δὲ διὰ πτύχες ἡλῆ- λαντο.* Nor is the *tour de force* in *Scut.* 233, of the Gorgon's head in a net, beyond execution. Greater marvels, such as of moving reliefs, belong to the fancy of a later age².

Above all it was the shield which lent most scope both for the execution and the display of such work, and hence no epic is complete without its highly-wrought 'shield.' Vergil cannot fail to supply his Aeneas with one of the type³. It is practically certain therefore that both Aeschylus and Euripides are led to their descriptions primarily by the *Thebais*. Pindar had evidently found similar matter in the *Epigoni*⁴. Nevertheless the artistic and technically wonderful emblazoning of shields was no mere convention of epic. Later times knew and admired such accoutrements among contemporaries⁵, although miracle had been compelled to give place to more sober possibilities. We should take the sense literally when Mamercus writes

Shields in poetry.

τάσδ' ὁστρειογραφεῖς καὶ χρυσελεφαντηλέκτρους
ἀσπίδας ἀσπιδίους εἵλομεν εὐτελέσω.

The contemporaries of Aeschylus were connoisseurs in work of the kind glanced at by Pindar⁶: *Μοῖσά τοι | κολλᾷ χρυσὸν ἔν τε λευκὸν ἐλέφανθ' ἁμᾷ | καὶ λείριον ἄνθεμον ποντίας ὑφέλοις' ἑέρσας.* If therefore Aeschylus takes the hint for describing the shields from the epic *Thebais*, he is by no means to be charged with introducing matter into his play for no better reason than that it happened to exist in the epic. Rather he introduces it for the same reason which led the epic writer to employ it first,

¹ Such as is imagined in *S. c. T.* 480 sqq.

² See *S. c. T.* 527 sqq. (n.).

³ *Aen.* 8. 626 sqq.

⁴ *P.* 8. 45 *θαέομαι σαφὲς | ὀράκοντα ποικίλον αἰθᾶς Ἀλκμᾶν' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος | νωμῶντ'.*

⁵ The shield of Nicias is historic (*Plut. Nic.* 28).

⁶ *N.* 7. 77 sqq.

namely, because to the audience of the drama, as to the audience of the epic, it caused a whole-hearted delight.

Dramatic
intention
of the de-
scriptions.

Doubtless the question of dramatic fitness is not settled by this consideration. Though the descriptions may please the audience, are they sufficiently in place when addressed by the Scout to Eteocles? In other words, would a messenger in ancient Greece conceivably render a report in such manner and kind? We may venture to hold that Aeschylus is incapable of a gross irrelevance. It is not merely that the Scout is himself carried away by the characteristic Greek gusto for the technical wonders which he has seen (although no Greek would be surprised ✓ at such behaviour on his part); it is also that his descriptions of the blazonry are part of his descriptions of the men. They mark the special temper and character, the insolence or self-assertion, which Eteocles is to confront. In effect the Messenger says in each case 'Such is the man; such are his boasts in word or blazon; it is for you to choose his antagonist'¹. In each case the king proceeds to select the opposing champion, and he either chooses him with some special reference to the blazon or draws some augury of victory from the temper which it betrays.

The
Scout as
informant.

§ 22. In one point we are apparently asked to accept a physical impossibility. It is difficult to convince ourselves that any scout could possibly see and hear all that the ἄγγελος reports. There are seven champions at seven different gates, and the Scout has observed them all at close quarters, heard their words, and even noted their expressions². He would presumably do this in making a circuit of the walls. In the *Phoenissae* Euripides employs the rather crude device of making his ἄγγελος the bearer of the ξύνθημα to the various λόχοι concerned with the several gates. To name such a procedure is, however, only to bring out its difficulties. Aeschylus, with more tact, glides over the exact proceedings of the κατὰσκοπος. We may be sure that, during the time of the performance, scarcely anyone among the audience would raise the question. It is one which only occurs after consideration or to the critical

¹ See 382 sq., 422 sqq., 457 sq., 486, 532 sqq., 582 sq., 637.

² *S. c. T.* 564 ἐξυπτιάων δῆμα.

student. For the practical playwright this acceptance for the time being was sufficient. But while admitting that there is some violation of strict probabilities, we must again remember that pause in the assault which affords the Messenger time for observation. We must also remember the comparative smallness of the epic city. Nor are we, of course, to regard all the reported actions and utterances of the champions as synchronous. The Scout began his observations with the first approach of the Argives, and they would not all reach their gates at the same moment. These considerations do not indeed achieve an entire rationalising of the situation, but they go no little distance towards removing any very gross or palpable irrationality. As to the mere hearing and seeing of the besiegers by the besieged there is no difficulty whatever. When Sulla was besieging Athens taunts were hurled upon him from the walls¹. The same thing occurred to Maximinus before Aquileia². A proximity possible at such dates and in the siege of such cities was still more possible at the siege of a smaller town in epic days³.

¹ Plut. *Sull.* 13. ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐκάστοτε γεφυρίζων.

² Herodian 8. 5. 2 ὡς καὶ ἀποσκώπτειν ἐς αὐτούς, ἐνυβρίζειν τε τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ περιστοῦντι κ.τ.λ.

³ Add the instance in *II Kings*, c. xviii.

E. THE TEXT.

The *Septem*, being one of the three Aeschylean plays commonly read during the Middle Ages, must have been repeatedly copied by the professional writers or by private persons. The piece was well suited to use in the schools, and not only copies, but comment also, must have been abundant. This continual reproduction, while it would ensure the play against large lacunae (such as might occur from accidental damage to a single copy), was not wholly good for the maintenance of an authentic text. The more copies produced, the more risk of the existence of careless or otherwise inaccurate texts. The greater also the danger of interpolation, whether through deliberate 'editing,' or through the accidental incorporation of what was meant for interlinear or marginal note. While, therefore, the preservation of a full text was secured, the preservation of a genuinely Aeschylean text was less certain. A peculiar danger of school copies was that of transposition, especially of particles from less usual to more regular places in the sentence, and of this form of corruption there is frequent evidence in the extant texts of the *Septem*.

Though, as elsewhere, the Medicean MS with its διορθώσεις is by far our chief authority, value must nevertheless be set upon occasional indications of other MSS and of the scholia.

The MSS. The MSS which contain the *Septem* are:

1. Mediceus (or Laurentianus), in the Laurentian Library (xxxii. 9) at Florence, written on parchment in 10th—11th century¹. The *Septem* is in the same hand (11th century) which wrote all the rest of Aeschylus except *Pers.* 1—707. (= M.)
2. Marcianus, in the Library of St Mark at Venice (468 = xci. 4), once the property of Bessarion, written on paper in 13th—14th century. (= B, or Ven. A; quoted by Wecklein as a.)

¹ For description and history of this MS see Introd. to *Choephori*, pp. lxxx sqq.

3. Guelferbytanus, at Wolfenbüttel (88), on paper, of 15th century, the *Septem* (with *P. V.* and *Pers.*) being in an earlier hand than the rest. (= G, or b.)

4. Parisinus, in the Bibl. Nat. of Paris (2886), on paper, of later 15th century, commonly said to have been written by John Lascaris. (= P, or c.)

5. Florentinus, in the Laurentian Library (xxx. 8), on paper, of earlier 14th century. (= Fl, or f.)

6. Venetus, or Marcianus (616 = xci. 5), on parchment, 15th century. (= V, or Ven. B, or g.)

7. Farnesianus, in the Naples Museum, formerly in the Farnese Library, edited and perhaps written by Demetrius Triclinius, on paper, early 14th century. (= Fa, or h.)

8. Various *recentiores*, many of them being Parisini.

Of these it is agreed that 5, 6, 7 (Fl, V, Fa) are derived from a common source, since, apart from other agreement, they contain not only the same plays, but also the same lacunae¹. No. 4 (P) is so consistently near to M that M. Haupt is apparently right in regarding it as a copy from that text. In No. 3 (G) the divergences from M are greater in the three school plays than in the rest, and in these it is almost certainly not² derived from M. It cannot, however, be said to lend much assistance for the ascertainment of the text of the *Septem*. It is full of elementary orthographical blunders, unmetrical readings, and glosses substituted for the original words (e.g. δειλῶς for κακῶς in the last foot of the iambic senarius 209). In its most important differences from M it differs generally for the worse: e.g. 18 προσδοκοῦσα for πανδοκοῦσα, 226 ἐς σκοπὴν for ἐς ἀκρόπολιν, 519 δορός for Διός, 663 πτερῶν for πέτρων, 788 παρὸν for πλέον. In many places its readings are due to conjectures (not necessarily on the part of the writer himself) of superficially obvious sort: e.g. 594 ἐνδίκως for ἐκδίκως, 577 εὐκυκλον νέμων for εὐκηνον ἔχων. Scarcely any of these commend themselves after due consideration.

Among the inferior MSS some special attention might perhaps be claimed by Par. B, a paper MS of the 15th century, on which a scholar of rather unusual alertness must have been engaged. He has collected or made a number of conjectures which are at least acute. Thus he notes:

¹ In the *Eumenides*.

² I have elsewhere disputed the notion that it is a copy of M in the *Supplices* (see Introd. to that play, pp. xxvii sq.).

616 γρ. γὰς ἐπιμόλους χωρὶς τῆς πρὸς.

649 φρενῶν] γρ. φρενί (i.e. reading συμφοίτω).

700 μακράν] γρ. μακρά.

748 πύργος] γρ. πύργου (probably a true correction).

899 ἀχάεσσα] γρ. ἀχήμεναι (v. loc.).

1000 στρυγῶν] γρ. εἶργων.

1033 τάδε] γρ. τόδε, τὸ τοῦτον θάψαι.

The
Medicean:
M, 1st
hand.

In M itself the text is written in a good hand, and the copyist was evidently conscientious, though not learned. That he could make frequent mistakes of transcription is clear from the instances in which he is his own corrector. His original must have been in minuscules (cf. 268, where he first writes καλλων and then corrects to μάλλον). The larger proportion of the errors into which he was led were due to contemporary pronunciation, the symbol written by his pen being true to the sound conveyed to his mental ear, but untrue to the written copy before him. Thus he is constantly led into confusion of ω and ο (a point in which he is peculiarly weak), αι and ε, ηι and οι, ει and η. These errors he endeavours to remove: e.g. 27 τοιόνδε corr. to τοιῶνδε, 268 καλλων to μάλλον, 698 δωτήριοι to δοτήριοι, 879 δάμοισι to δόμοισι, 345 ἀλγύνῃ to ἀλγύνει, 456 ἐκβάληι to ἐκβάλοι, 709 παναληθεῖ to παναληθῇ, 809 ῥύεσθαι to ῥύεσθε. We can, however, hardly be so sanguine as to believe that he removed all the mistakes which he had committed in this kind. His pronunciation must also bear the blame of the numerous instances in which (assuming his original to have been correct in this respect) he substitutes double letters (especially λλ, σσ) for single or vice versa. Other errors which he corrects for himself are of a kind easy to commit, e.g. 427 παρασκευασμένος, 949 προσκείται (for προ-).

The *dior-*
thotes (m).

After these corrections we have the work of the διορθωτής (m). This hand supplies the ὑπόθεσις to the play, writes (in small uncials) marginal scholia and interlinear glosses, and emends many of the readings of M. He not only reviewed the work in M, comparing copy with original, but he evidently had before him at least another copy from which he derives other readings. This makes it impossible to tell how many of the errors in M, uncorrected by the first scribe, were actually due to him, and how many were due to an original already faulty. It appears usual to treat m as a person of learning, who was permitted to exercise his judgment. In reality, so far as the *Septem* is concerned, the indications are rather to the contrary. Some of his alterations (probably taken from his other copy or copies) are for the

worse: e.g. 304 καὶ τὰ ῥίψοπλον for καταρύοπλον, 393 μαντεύσεται for μαντεύεται, 527 κύκλω τῷ for κυκλωτῷ, 687 οὗτ' ἂν for δτ' ἂν. Some are of the most obvious sort possible. Some, while going a step in the right direction, are left incomplete or unscholarly in form: e.g. 367 λελιμένος for λιμένος, 426 γλωττ'. It needs little observation to show that his learning was either not very extensive or not very vigilant. Thus he leaves e.g. 6 Ἐτεοκλῆς (unmetrical), 49 θ' αὐτῶν, 215 κριναμέναν, 259 Ἴσμινοῦ, 274 ὑπνώσει, 604 ὦ σφε, 680 ἀνδροηλασίαν, 749 συμβαλεῦσι, 867 ἐρρυψίταχοι. It may be concluded that he was a professional corrector, of fair education and with a neat pen, who worked according to certain prescribed methods of διόρθωσις; and that, if he corrects, he does so on the warrant of either the original of M or else his own text or texts, while if he superscribes e.g. γένος to τόκος (792) or φόβον to φόνων (124) or the like, he is doing so on the authority of some record. His ζτ in the margin means that he is either dubious of the text or cannot find the place to which a scholion belongs.

Of more critical value are the corrections and superscriptions of sundry later hands, two being of the 14th century. Though three of these *manus recentiores* have been distinguished (m^1 , m^2 , m^3), the discrimination is not always certain, and it is sufficient to employ the symbol m^1 for all alike. m^1 also adds scholia, written in a very minute and abbreviated form, sometimes barely legible, and in a few instances not legible at all. It is evident that the matter of m^1 implies the possession of other copies than the original of M or the auxiliary text used by m . It implies also more watchful scholarship. Sound corrections, e.g. v. 238 φθόρον for φόνον, 698 δατήριοι for δοτήριοι, can hardly fail to have come from some good MS, and it is probable that all the more satisfactory alterations were taken directly from such a source. Some corrections may be due to the writers of m^1 themselves. There is nothing to shake the belief that on the whole the scribe of M had been faithful to his own original. We must rather gather that that original was itself faulty. The writers of m^1 probably never saw the particular copy which served as the archetype of M, but only other MSS of at least equal, if not superior, value. It is not, indeed, the case that all the corrections of m^1 are sound. Thus it is wrong in 13 ἑκαστον, 203 οὐκοῦν (for οὐκουν), 596 οὗτος δ', 741 συνάγαγε, 753 τελόμεν', and in the superscribed suggestions 334 καίνεται, 402 ὁ δαίμων, 423 κομπάζοντα, 799 δακρύσεσθαι. On the other hand it does correct many faults of M (left by m) which were due to ignorance: e.g. κρηναμέναν (215), Ἴσμινοῦ (259), λελιμένος (367). It also supplies truer readings, e.g. 223 τιθῆς

Later correctors
(m').

(i.e. τιθής), 249 πείσομαι (for σπείσ-), 338 διαδρομᾶν (for -ᾶν), 806 γαί' (for γᾶν), 867 -τοιχοι (for -ταχ-), and fills lacunae, e.g. 833 προῦπτος.

✓ For the *Septem* the contribution of **m**¹ is very considerable.

The
Scholia.

The scholia of **M** are given in detail in the Appendix, together with such comment as appears necessary. They sometimes agree with **M** (particularly when corrected by **m**¹) as against other copies, sometimes with other copies¹ as against **M**, and sometimes they imply a reading found in no copy. Where two scholia occur on the same passage they ✓ may refer to variant texts. As was pointed out in the Introduction to the *Choephoroi*, it does not follow that, where a scholion indicates a variant, that reading is necessarily an older or better one than the reading which appears in **M**. All depends, first, on the date of the scholion and, second, on the date of the text upon which it is based. It is a frequent, but quite indefensible, assumption that when a scholion supports another text than that of **M**, the case against **M** is practically proved. All that is proved is that the original writer of the scholion in question was writing it upon such other text, which may quite possibly be less sound than that of **M**. Thus the schol. on 654 shows that the writer read προσεῖδε, not προσεῖπε. But this only proves that at the time of the scholiast there existed another reading προσεῖδε; it does not prove it to be the true reading. At 687 the scholiast had οὐτ' ἄν (i.e. οὐτ' ἄν) in place of ὄταν (ὄτ' ἄν **M**), but οὐτ' ἄν is entirely unmetrical, and the existence of οὐτ' ἄν merely shows that other MSS could be corrupt in places where the archetype of **M** was sound. More valuable are those scholia which show a reading different from that of any existing text. When these are written in our margin by **m**, if we can be quite certain of the reading which they denote, we are in the position of so far possessing a different tradition to that of **M** coming from a date prior to **M** itself (though not, of course, necessarily prior to its archetype). When **m** copied them into the margin of **M** in all good faith, he was in reality writing upon one text a comment which referred to another. If the comment happened to be an old one, derived from the best period of Alexandrine criticism, we thus arrive at a reading which, in point of early date and classical acceptance, is superior to that now extant in any copy. It may reasonably be concluded that most of the scholia which represent no extant text were actually thus old. The presumable reason why *no* copy corresponds to the scholion is that the text on which it was written had become obsolete before either our copies or their archetypes were made. If the comment had been a comparatively recent production of

¹ See 437, 654, 671, 769.

Byzantine times, it is probable that the text to which it referred would have been still commonly in use, and would therefore appear somewhere among the copies extant.

In keeping with this view is the fact that when a scholion indubitably indicates a reading existing in no extant MS, the reading has a striking appearance of being right. Thus

98 πότε εἰ μὴ νῦν MSS πότε ἢ νῦν schol.

401 Ἄρης MSS Ἄρεως schol.

759 πολύβοτος αἰών MSS πολύβατος αἰών schol.

Unfortunately it is not always certain that we can reconstruct the text from the scholion. Thus in 868 a schol. appears to have had ἰδόντ', ἴση δὲ in place of ἰδόντες ἥδη; in 722 αὐτοκτόνοι σιδαροδάκτοι is indicated in place of αὐτοκτόνωνσιν (*sic*) αὐτοδάκτοι. But these cannot be called in any way certain, and we are only justified in using the language of the scholiast in support of such emendations if we feel otherwise called upon to make them. (See further the scholl. on 93, 105, 725, 741, 976.)

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ¹ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ².

Ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ἐπὶ³ Θήβαις ὑπόκειται· ὁ δὲ χορὸς ἐκ

¹ The *Septem* begins in M at the middle of the page, following the conclusion of the *Eumenides*. Above it m has written the words ὑπόθεσις τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαις, but not the ὑπόθεσις itself, the room being insufficient for both this and the *dramatis personae*. The ὑπόθεσις itself (first made known by Franz, although clear enough in the MS) is written at the foot of the page, preceded by the same words ὑπόθεσις τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαις. Its matter was in all probability derived, though not verbatim, from Aristophanes of Byzantium (see ὑπόθεσις to *Eumenides*), who gathered his information, so far as it was not contained in the play, either from the διδασκαλαί of Aristotle and his school; or from a work of the grammarian Callimachus, who himself went directly to the Aristotelian source.

² In MSS ἐπὶ Θήβαις is occasionally found in place of the accus., although all good authorities (e.g. Ar. *Ran.* 1021, Plut. *Mor.* 715 E, Longin. 15) agree in Θήβας (see the opening notes of Blomfield and Hermann). Alexis, it is true, wrote (Ath. 294 A, 295 E) a comedy styled Ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαις ('at Thebes'), but the title is naturally as much a parody as the plot. There is nothing surprising in an occasional use by a later writer of an expression equivalent to *ad Thebas* in place of that for *adversus Thebas*. οἱ Ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, though unusual in form, is the name of the play as early as Aristophanes (*Ran.* 1021) and is that given in Ath. 22 A, Plut. *Symp.* 7. 10. The title is probably not due to Aeschylus, who avoids all mention of 'Thebes' and 'Thebans' (see *Introd.* § 6). With the article we may either take the expression as grammatically = οἱ ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας στρατεύσαντες ('those who came against Thebes to the number of seven') or (much better) we may regard Ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας as the grammarless irreducible minimum forming the title of the play, and, when the article was prefixed to that title, it was naturally οἱ, by the customary attraction in place of τὸ (sc. τὸ δράμα τὸ...).

³ ἐν is written over ἐπὶ by the same hand. This may be for interpretation, or it may represent a truer reading. The confusion of EN and EΠI is very common; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6. 4. 19 ἐθύετο ἐν τῇ διαβάσει (CF) for ἐπὶ (cett.), Bacchyl. 11. 24 ἐπὶ ζαθέους (A) for ἐν ζ'. (A²). [So I should emend *Hymn. Hom.* 24. 4 (Sikes and Allen) ἐπέρχου θυμὸν ἔχονσα to ἐν' ἔρχου.]

Θηβαίων ἐστι παρθένων⁴. ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσις στρατεία⁵ Ἀργείων πολιορκούσα Θηβαίους τοὺς καὶ νικήσαντας, καὶ θάνατος Ἐτεοκλέους καὶ Πολυνείκους. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Θεαγένους⁶, Ὀλυμπιάδι σῆ. ἐνίκα Λαίῳ⁷, Οἰδίποδι, Ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, Σφιγγὶ σατυρικῇ. β̄ Ἀριστίων⁸ Περσεῖ, Ταντάλῳ, Παλαισταῖς σατυρικοῖς⁹ τοῖς Πρατίνου πατρός. γ̄ Πολυφράσμων Λυκούργεια¹⁰ τετραλογία.

(?) ✓ ⁴ This statement concerning the Chorus, though commonly accepted without question, is incorrect, and is derived only from a false generalisation from vv. 107, 156. That ancient authority had not settled the point is manifest from cod. Guelf., which gives among the *personae* χορὸς γυναικῶν ἐπιχωρίων, and also from schol. to v. 107 σαφὲς ἐνταῦθα ὅτι ἐκ παρθένων ἐστὶν ὁ χορὸς, an observation which is in itself sufficient to prove that the matter was discussed. It has been strangely overlooked that at v. 673 the Chorus calls Eteocles τέκνον. See commentary at vv. 78 sqq. The knowledge and experience displayed throughout are those of elderly, or at least mature, women (see vv. 308—355). Young maidens could not serve as ‘ideal spectators’ to warn and advise Eteocles.

⁵ There is no need to substitute *στρατιά*. The sense is ‘military operations forming the siege of Thebes.’

⁶ The true name of the Archon of B.C. 467 (1st year of 78th Olympiad) was Theagenides. But if we alter (with Franz) to Θεαγενίδου we are correcting too far—not the text, but the facts of some writer perhaps long antecedent to m.

The play is thus placed five years later than the *Persae* (ἐπὶ Μένωνος). Assuming the information of the ὑπόθεσις to be correct, there might seem to be a contradiction to Aristophanes (*Ran.* 1026), who, after speaking of the Ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας (1021), remarks εἶτα διδάξας Πέρσας μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐξεδίδαξα | νικᾶν ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους. But (as I have pointed out at that place) we need not regard Aristoph. as an infallible or even as a responsible authority, especially in speaking of a literary event of sixty or seventy years before. Moreover neither εἶτα (‘and then again’) nor μετὰ τοῦτ’ (‘as a consequence,’ to be joined to ἐπιθυμεῖν) need refer to time; their application may be purely argumentative, not chronological. All that we know further of the play is (Ath. 22 A) that a certain Telestes (ὁ Αἰσχύλου ὀρχηστής) was a most expressive exponent of the action by his ὀρχησις.

⁷ For the Oedipodean legend in Aeschylus see *Introd.* pp. xxv sqq.

⁸ The real name of the winner of the second prize was Ἀριστίας, which Franz would again substitute. Fragments from his *Antaeus*, *Atalanta*, *Kêres*, *Cyclops* and *Orpheus* are given in Nauck, *Frag. Trag. Graec.* pp. 726 sq. Pausanias (2. 13. 5) says ἐνταῦθα (at Phlius) ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀριστίου μῆμα τοῦ Πρατίνου· τούτῳ τῷ Ἀριστίᾳ σάτυροι καὶ Πρατίνῳ τῷ πατρὶ εἰσι πεποιημένοι πλὴν τῶν Αἰσχύλου δοκιμώτατα. Pratinas being especially gifted in satyric drama, the son appears to have exhibited his father’s compositions, as Iophon, the son of Sophocles, was said to do in tragedy (*Ar. Ran.* 78 sq.). The name of one play of his trilogy has been omitted, whether by m or a predecessor. It is rather idle to guess. Bergk suggests <Ἀνταίω>.

⁹ Though the appositional σατύροις (Dind.) would be the more strictly technical term in naming the satyric play (cf. Argum. to Eur. *Med. Θερισταῖς σατύροις*, Poll. 10. 186 &c.), the adjective is too natural to be suspected with reason. With the singular, e.g. Πρωτῇ σατυρικῇ (Arg. to *Agam.*), Σισύφῳ σατυρικῇ (Ael. *V. H.* 2. 8), we may of

ΤΑ ΤΟΤ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ (ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ).

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΙΧΩΡΙΩΝ.

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ.

ΙΣΜΗΝΗ.

ΚΗΡΥΞ.

This list, as given in cod. Guelf., is correct in substance and in order of appearance. The same order is given in *Vit. Aesch.*, but with χορὸς παρθένων. (On the Chorus see note 4 to ὑπόθεσις.) In the Medicean under the words τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα m has written the *personae* across the page in two lines in the order Ἐτεοκλῆς, Ἀντιγόνη, Ἄγγελος κατὰσκοπος, Ἰσμήνη, | χορὸς παρθένων, κῆρυξ. The reason of this arrangement has not been explained, but it may be conjectured with some confidence that it is because Ἐτεοκλῆς and Ἀντιγόνη were understood to be played by the protagonist and Ἄγγελος and Ἰσμήνη by the deuteragonist, the tritagonist playing the κῆρυξ. In point of fact it is more probable that the deuteragonist was the κῆρυξ and the tritagonist Ἰσμήνη. That 'Eteocles' should become 'Antigone' is natural, since the impassioned acting of the protagonist is required for her part. On the other hand the chief quality required for a κῆρυξ is εὐφωνία (Dem. 19. 338) and his function is analogous to that of the ἄγγελος. The rôle of Ismene is scarcely an actor's part, but consists simply of the short responses in the θρήνος. Anyone capable of responses similar to those assigned to prominent members of a Chorus would be capable of sustaining this otherwise κωφὸν πρόσωπον. She is in effect, as

course supply δράματι; but though we cannot supply δράμασι, the analogical plural adj. would almost certainly follow from the sing. use. If the satyric play is properly called σάτυροι, a strictly formal expression would also require Πρωτεῖ σατύροις as much as Παλαισταῖς σατύροις (cf. Strab. 1. 3. 19 Ἴων... ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ σατύροις).

¹⁰ Λυκούργῳ m¹. The subject was apparently favoured by dramatists because of the opportunities which it afforded. Aeschylus himself wrote a *Lycurgea*, consisting of the Ἠδωνοί, Βασσάραι, Νεανίσκοι and the satyric Λυκοῦργος.

Wecklein says, a *παραχορήγημα*. Hence, assuming that Aeschylus was unable to employ more than three actors (not merely simultaneously, but at all), the natural distribution of the parts will be

Protagonist: Eteocles, Antigone.

Deuteragonist: Messenger, Herald.

Tritagonist: Ismene.

The Chorus probably consisted of twelve persons, although the exact number (12 or 15) is one much disputed (see note in *Introd. to Choephori*, p. xxxv). The clearest indication of twelve in Aeschylean tragedy is perhaps to be found in *Ag.* 1347-1370. We must not argue in a circle by first making twelve divisions of the opening lyrics in the *πάροδος* of the *Septem* and then using such division to prove that there were twelve speakers.

κωφὰ πρόσωπα include townsfolk and attendants in the *πρόλογος*, the selected Theban champions in armour, and the corpse-bearers.

TECHNICAL DIVISIONS OF THE PLAY.

- 1—77 πρόλογος.
 78—164 πάροδος.
 165—273 ἐπεισόδιον α'.
 274—355 στάσιμον α'.
 356—706 ἐπεισόδιον β'.
 707—776 στάσιμον β'.
 777—806 ἐπεισόδιον γ'.
 807—940 στάσιμον γ' (perhaps with κομμός).
 (941—995 θρῆνος.)
 996—1044 ἐπεισόδιον δ'.
 1045—1070 ἔξοδος.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ.

Κάδμου πολῖται, χρὴ λέγειν τὰ καίρια
 ὅστις φυλάσσει πρᾶγος ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως
 οἶακα νωμῶν βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν ὕπνῳ.
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὖ πράξαιμεν, αἰτία θεοῦ.
 εἰ δ' αὖθ', ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, συμφορὰ τύχοι,
 Ἐτεοκλῆς ἂν εἰς πολὺς κατὰ πτόλιν

5

M=the first hand of the Medicean ms. M^a=that MS as first written, though subsequently corrected or altered. m=the διορθωτής. m'=later hands, quoted without further distinction. recc.=later MSS, rec.=one such MS (G standing for Guelferbytanus). The letters in small uncials in the text are those which differ from

Scene: *The Agora* (δεξιστρατον ἀγοράν Bacchyl. 15. 43) of the old city of Thebes, then called Cadmea. The palace of Eteocles is probably supposed to be near, but is not likely to have been represented in the scene. Gathered about are citizens of various ages. To them Eteocles enters in the attire of a king, but not in full armour (see 663). He will naturally have attendants, but all except himself are κωφὰ πρόσωπα. The king is in his full, but young (673), manhood.

The time must be early morning (see 29 and 66). The city is in a state of siege, but, though the walls are necessarily defended, things have been going well (21) and there has been no need of a summons to the people *en masse*. It is a change of circumstances (explained in 24 sqq.) which brings Eteocles thus into action and opens the play. vv. 1—77 constitute the Prologue.

In the absence of play-bills or adequate scenery the opening lines, as in all the extant plays of Aeschylus, name the place of action and the character or characters speaking and addressed. This is generally effected in an eminently simple and natural way, avoiding any of the confessedly explanatory prologizing to be found in Euripides. Only in the *Supplikes* (the earliest piece) is there any apparent approach to crudity in the manner of conveying the information necessary for the audience; and even there the statement of the case may fairly be regarded as one which would naturally be included in the plea of a foreign suppliant to the local deities.

1 Κάδμου πολῖται. In speaking throughout of Cadmea and the Cadmeans Aeschylus is probably not merely following the epic, but also diverting the thoughts of the audience as much as possible from contemporary Thebes. For dramatic purposes the sympathy of the audience must go with the cause of the besieged. The hostile or contemptuous sentiment evoked (at least since τὰ Περσικά) by the mention of 'Thebes' would not be aroused for the less familiarly named city of heroic times.

With Κάδμου πολῖται cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1399, *ibid.* 1466 Κάδμου λαός, Soph. *O. T.* 144. *Inf.* 289 they are even styled by a figure of speech στρατὸς Καδμογενῆς (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 808). The thought is not 'fellow-citizens of Cadmus' (in the sense of 'sharing in the city which once was that of Cadmus'), but, strictly, 'made by Cadmus to possess a πόλις' (somewhat similarly Eur. *Andr.* 1089 λαὸς οἰκῆται θεοῦ of the Delphians). In Soph. *O. T.* 1 ὦ τέκνα, Κάδμου τοῦ πάλαι νέα τροφή the sense is not 'descendants of Cadmus' but 'fostered care of Cadmus.' The burghers are not addressed as ἄστροι, but with an implied appeal to their privileges and responsibilities.—τὰ καίρια: the excuse for his peremptory orders. The two senses of καίριος coalesce, and 'home to the mark' is combined with 'as the moment needs'='briefly and to the point' (Eur. *I. A.* 829 ἐν βραχεὶ τὰ καίρια). With λέγειν or its equivalent the article is a regular part of the phrase: cf. 606, *Cho.* 580 (n.), Soph. *O. T.* 808. It stands on the same footing with that in

ETEOCLES.

BURGHERS of Cadmus' town, a man must speak home, if he hath the cause in charge and tends the tiller at the country's stern with eye alert and sleepless. For should it go well with us, 'tis thanks to Heaven; but if—which God forbid—mischance befall, 'tis Eteocles who would be the one burden of many

M or the corrector m. † = see Commentary below. *ed. = correction or suggestion by the present editor.

2 In *οστις* there is an erasure at *στ*, apparently without significance. 4 *θεός* Blomfield. 6 'Ετεοκλῆς M with *ε* superscript (m'). *πολὺς* is added above the

255 (n.), Tyrt. 2. 9 *μυθεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ κ.τ.λ.*

2 *φυλάσσει πρᾶγος*: 'watches the cause.' For *πρᾶγος* (or *πρᾶγμα*) = *causa*, cf. *Suppl.* 239, *ὅπως ἂν ὑμῖν πρᾶγος εὖ νικᾷ τόδε*, *Ag.* 1537 *ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα... βλάβης*, *Pind.* *I.* 1. 1 *τὸ τεδν...Θήβα | πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑπέρτερον | θήσομαι*. Strictly 'the matter in hand,' whence *c.g.* *Suppl.* 733 *πρὸς πρᾶγυ' ὁρώσας* practically = *id agētes*. [Not 'watches for the time of action,' which makes *πρᾶγος* too distinctly verbal.]

It is a matter of indifference whether *ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως* be rendered with the preceding or the following words; so far as the Greek goes, they belong to the whole sentence. *πόλεως* is the customary gen. identifying the metaphor (see 64 n.). The metaphor itself (of ship and state) is of the commonest (schol. *Ar. Vesp.* 19 *αἰὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰς πόλεις πλοίοις παραβάλλουσι*). Cf. *inf.* 62, 109, 192, 202, 743, 780, 1068, *Eum.* 16 *χώρας πρυμνήτης ἀναξ*, *Plat. Rep.* 488 A sqq., *Demetr. de eloc.* 78 *ἀσφαλῶς οὐν εἶπὶ καὶ ὁ τὸν στρατηγὸν κυβερνήτην λέγων τῆς πόλεως*, *Shak. Cor.* 1. 1. 78 *The helms o' the state, who care for you like fathers*. *Plato (Euthyd.* 291 D), in speaking of the *τέχνη* which *κατὰ τὸ Διοχόλου* *λαμβεῖον μόνη ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ κᾶθηται τῆς πόλεως*, *πάντα κυβερνώσα κ.τ.λ.*, does not necessarily refer to the present passage.

3 *οἶακα νωμῶν*: 'managing the tiller,' apparently the actual nautical term: cf. *Pind.* *P.* 1. 86 *νώμα δικαίω πηδαλίῳ στρατὸν*, *Hom. Od.* 12. 217 *κυβερνήθ'...* *οἶηα νωμᾶς*. Similarly *P. V.* 148 *νέοι... οἰακονόμοι*, *Pind.* *I.* 3. 71 *κυβερνατῆρος οἰακοστρόφου*, *Anaxandr. ap. Ath.* 263 C *τὸν...οἶακα στρέφει*.

βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν: the same notion as in *Hom. Od.* 5. 270 *αὐτὰρ ὁ πηδαλίῳ ἰθύνετο τεχνήεντως | ἥμενος, οὐδὲ οἱ ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἐπιπτεν*. Cf. the fatal sleep of Palinurus (*Verg. Aen.* 5. 840 sqq.). For the combination of participles cf. *Cho.* 284 *ὀρώντα λαμπρὸν ἐν σκότῃ νωμῶντ' ὀφρὺν*, *Ar. Ran.* 392 *παίσαντα καὶ σκόψαντα | νικήσαντα ταινιοῦσθαι*, *Plat. Rep.* 366 A.—*κοιμῶν ὕπνῳ* is not idle pleonasm, since *κοιμᾶν* possesses a wider sense.

4 *εὖ*: stressed.—*αἰτία*: sc. *ἐστί*, a livelier apodosis for *ἂν εἴη* (which could not be omitted). Blomfield quotes *Tac. Agr.* 27 *iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est; prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni impulantur*, and Paley adds *Ann.* 14. 38 *cuius adversa pravitati ipsius, prospera ad fortunam referebat*. No impiety is intended, but some sarcasm at the world. Cf. Headlam *On Edit. Aesch.* pp. 82 sqq.

6 'Ετεοκλῆς: a neat device of the poet for introducing the name. The position lends the appropriate emphasis.—'Ετεοκλῆς ἄν...ὑμνοῖθ': 'the repeated word would be "Eteocles."—*εἰς πολὺς*: conjoined for effect: cf. *Thuc.* 8. 68 *πλείστα εἰς ἀνὴρ...δυνάμενος ὠφελεῖν*, and (less immediately) *Pers.* 330 *εἰς ἀνὴρ πλείστον πόνον | ἐχθροῖς παρασχών*. For the use of *εἰς* (as in *unus, unicus*) see *Cho.* 630 (n.), and cf. *Shak. A. and C.* 4. 6. 30 *I am alone the villain of the earth*. Probably here the meaning is more strictly literal.

πολὺς: 'in much use,' *i.e.* much in evidence. Cf. *Eur. Hipp.* 1 *πολλὴ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι κοῦκ ἀνώνυμος | θεὰ κέκλημαι*, *Hdt.* 1. 98 ὁ *Δημόκριτος ἦν πολλὰς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος*, *Ath.*

ὑμνοῖθ' ὑπ' ἀστῶν φροιμίους πολυρρόθοις
οἰμώγμασιν θ', ὧν Ζεὺς ἀλεξητήριος
ἐπώνυμος γένοιτο Καδμείων πόλει.
ὑμᾶς¹¹ δὲ χρὴ νῦν, καὶ τὸν ἐλλείποντ' ἔτι
ἦβης ἀκμαίας καὶ τὸν ἔξηβον χρόνω,
βλαστημὸν ἀλδαίνοντα¹² σώματος πολὺν
ὦραν τ' ἔχονθ' ἐκάστος, ὥς τι συμπρεπές,
πόλει τ' ἀρήγειν καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων

10

line. πᾶσιν εἰς κατὰ πόλιν Dindorf. 7 παλιρρόθοις Valckenaer. ↓. 9 ἐπώνυμος Blomf. 12 βλαστημὸν M. βλαστημὸν (cf. ὀρχησμός, πατισμός) Hermann. ↓. πάλιν anon. 13 ὦραν * M. ὦραν m. (scholl. recognise both). m' fills the

237 A πολὺ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις, Luc. Merc. Cond. 5 εἴτα ὁ Θεόγνης καὶ πολλὸν τὸ 'πᾶς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πενήθ' δεδημημένος.'

7 ὑμνοῖθ': (de)cantetur, 'harped upon.' Cf. Soph. Aj. 292, Theodect. fr. 1 ἐν βροτοῖσιν ὑμνεῖται λόγος, Plat. Rep. 549 D, Prot. 343 B, Ter. Phorm. 3. 2. 10 cantilenam eandem canis, Hor. Sat. 2. 1. 46 insignis tota cantabitur urbe. Phot. has ὑμνεῖν μέμφεσθαι, λοιδορεῖν, κατ' εὐφημισμὸν, but such a sense must lie in the context, not in the verb itself.

φροιμίους keeps up the metaphor of ὑμνοῖθ', but is specially suitable from its frequent suggestion of trouble: cf. Ag. 1215 ταρασσών φροιμίους, Eur. Hipp. 568 τὸ μέντοι φροῖμιον κακὸν τόδε, I. T. 1162 τί φροῖμιδ' ἔννεοχμὸν;

πολυρρόθοις: ῥόθος is the murmuring of resentment, and almost=ψόγος. Cf. Hes. Opp. 220 τῆς δὲ δίκης ῥόθος ἐλκομένης (gen. abs.), Eur. Andr. 1096 ἐχώρει ῥόθιον ἐν πόλει κακόν, Soph. Ant. 289, Tr. 264. Aeschylus could, however, hardly use the word without glancing at the muttering of the sea before a storm. Cf. More Richard the Third (ap. Holinshed 3. 721), Yet began there, here and thereabouts, some manner of muttering among the people...as the sea without wind swelleth of herself sometime before a tempest.

8 sq. ὧν Ζεὺς κ.τ.λ. It is easy to suggest ἐπώνυμος, but the text may be rendered as (1) 'and may the Forefender thereof (i.e. of such manner of things), Zeus, prove true to his name,' or, as Paley instinctively took it, (2) ὧν depends on ἐπώνυμος, into which the mind at once reads the sense ἀληθῶς (or κάρτα) ἀλεξητή-

ριος. With the appeal—cf. Eum. 90 Ἐρμῇ, φύλασσε· κάρτα δ' ὧν ἐπώνυμος, | πομπαῖος ἴσθι.

Καδμείων πόλει: A special claim is implied in these words (in place of e.g. ἡμῶν). Our city is the venerable city of Cadmus, and Cadmus enjoyed *affinitas* with the Gods (125 sq.). The schol. speaks of a special worship of Zeus Alexeterios at Thebes. This may be true, and Aeschylus may very well have been aware of the fact, either through the epic or through personal knowledge of the city. In any case Zeus is the deity to be mentioned first: cf. Suppl. 1 (n.), Cho. 1 (n.).

10 sqq. ὑμᾶς: i.e. 'so much for the claim upon my watchfulness; your part is...'—δε is resumptive of v. 1, 'well, this is τὰ καίρια.'—καὶ τὸν ἐλλείποντ' κ.τ.λ.: lit. 'yea, even (i.e. apart from the ἀκμαῖοι, who are taken for granted) he who lacks the age of ripeness, and he who is past his prime with years, must, fostering much growth of body, and taking thought in each direction as fitness calls, champion the city and the altars of the country's gods—so that their honours be not blotted out—and his children &c.' The construction begun with ὑμᾶς is naturally carried on in the singular after the appositive καὶ τὸν κ.τ.λ. For the reading see crit. n. The only departure from the MS here made is in *ἐκάστος'.

καὶ...καὶ=etiam...et, not 'both...and...' Even these two classes (Ar. Pol. 3. 1 παῖδας τοὺς μήπω δι' ἡλικίαν ἐγγεγραμμένους καὶ τοὺς γέροντας τοὺς ἀφειμένους), who are generally exempted, will not be so now. Aeschylus could hardly need to borrow such an obvious notion from Hom. Il. 8. 517 κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ δι-

a mouth, bruited by the folk throughout the town in threatening murmurs and in lamentations; the which may Forefending Zeus, true to his name, forefend from the Cadmean realm.

'Tis your part now. Even he who still falls short of manhood's prime, and he whose prime is past and gone, must gather great strength into his frame and be vigilant, here, there, as may beseem. Succour the realm and the altars of the country's Gods,

erasure with τ' (which had apparently been deleted because of the misreading *ἐχων θ'*). ὦραν γ' Stanley. *ἐχονθ'* M, *ἐχωνθ'* M^a. *ἐκαστος* M, corr. *ed. ↓. *ἐκαστον* m. (*ἐκάστοθ'* would be less near or pointed). ὥστι M, ὥστις M^a. ↓. ὥστε συμπεπές rec.,

φίλοι ἀγγελλόντων | παῖδας πρωθήβας
πολιοκροτάφους τε γέροντας | λέξεσθαι
περὶ ἅστυ θεοδμήτων ἐπὶ πύργον. Cf.
Herodian 8. 4. 7 πανδημεὶ δὲ ἅμα παισὶ
καὶ γυναῖξιν ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἐπάλξεων τε καὶ
πύργων ἀπομαχόμενοι. οὐδὲ τις οὕτως ἦν
ἄχρηστος ἡλικία ὥς μὴ μετέχειν κ.τ.λ.

ἐξηβον: *ἐξω τῆς ἡβης* (Hesych.). Eus-
tath. (p. 1428. 20) contrasts the word
with *πρώτηβος* and *ἀκρηβος*. Cf. *ἐξωρος*
and *Ag.* 105 ἀνδρῶν ἐκτελέων.

12 βλαστημόν ἀλδαίνοντα κ.τ.λ.
These words are generally misunderstood
as referring only to τὸν **ἐξηβον**. With
this preconception they have been vari-
ously interpreted: (1) 'and him who is
past his prime but still keeps a vigorous
growth of body.' But for this *ἐτι* or
ὅμως would be needed, and *πολύν* is
hardly the word: (2) (as once taken by
the present editor) 'fostering large out-
growth of his body,' i.e. possessing many
children. The periphrasis is clumsy in
itself and assumes that all the *ἐξηβοι*
χρόνῳ are in that position: (3) 'nourish-
ing much growth of body,' i.e. growing
too large and heavy for fighting. But
the addition is prosaic, purposeless, not
tactful, and surely untrue of a large num-
ber of such *ἐξηβοι*. It is far better to
understand the line as applying to both
the classes mentioned (commonly, as
Paley observes, called *ἀχρεῖοι*), and to
render 'making to grow (for the occasion)
a great growth of frame' (i.e. putting on
strength). The notion is similar to that
of *ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θάρσος ἀέξων* ([Hes.] *Scut.*
434). The literal impossibility is of
course no objection to the figurative ex-
pression. Whether one is weak from
youth or from age he is to force himself
to be strong, and greatly so (*πολύν*). For
the thought cf. Eur. *Ion* 1041 ἀγ', ὦ
γεραῖε πούς, νεανίας γενοῦ | ἐργοῖσι, κεί
μὴ τῷ χρόνῳ πάρεστι σοι, *Andr.* 551 οὐ
γάρ, ὥς εὐκεί, μοι | σχολῆς τὸδ' ἔργον,

ἀλλ' ἀνηβητηρίαν | ῥώμην μ' ἐπαινῶ λαμ-
βάνειν (the aged Peleus). In these it is a
case of rejuvenation; in the case of the
striplings they are to attain to the state
described in Eur. *H. F.* 1269 ἐπεὶ δὲ
σαρκὸς περιβόλαι' ἐκτησάμην | ἡβῶντα. For
the form of expression cf. Soph. *Aj.*
1077 κἄν σῶμα γεννήσῃ μέγα, *inf.* δοῖ
σάρκα δ' ἡβῶσαν φύει.—**ἀλδαίνοντα** is
praes. conatus. For the use of the word
cf. *P. V.* 554 θυμὸν ἀλδαίνουσιν ἐν εὐφρο-
σύναις.—**βλαστημόν**: cf. *Suppl.* 289 τίν'
ὄν ἐτ' ἄλλον τῆσδε βλαστημόν (βλάστημον
M) λέγεις; altered to **βλαστησμόν** by
Hermann, but forms in -σ-μο- presuppose
those in -μο-, and are themselves only
analogical creations (see Brugmann *Gk.*
Gr. § 1841). The question must there-
fore be left open.

13 ὦραν τ' ἐχονθ' *ἐκάστοσ' κ.τ.λ.
The sense is exactly that of [Hes.] *Scut.*
121 πάντῃ ἀναστρωφᾶν καὶ ἀρηγμένον
ὥς κε δύναι. With ὥς τι συμπεπές
cf. also Ath. 639 F ὑπηρετεῖν καθότι ὁ
καιρὸς ἐκάστῳ παρέπιπτεν. The defenders
are to turn their attention this way
and that, as occasion may arise.—**ἐκάσ-
τοσε** for *ἐκασταχόσε* is of the nature of
ἄλλοσε, πόσε, πάντοσε (πάντοσε φοιτήτην
of the Ajaxes, *Il.* 12. 266). It is not im-
probable that the same word should be
restored in Hdt. 1. 63 ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλ-
μένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσύνει τε κελεί-
οντες καὶ ἀπιέναι ἐκαστος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ
(where the obvious *ἐκαστον* does, not
account for the corruption). There can
be nothing unpoetical about such words,
especially in these shorter forms.

**14 sqq. πόλει τ'...καὶ...βωμοῖσι...
τέκνοισ τε κ.τ.λ.** The answering par-
ticles are τ'...τε, while καὶ joins βωμοῖσι
to πόλει in one notion, 'the state and its
gods,' which form the political and na-
tional consideration, as opposed to τέκ-
νοισ, the more personal motive. The
'helping' of the altars seemed to call for

βωμοῖσι, τιμὰς μὴ ᾿ξαιλεῖσθῃναί ποτε,
 τέκνοις τε γῇ τε μητρί, φιλτάτῃ τροφῷ·
 ἥ γὰρ νέους ἔρποντας εὐμενεῖ πέδῳ
 ἅπαντα πανδοκοῦσα παιδείας ὄτλον
 ἐθρέψατ' οἰκιστῆρας ἀσπιδηφόρους
 πιστούς, ὅπως γένοισθε πρὸς χρέος τόδε.
 καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τόδ' ἡμᾶρ εὖ ρέπει θεός·
 χρόνον γὰρ ἤδη τόνδε πυργηρουμένους
 καλῶς τὰ πλείω πόλεμος ἐκ θεῶν κυρεῖ.
 νῦν δ', ὡς ὁ μάντις φησὶν, οἰωνῶν βοτῆρ,

15

20

ὡς τὸ συμπρεπές Abresch, ὥσπερ οὖν πρέπει Lowinski.

18 προσδοκῶσα recc.

19 οἰκητῆρας recc. (οἰκηστῆρας G.). ψ.

20 τελοῖσθε ('be paid,' suggested in

Class. Rev. vol. III. p. 102) is here withdrawn as unnecessary with a right interpreta-

some explanation not required by πόλει ἀρήγειν: hence the clause τιμὰς κ.τ.λ.

In ἔξαιλεῖσθῃναί there is a notion of wiping out a long-standing contract (of service paid for protection rendered). The overthrow of the πόλις puts an end to the claims of the altars (τίμοι βωμοῖ Herond. 4. 5).

16 μητρί...τροφῷ: emphasising their debt. She bore them and bred them. The Earth is *κουροτρόφος* (Ar. *Thesm.* 300). See Harrison *Prol. to Gk. Rel.* pp. 267 sqq. An altar with that title at Athens is mentioned by Pausanias (1. 22. 3). With the present passage cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 826 ὦ ξυμπολῖται, τί τε βοσκοῦσθῃ χθονί | καὶ τῇ τεκούσῃ νῦν τιν' ἀρκέσαι χρεών, Plat. *Rep.* 414 E ὡς ἡ γῆ αὐτοὺς μήτηρ οὖσα ἀνῆκε, καὶ νῦν δεῖ ὡς περὶ μητρὸς καὶ τροφῆς τῆς χώρας...βουλευέσθαι τε καὶ ἀμύνειν...ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἴῃ, Eur. *Med.* 1332, Isoc. *Pan.* 25 μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν αὐτὴν τροφὴν καὶ πατρίδα καὶ μητέρα καλέσαι προσήκει.

17 sqq. ἡ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The passage has been strangely misinterpreted. The metaphor is drawn from an inn and is consistently sustained. Lit. 'For, when ye came faring as young children, she, playing hostess (as in an inn) with her kindly soil to all the moil of your breeding, reared you to found homes, as shield-bearers keeping faith, that ye might accrue to meet the present debt.' That inns are an anachronism for epic times is of no importance to the dramatist, even if he knew the fact. Cf. *Cho.* 658 ἐν δόμοισι πανδόκοις ξένων (n.). The notion of γῆ as innkeeper was perhaps made the easier to an Athenian audience from

the frequency with which inns were kept by women (cf. Ar. *Ran.* 549). ἔρποντας regards them as travellers, but glances also at the slow steps of infants (cf. *ἐρπύζω*, *serpo*).—ὄτλον is contained acc., the sense being πάντα τὸν ὄτλον ὑποδεχομένη. In παιδείας Athenians would be reminded of the debt due from children to parents who had performed this duty, a debt formally recognized in τὸ γηροβσκεῖν.

There is a play upon the senses of πιστούς (= 'loyal soldiers,' and also debtors who are 'trusted' to pay their score), γένοισθε (= 'come into being,' and also 'come to an amount' as money for payment), χρέος ('matter' or 'business,' and also 'debt'). Thus two thoughts run parallel in the same expression. As their native land, she brought them up to prove 'loyal' to her, and to 'be forthcoming' to deal with this 'matter'; as innkeeper she fed them, expecting them to prove 'honest' by meeting their 'debt' in due season. The inn, which is the soil, is one where the welcome is 'hearty' or 'unstinting' (εὐμενεῖ: cf. *Pers.* 490 Σπερχεῖς ἄρδει πεδῖον εὐμενεῖ πότῳ, and in a somewhat similar connection with hospitality *Cho.* 699 τί γὰρ | ξένου ξένοις ἐστὶν εὐμενέστερον;). The same notion is emphasised in ἅπαντα παν-. With γένοισθε, 'amount,' cf. the familiar τὸ γιγνόμενον (e.g. Luc. *Somn.* 1 ἀποφέρων αἰὲ τὸ γιγνόμενον), τὸν γεγονότα ἀριθμὸν (Plat. *Ar.* 36 A). There is no baldness in the word, especially when γένοισθε πρὸς is taken together as 'amount to (the measure, or standard, of:)' = 'become adequate to meet.' For πρὸς in this sense

that their worship be not blotted out. Succour your children, and mother Earth, your nurse most dear. For when ye came faring as babes, she with her open inn, the kindly soil, bore all the moil of nurture, and bred you to found homes, bearing the shield and keeping faith, that ye might accrue to meet this present claim.

As 'tis, until this day Heaven's favour turns the scale. Though beleaguered all this time, our war finds for the more part furtherance from the Gods. But now, saith the seer,

tion of the text. ↓ 'Fortasse πιστοί θ' Sidgwick. ὅπως γένοιθε πρὸς χρέος πιστοὶ τὸδε Dind. 21 καὶ πρὶν Halm, καὶ δὴ Dind. ↓. καὶ τῶν μὲν...ῥέπει τύχη Heimsoeth too holdly. 23 m' has written ὦ above the line after καλῶς.

23 m' has written ὦ above the line after καλῶς.

('to match'), cf. Hdt. 8. 44 Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νέας ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, Dem. 14. 25 ἐν ταύτῃ χρήματι ἔνεστιν ὀλίγου δέω πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ἄλλας εἰπεῖν πόλεις, and uses of Latin *ad* (e.g. *ad certum pondus*). For the notion itself cf. Plat. *Crit.* 50 DE, Eur. *fr.* 360. 14 ἔπειτα τέκνα τοῦδ' ἑκατὶ τίκτομεν, | ὥς θεῶν τε βωμοὺς πατρίδα τε ῥνώμεθα.

οἰκιστήρας: i.e. ὥστε εἶναι οἰκιστήρας. The country is strengthened by population, and 'founders of homes' are desired by ἡ γῆ. She nourished the young to this end. Hermann remarks 'non exputo cur οἰκιστήρας scripsisse Aeschylum dicam,' but the word proves to be better than the **οἰκητήρας** which he prefers. [We cannot, as in Herond. 3. 12, treat οἰκίζω as=οἰκέω.]

21 καὶ νῦν μὲν κ.τ.λ.: 'well, as it is...'—καὶ implies that, in keeping with the last words, the citizens have so far done their duty.—νῦν μὲν, further explained by ἐς τόδ' ἡμᾶρ, is opposed to what lies in the future. This is answered by νῦν δ' of v. 24, as if the expression had been μέχρι μὲν δεῦρο...νῦν δ'... Greek does not object to the appearance of νῦν with a different shade of meaning in the antithetic clauses. Cf. the line of Magnes (Cobet *V. L.* p. 233) νῦν δὲ μὲν ὤμους μὴ γεγονέαι, νῦν δὲ φόβος, and Eur. *Hērph.* 232 sq. Here the difference may be expressed by 'as things are, all is going well, but now (to-day) a new danger threatens.'

[It would be clumsy to take μὲν as misplaced for καὶ νῦν, ἐς μὲν τόδ' ἡμᾶρ...with νῦν δ' resuming καὶ νῦν ('now, as I was saying'). The misplacement of the particle doubtless occurs (see Jebb on Soph. *Aj.* 372), but here it is gratuitous to

assume it, and no answer to μὲν is forthcoming.]

εὐ ῥέπει: i.e. the balance is in our favour (*Cho.* 239).—ῥέπει may be intrans., with θεός='divine favour,' but is more probably trans., as in Bacchyl. 17. 24 ὁ τι μὲν ἐκ θεῶν μοῖρα παγκρατὴς | ἀμμι κατένευσε καὶ δίκας ῥέπει τάλαντον. See *Suppl.* 410 ῥεπουμένων (n.). Aesch. is thinking of the τάλαντον of Zeus: Hom. *Il.* 19. 223, Theogn. 157 Ζεὺς τὸ τάλαντον ἐπιρρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, *Suppl.* 829 σὸν ἐπίπαν ζυγὸν | τάλαντον.

23 καλῶς...κυρεῖ. The adv. as in Soph. *El.* 799 εἰ τὰδ' εὖ κυρεῖ, 1424 Ὀρέστα, πῶς κυρεῖτε; So even with εἶναι Eur. *Heracl.* 369 ποῦ ταῦτα καλῶς ἂν εἴη; Hom. *Il.* 9. 551 Κουρήτεσσι καλῶς ἦν, and, more peculiarly, Eur. *Ion* 604 οὕτω γὰρ τὰδ', ὦ πάτερ, φιλεῖ.

πόλεμος: not 'the war,' but, in the epic sense, 'our fighting.' Cf. Eur. [*Rhes.*] 647 μέλει δ' ὁ σὸς μοι πόλεμος. With this, καλῶς κυρεῖ ἐκ θεῶν='is well treated by the Gods': cf. *Cho.* 703 ὅστοι κυρήσεις μείον ἀξίως and context (n.).

24 sqq. ὁ μάντις: 'our seer.' Though it is commonly and naturally taken for granted that the seer is Teiresias, the certainty is by no means absolute. A Teiresias is placed by the dramatists in any period of the Cadmean history. In the *Bacchae* he is an aged contemporary of Cadmus, while for Sophocles he is living in the reign of Oedipus. The presumption is strong that Aesch. is thinking of the same epic figure. Nevertheless he neither mentions the name nor explicitly states that the seer is blind. The omission of the name may be due to the metrical difficulty of *Teiresias*. The metre of Aeschylus is not so ready as that of Soph. or Eur. to admit the anapaest

ἐν ὧσὶ νωμῶν καὶ φρεσὶν πυρὸς δίχα
 χρηστηρίους ὄρνιθας ἀψευδεὶ τέχνη,
 οὗτος τοιῶνδε θεσφάτοις μαντευμάτων
 λέγει μεγίστην προσβολὴν Ἀχαιίδα
 νυκτηγορεῖσθαι κάπιβουλεύσειν πόλει.
 ἀλλ' ἔς τ' ἐπάλξεις καὶ πύλας πυργωμάτων

25

30

(Possibly he thought of καλῶν.)

Halm, πάρος δίχα Schwerdt. ψ.

25 φρεσὶ M. φάους δίχα Ritschl, φωτὸς δίχα
 27 τοιῶνδε M, τοιόνδε M^a. δεσπότης M, to
 which no commentator appears to object. θεσφάτοις *ed. (In pronunciation οι = η
 and θ is very near δ; cf. Eur. *El.* 463, where A has φαέδων.)

28 Ἀχαιίδα recc.

(cf. 369 n.). In 556 Ἀμφιάρῳ is pronounced as a cretic (Ἀμφιάρῳ): see Appendix to v. 115. But there the mention of the name was inevitable; here it is not essential, and Aesch. does not choose to avail himself of Τειρεσίας. The blindness, again, though not stated, appears to be implied in ἐν ὧσὶ and the context. But the lack of definiteness in the description makes it probable that Τειρεσίας (or some account of him) has been introduced into a previous play of the trilogy.

οἰωνῶν βοτήρ can hardly mean anything but 'keeper of birds of augury.' The schol. explains by σκοπός, but, though the somewhat analogous terms ποιμαίνειν, βοσκοῦν have a wider use of 'watching,' and Aesch. can say ραῶν ποιμένες (*Suppl.* 776), those words nevertheless refer to a person who is not merely observing, but keeping, the thing in question. Moreover βοτήρ is obviously a term of a less transferable nature. If in *Suppl.* 357 the word is used for 'herdsman,' where the idea of a 'feeder' is not prominent, it nevertheless implies 'keeper.' The public μάντις, as with the Romans, would keep birds in readiness, and not wait for their chance appearance.

25 sq. ἐν ὧσὶ νωμῶν καὶ φρεσὶν: i.e. using only his ears and his judgment (not his eyes). What might be expressed by μόνον (is as very often) to be imparted by stress upon the nouns: cf. 690 n., and e.g. Xenophon. *fr.* 19 (14). 4 αὐτὸς ὅμως οὐκ οἶδε· δόκος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τέτυκται (i.e. δόκοις μόνον).—πυρὸς δίχα is added in explanation.—νωμῶν is a vox propria of augury: cf. Soph. *O. T.* 300 ὦ πάντα νωμῶν Τειρεσία, διδασκὰ τε | ἀρηγὰ τ', οὐρανὰ τε καὶ χθονοστιβή, Eur. *Phoen.* 1255 ἐμπύρους τ' ἀκμάς, | ῥήξεις τ' ἐνώμων, Plat. *Crat.* 411 D τὸ νωμῶν καὶ τὸ σκοπεῖν

ταῦτόν. See Sikes-Allen on *Hymn. Demet.* 373. If νωμῶν = σκοπῶν, Τειρεσίας may be said to use his ears for his eyes (cf. Soph. *O. C.* 138 φωνῇ γὰρ ὄρώ, τὸ φατιζόμενον), but this should not be pressed, the natural sense being 'consider.'

It should be observed that Aesch. does not say ὁ νωμῶν. The description therefore, if we punctuate after βοτήρ, is not necessarily one of general practice, but applies only to the present occasion. It is not easy, however, to see why he should have abstained from certain sources of divination in this instance, if he employed them in others. It is true that other writers make Τειρεσίας consult ἐμπύρα as well as οἰωνοί. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 999 (a passage which meanwhile well describes the sounds by which Τειρεσίας judged) εἰς γὰρ παλαιὸν θᾶκον ὄρνιθοσκοπόν | ἔζων, ἢ' ἦν μοι παντὸς οἰωνοῦ λιμήν, | ἀγνώτ' ἀκούω φθόγγον ὄρνιθων, κακῷ | κλάζοντασ' ὁστρῳ καὶ βεβαρβαρωμένῳ· | καὶ σπῶντας ἐν χηλαῖσιν ἀλλήλους φοναῖς | ἐγνων· πτερῶν γὰρ ῥοῖβδος οὐκ ἄσημος ἦν· | εὐθὺς δὲ δέσας ἐμπύρων ἐγενόμην | βωμοῖσι παμφλέκτοισιν· κ.τ.λ., Eur. *Bacch.* 257 σκοπεῖν πτερωτοῖς κάμπυρων μισθοὺς φέρειν, *Phoen.* 839 (with 954), 1255, Stat. *Theb.* 10. 599 sqq. The signs which he could not hear were told to him by his attendant (*Ant.* 1012 τοιαῦτα παιδὸς τοῦδ' ἐμάνθανον πάρα), or by his daughter (*Stat. l.c.*). On Soph. *O. T.* 310 σὺ δ' οὖν φρονήσας μήτ' ἀπ' οἰωνῶν φάτω | μήτ' ἐλτιν' ἄλλην μαντικῆς ἔχεις ὁδόν Jebb remarks that Teir. 'resorts to fire when the voice of birds fails him.' It would be reading too much into the present passage to suppose that he omits the ἐμπύρα because the signs from the birds were sufficiently εὐσημοί. Rather we must suppose that in the epic sources on which Aesch. drew Τειρεσίας is represented as using only (1) divination from

shepherd of birds of omen, as unhelped by fire he ponders the signs of divination with skill that errs not—he, by rede of such divinings, saith that a supreme Achaeon onset is mooted in nightly conclave and means mischief to the town.

But both to battlement and gateway of our bulwarks haste

29 νυκτηγορήσθαι Dind. ↓. κάπιβουλεύειν recs., κάπιβούλευσιν Dind. (who might have quoted, e.g. *P.V.* 421 ἐπιδεικνύειν (M) for ἐπιδείκνυσιν (recs.)).

30 πύλας πυργωμάτων M (the superscripta and new accent by m'). ↓.

birds (*augurium*, δι' ὠνών μαντεία) and not (2) divination from either the entrails of victims (*haruspicium*, ἱεροσκοπία) or the behaviour of the flames in sacrifice (*ignispiacium*, δι' ἐμπύρων μαντεία). In Homer there is no divination of the latter kind, and it was unknown to the primitive Romans, who borrowed it from the Etruscans (see Mayor on Cic. *N. D.* II. 3. 10). The comprehensive use of ὠνός and ὄρνις as 'omen,' whereas the other terms are not so employed, is an indication of the priority of the former method. To the Greeks of the historical times μαντική included both methods (Eur. *Hel.* 746 οὐκ ἦν ἄρ' ὕγιες οὐδὲν ἐμπύρου φλογός | οὔτε πτερωτῶν φθέγματ'), and the business of a μάντις was ὠνούς τ' ἀλέγειν ἡδ' ἐμπύρα σήματ' ἰδέσθαι (Ap. *Rhod.* I. 145). It was natural therefore that they should assign both to even the blind Teiresias and account as best they could for his ability to read the φλογωπὰ σήματα. Aeschylus apparently remains more true to his authority. That Teiresias actually consulted only the birds appears from the prominence incidentally given to that side of augury in e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 347 θάκουσ τοῖσδ', ἦ' ὠωνοσκοπεῖ, where the reference is to what was shewn to Pausanias (9. 16. 1) as ὠωνοσκοπεῖον Teireσίου καλούμενον.

[πυρός δῖχα is strangely explained by Hermann as *praeter signa ex igne capta*. The obvious sense of δῖχα is that of e.g. Ath. 183 D κατὰ χεῖρα δῖχα πλῆκτρον ἐψάλλεν.]

ὥσι...φρεσίν: a favourite combination: cf. *Cho.* 53 σέβας...τὸ πρὶν | δι' ὧτων φρενὸς τε | δαμίας περαίνον, *Ag.* 1036 ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα.

26 χρηστηρίους ὄρνιθας: 'omens of prophecy.' For the wide sense of ὄρνις cf. *Ar. Av.* 719 ὄρνιν δὲ νομίζετε πάνθ' | ὅσα περὶ μαντείας διακρίνει | φήμη γ' ὑμῶν ὄρνις ἐστὶ, πταρμόν τ' ὄρνιθα καλεῖτε, | ξύμβολον ὄρνιν, φωνήν ὄρνιν, κ.τ.λ., and see commentators there.

ἄψευδεῖ. It has proved so in the past, and Eteocles piously believes in the seer.

27 οὗτος: resumptive.—*θεσφάτοις: see crit. n. Though all editors retain **δεσπότης**, none explains it. A man cannot be 'master (or owner) of divinations' as he is a master of slaves. He cannot order divinations as he pleases. And if **μαντευμάτων** could mean the birds, as 'instruments which divine' (for which there is no warrant, though such a use as *φρούρημα* = warder, *inf.* 436, might be quoted in poor support), it would be a depreciation of the augury of Teiresias to present that view of the situation. Only a μάντις who made the birds divine to his liking would be called (sarcastically) **δεσπότης μαντευμάτων**. For the combination in the text cf. Eur. *I. T.* 1254 ἐν ἄψευδεὶ θρόνῳ | μαντείας βροτοῖς | θεσφάτων νέμων, *Phoen.* 971 μαντέων θεσπίσματα, and for the word alone, *Phoen.* 766 εἰ τι θεσφατον | ὠωνόμαντις Τειρεσίας ἔχει φράσαι.

28 Ἀχαιῖδα. This tribal or racial distinction belongs to the epic. The invaders are from the Ἀχαιῶν Ἄργος: cf. 311 ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιοῦ. A similar opposition of Cadmeans to 'Danai' occurs in Pind. *P.* 8. 52, *N.* 9. 17.

29 νυκτηγορεῖσθαι. The pres. tense shews that it is very early morning. The discussion of the Argives is spoken of as if still going on. Hence also the fut. **ἐπιβουλεύσειν**: 'if finally determined upon, the attack 'will mean mischief' to the town. For the word cf. [Eur.] *Rhes.* 17 τί γὰρ φυλακὰς προλιπὼν | κινεῖς στρατιάν, εἰ μὴ τιν' ἔχων | νυκτηγορίαν; *ibid.* 87 τί χρῆμα... | ...φύλακες | ...νυκτηγοροῦσι; and for the notion *ibid.* 139 νυκτέρους ἐκκλησίας.

30 ἔς τ' ἐπάλξεις κ.τ.λ.: The gen. **πυργωμάτων** (=the defences in general) belongs to both nouns. Some are to stand along the battlements, some in the gateways. The order is repeated in other words in 32 sq.

ὀρμασθε πάντες, σοῦσθε σὺν παντευχία,
 πληροῦτε θωρακεία, καπὶ σέλμασιν
 πύργων στάθητε, καὶ πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοις
 μίμνοντες εὖ θαρσεῖτε, μηδ' ἐπηλύδων
 ταρβεῖτ' ἄγαν ὄμιλον· εὖ τελεῖ θεός.
 σκοποὺς δὲ καγὼ καὶ κατοπτήρας στρατοῦ
 ἐπεμψα, τοὺς πέποιθα μὴ ματὰν ὁδῶ.
 καὶ τῶνδ' ἀκούσας οὗ τι μὴ ληφθῶ δόλῳ.

35

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ.

Ἐτεόκλεες φέριστε Καδμείων ἄναξ,
 ἦκω σαφῇ τὰ κεῖθεν ἐκ στρατοῦ φέρων,
 αὐτὸς κατόπτῃς δ' εἰμ' ἐγὼ τῶν πραγμάτων.
 ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐπτά, θούριοι λοχαγέται,
 ταυροσφαγούντες ἐς μελάνδետον σάκος

40

34 εὐθαρσεῖτε M, εὖ θαρσεῖτε Ald.

36 κατοπτήρα M, corr. m'.

39 Blomf.,

32 sq. πληροῦτε κ.τ.λ. 'Man the bulwarks &c.' It should be observed that the words chosen (πληροῦτε, θωρακεία, σέλμασιν, πυλῶν) are accommodated to both a town and a ship (cf. 2 n., 62—64). With πληροῦν and πλήρωμα the latter application is common. The English 'bulwarks' illustrates the suitability of θωρακεία to either. σέλματα are according to Hesych. τὰ ζυγὰ τῆς νεώς· καὶ συναρμογαὶ τῶν σανίδων (whence σέλμα is used for 'ship' itself in *epigr. ap. Ath.* 209c). But the word also means 'thwarts' = 'beams,' 'flooring.' Schol. to Ap. Rhod. 1. 528 has καθόλου τὸ πλατὺ ξύλον σέλμα λέγεται: cf. Strab. 5. 2. 5. 'By σέλματα πύργων is meant something as distinct from the θωρακεία as the *turres* of a Roman camp from the *loricula*. Cf. the wall of the Spartans against Plataea (Thuc. 3. 21 διὰ δέκα δὲ ἐπάλξεων πύργοι ἦσαν κ.τ.λ.). The towers (*turres contabulatae*) on the walls have floors (σέλματα), and they may also be joined (as in the *castra*) by bridges which resemble the thwarts (ζυγά=σέλματα) of a ship. It is not necessary however to assume the latter point. For the beams of the towers cf. Hom. *Il.* 12. 35 τότε δ' ἀμφὶ μάχῃ ἐνοπὴ τε δεδήκην | τείχος εὐδμητον, κανάχιζε δὲ δούρατα πύργων | βάλλοντες. With πύλαι of a ship compare the use of the English 'ports' in their original nautical

shape. A πυλωρός of a ship is met with in Eur. *I. T.* 1227.

πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοις is no idle periphrasis for ἐπὶ πύλαις, but distinguishes the πύλαι in the narrower sense of the actual passage-way from πύλαι in the larger sense of the whole structure with its tower and flank-walls or bastions.

34 μίμνοντες: see 423 μενεί (n.). —ἐπηλύδων and ὄμιλον are both contemptuous.

36 σκοποὺς: the more general term; κατοπτήρας specifies closer observation ('spies').

στρατοῦ alone can hardly mean τοῦ στρατοῦ τῶν πολεμίων, but κατοπτήρας στρατοῦ is a compound notion = 'army-spies,' as opposed to other kinds of κατοπτήρας. These do not merely reconnoitre, they insinuate themselves among the enemy.

κάγῳ (cf. 66): after assigning to the citizens their duty, Eteocles assures them that he is performing his own.

37 πέποιθα: not = πέπεισμαι, but expresses trust: *Cho.* 296 (n.).

ματὰν ('waste their labour') is either (1) pres.: cf. Hom. *Il.* 16. 474 οὐδὲ μάτησεν, *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 1393 οὐδ' ἐμάτησαν πλαζόμενοι, or (2) fut. of ματέω (cf. κολᾶ, ἐξετώμεν, βιβῶ, δικᾶν and see Herod. *περὶ μιν.* λέξ. 23. 6, Kühner-Blass II. p. 109). The former is the more vivacious

ye all. Away! in all your harness! Man the parapets and take your stand upon the tower-thwarts, and at the outlets of the gates bide and be brave, nor dread too much an alien crew. Heaven will give good issue. For my part I have sent scouts and men to spy the host, whose going, I trow, is not for naught. When I have heard their news, there is no craft can snare me.

[*Exeunt* CITIZENS. SCOUT *enters* (from the left).

SCOUT.

Most noble Eteocles^{εες}, king of the Cadmeans, I come the sure bearer of the news from yonder in the host, and 'tis with my own eyes that I have spied what passed.

Seven warriors, gallant captains, shedding bulls' blood into

Herm. &c. punctuate 'Ετεόκλεες φέριστε, κ.τ.λ.

and idiomatic both here and in *Eum.* 142 *ιδώμεθ' εἰ τι τοῦδε φροίμου ματᾶ*. In *P. V.* 57 *περαινεται δη κού ματᾶ τοῦργον* τῶδε the pres. is almost certain, although the sense given by Hesych. (*χρονίζει, διατρίβει*) is inexact. For the sense cf. *Hom. II.* 10. 324 *σὸ δ' ἐγὼ οὐχ ἄλιος σκοπὸς ἔσσομαι*, *Od.* 2. 273 *οὐ τοι ἔπειθ' ἄλλη ὁδὸς ἔσsetai οὐδ' ἀτέλεστος*, 8. 285 *ἀλασκοπυήν*.

ᾠδῶ: verbal (= *τῶ ἵεναι*): cf. *Cho.* 70, 674, *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 1175 *βάν ῥ' ἱμεν, οὐδ' ἄλίσσαν ὁδόν*.

38 sq. The citizens depart to their post, and the spy, as coming from outside the town, enters from the spectator's left, according to the convention of the Attic stage.—*φέριστε Κ. ἀναξ*: the necessary or customary addition of courtesy to the bare name of the king. So *Οἰδίπου τέκος*, 185, 664. *Eupolis* (*fr.* 212) parodies with *Ἱερόκλεες βέλτιστε χρυσόμυδων ἀναξ*.

τακέειν: cf. *ἐκέῖνα, ἐκείνοι* = 'the enemy' (636 n.).

41 *αὐτὸς...ἐγὼ*: a double assertion that he knows *οὐκ ἀκοῇ* or *οὐ λόγῳ μαθὼν* (*Eur. Heracl.* 5).—*τῶν πραγμάτων*, 'the facts,' contains the same notion. The position of *δ'* is purely metrical: cf. 140, 1015.

42 sqq. The lines *ἄνδρες...ὄρκωμότησαν* are quoted by Longinus (15. 5) as an example of *φαντασία ἡρωικωτάτη* imparting the *ῥψος* which springs from the great thoughts of a great nature (*μεγαλοφροσύνη* or *τὸ ἀδρεπῆβολον*).

ἄνδρες...ἑπτά. These are not the only chiefs in the Argive army, but, as there

were seven gates of Thebes, there must be seven champions to attack them. The title of the play refers only to these. Adrastus himself is not included. It is as if Troy had possessed seven gates and seven of Agamemnon's greatest Achaeans were selected for a special attack upon them. Though Amphiarus is subsequently described (by Eteocles) as having no confidence in the attack (602 sqq.), there is no real inconsistency with the scene here narrated. Amphiarus was acting *βία φρενῶν*, but the spy could hardly discern that fact. What he saw was seven chieftains taking the oath, and he perceived valour and determination in them all. In these qualities Amphiarus fully shared (603).

λοχαγῆται: for *α* cf. 62 *ναὸς* (n.), 785 *ἐβδομαγῆτας* (n.).

43 sqq. *ταυροσφαγούντες κ.τ.λ.* Several points of ritual are here involved. Oaths varied in solemnity according to circumstances, and this is to be one of the most binding sort and most terrible in its penalties. There is a cumulative effect in the victim chosen (its significance being emphasised by the repetition *ταυροσφαγούντες...ταυρέλου φόνου*), the shield as the receptacle of the blood, the black 'binding,' the ceremony of dipping hands in the gore, and the nature of the deities sworn by. Broken oaths were avenged by the Erinyes (*Hes. Opp.* 803, *Hom. II.* 19. 258 sqq.), who would in this instance be set on by most blood-thirsty divinities (*Enyo* &c.), if wronged.

The oath is an offering of *σφάγια*, cf. *Eur. Suppl.* 1196 *ἐν ᾧ δὲ τέμνειν σφάγια*

καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνον
ἄρρητ' Ἐννὸ καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον

45

45 Ἄρη τ' M and Longin. c. 15. Corr. M. Schmidt (G has ἄρρη τ'). †. Ἄρρη, Ἐννὸ Turneb. Ἄρρη, Ἐννὸ is perhaps scarcely admissible for Aeschylus, otherwise

χρή σ' ἀκούε μου (viz. in a τρίπους χαλκό-
πους), followed by (1201) ἐν τῷδε λαιμοῦς
τρεῖς τριῶν μῆλων τεμῶν | ἔγραψαν ὄρκους
τρίποδος ἐν κοίλῳ κῦτει κ.τ.λ. Originally
portions cut from the victim (τόμια) were
placed upon the ground, and the oath-
taker stood upon them (Paus. 3. 20. 9
Τυνδάρεως γὰρ θύσας ἵππον τοὺς Ἑλένης
ἐξώρκον μνηστήρας, ἰστὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου
τῶν τομίων, cf. 5. 24. 10). See Harrison
Prol. Gk. Rel. p. 66. A magical con-
nection or identification of speaker and
victim was thus established, the intention
being to invoke upon the perjurer the
same fate which had befallen the animal.
In the present instance τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν τομίων
ἐστάναι is replaced by an analogous pro-
ceeding, the dipping of their hands to-
gether in the blood. The addition of
χερσὶ is no superfluity (as in e.g. *Anth.*
P. 9. 161 βίβλον δὲ βίψας ἐπὶ γῆν χερὶ
ταῦτ' ἐβόησα), but expresses the most
complete self-committal. It is more than
a dipping of weapons as in Xen. *An.* 2.
2. 9 οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες βάπτοντες ξίφος, οἱ δὲ
βάρβαροι λόγχην (after they have cut the
throats of ταῦρον καὶ λύκον καὶ κάπρον καὶ
κρίον εἰς ἀσπίδα), Luc. *Tōx.* 37.

The upturned shield (ὄπτις ἀσπίς Ar.
Lys. 185) is itself an emblem of the god of
bloodshed (ῥινότορος); like other articles
used in ritual, it is of the more primitive
pattern (a σάκος of hide); and, according
to the rule for the σφάγια themselves, it
is black. (So in the parody Ar. *Lys.* 195
θεῖσαι μέλαιναν κύλικα μεγάλην ὕπτιαν.)
The shield then becomes, and is meant
to represent, a huge goblet for the de-
stroying gods who 'rejoice in draughts of
blood' (Jebb on Soph. *El.* 542); cf. *Il.*
5. 289, 22. 267 αἵματος ἀσαι Ἄρηα τα-
λαύρων. The resemblance between
ἀσπίς and φιάλη was familiar (cf. Arist.
Poet. 21 τὴν ἀσπίδα, φιάλην Ἀρεως, Aristophan
ap. Ath. 472 C τῶν θηρικλῶν
ἐγκύκλιων ἀσπίδα). Hence the parody
with a κόλιξ in Aristoph. (*l. c.*). The
choice of bull for victim is due to the
proverbial fierceness of the animal and
to the mysterious properties attributed to
its blood: cf. Ar. *Eq.* 83 βελτιστον ἡμῶν
αἷμα ταῦρειον πτεῖν (with Neil's note),
Plin. *H. N.* 11. 90 *taurorum sanguis...*

pestifer potu. To the direst gods this
was the most congenial drink; moreover
the nature of the bull was supposed to
enter into the participants in the cere-
mony (cf. the implications of ταυρο-
φάγος).

[Those who substitute *μηλοσφαγόντες*
from the parody in Ar. *Lys.* 189 forget
that parody is not literal, and that the
substituted word is there meant to lead to
a pun in v. 196. No excuse for change
should be drawn from the occurrence of
ταυρείου in the next line. Apart from
the fact that Greek cares nothing for
such repetition even when not purposed
(note such phrases as Ap. Rhod. 4. 1339
ἀγραυλοὶ τε βόες μέγα πεφρίκασι, | βο-
υπέλαται τε βοῶν and cf. *inf.* 160 n.), it
is here deliberate and emphatic: 'that
blood of bulls.' Weil guesses that Aesch.
wrote *μηλοσφαγόντες* in an older sense of
μῆλα, according to the μῆλα ἅπαντα τὰ
τετράποδα καλοῦσιν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι of Phryn.
(Bekk. 1. 7. 8). It is, of course, possible
that in this particular ritual connection
μηλοσφαγεῖν was the regular word with-
out regard to the nature of the victim,
and that some reader 'corrected' the
word to *ταυροσφαγόντες* through igno-
rance of the fact; but this requires demon-
stration.]

μελάνδετον. The exact meaning is not
at first clear. Hom. *Il.* 6. 117 δέρμα
κελαινόν, | ἀντυξ, ἥ πυμάτη θένει ἀσπί-
δος ὀμφαλοέσεως, might suggest that the
rim (which would naturally be most in
evidence when the shield was ὕπτιον)
was of black leather. But this is prob-
ably too precise for the word. *μελάν-
δετος* is used of a sword *Il.* 15. 713
φάσγανα καλὰ μελάνδετα κωπήεντα (where
see Leaf), [Hes.] *Scut.* 221 μελάνδετον
ἄορ, Eur. *fr.* 373. 2. Such swords had
the well-known hilt in which the spaces
between metal rings were filled with some
black material, probably leather bands.
In Eur. *Or.* 821 μελάνδετον φόνος: ξίφος
(‘barred with blood’) there is a gruesome
play upon this sense. From this use we
should expect the meaning of ‘bound’ to
be ‘barred’ or ‘ribbed,’ and a buckler of
the old fashion might easily be cross-
barred as well as edged with black leather

a black-bound shield, and touching with their hands that gore of bulls, swore direst oaths by Enyo and bloodthirsty Dread:

the supposed hiatus might have been filled in with τ'. "Αρη τ' 'Εννοῦς is possible, but not sufficiently near; *'Εννᾶ might be suggested. Φόνον recc. (cf. 113, 124 c.n.).

strengthenings. Alcaeus *fr.* 36. 1 ἐλεφαν-
τίναν | λάβαν τῷ ξίφει χρυσοδέταν ἔχων
shews a variety of the material. So *inf.*
146 χαλκοδέτων σακέων (with ribs of
bronze). That the primary notion is that
of making fast appears from *e.g.* *Suppl.*
859 γομφοδέτω δόρει. But such bars and
bands are also ornaments (like the 'bind-
ing' of a book) and the senses 'bound
with' and 'adorned with' pass into each
other. Hence *e.g.* [Eur.] *Rhes.* 383
χρυσόδετον σώματος ἀλκήν (= χρυσόδετον
πέλτην, previously described as decorated
χρυσοκολλήτοις τύποις, 305), *Soph. fr.*
223 χρυσόδετον κέρας (of a lute).

45 ἄρρητ' 'Εννῶ κ.τ.λ. See *crit. n.*
The reading of M cannot be an enumera-
tion of three divinities. For this either
τε...τε...καὶ or at least the omission of the
first τε would be necessary. Verrall
endeavours to keep the text by treating
'Εννῶ as a clip-form for 'Εννάλιον and
therefore an epithet to 'Αρη. It would of
course be easy to quote abbreviations
of names (*e.g.* Megistes=Megistocles,
Laches=Lachemoiros, 'Επαφράς='Επα-
φρόδιτος, 'Ηρακλεῖον='Ηρακλεΐδην, 'Απολ-
λῶς='Απολλώνιος. Cf. O. Crusius *N.*
Jahrb. 1891 pp. 385—394). It might
also be argued that 'Εννάλιος is a diffi-
cult word for Aeschylean verse (cf. 24 n.).
We know, moreover, that in the case
of feminines Aesch. used Εἰδῶ=Εἰδοθέα,
Τῷψ=Τψιπόλη (*El. Gaid.* p. 316. 30),
and that he also wrote Ἀμφίς for Ἀμφι-
άραος (*El. Mag.* p. 93. 51). But (apart
from the present unique appearance of
the curtailed form) there is a very serious
objection to so surprising a difference
of gender and meaning to be attached to
a word commonly understood otherwise.
The answer might be made that the
particles would themselves show to a
Greek (as to Dr. Verrall himself) the true
meaning. The argument is, however,
unsatisfactory. An Athenian accustomed
to the combined mention of Ares and
Enyo (CIA III. 2 ἱερεῖς Ἀρεως 'Ενναλίου
καὶ Ἐννοῦς, Hom. *Il.* 5. 592 ἦρχε δ'
ἄρα σφιν Ἀρης καὶ πότνι' Ἐννῶ) would
surely have difficulty in recognising this
novel application of terms.

If 'Εννῶ cannot be accepted as=

'Εννάλιον some correction is required.

(1) The claims of 'Αρη', 'Εννῶ καὶ...
might be considered. The form 'Αρη'
would be familiar to Aeschylus from
Homer and other epic, and, since this
play is full of epic suggestion, he may
have permitted himself to follow epic
practice. The same tendency to correct
the apparent hiatus (commonly by means
of 'Αρην) which appears in the MSS of
e.g. *Il.* 5. 909, [Hes.] *Scut.* 59, may have
caused the insertion of τ' here. ('Αρην
itself is scarcely permissible for either
epic or 5th cent. Attic. See Kühner-
Blass I. p. 514.) Nevertheless 'Αρη'
never occurs in any certain instance in
tragic verse. It is not safe therefore
to introduce the form. Longinus also
(cod. P) has 'Αρη τ'.

(2) 'Αρη τ' 'Εννοῦς might be sug-
gested. The relations of Ares to Enyo
are variously stated. According to one
account (schol. Ar. *Pac.* 457) she was his
wife and the mother of Enyalios. Blom-
field quotes Cornut. *de Nat. Deor.* p. 56
'Εννῶ οἱ μὲν τροφόν, οἱ δὲ μητέρα, οἱ δὲ
θυγατέρα Ἀρεως παρέδωκαν. If Aesch.
knew of Enyo as the alleged mother of
Ares, he may have written the gen. with
the sense that the chieftains, in swearing
by 'Ares son of Enyo,' were swearing by
the God of destruction in his most pitiless
character or avatar. But against this is
to be set the fact that Ἀρεως τ' 'Εννῶ
is equally possible and that neither is
very close to the text.

(3) Much nearer to the MS is ἄρρητ'
(of rec.). No corruption is more frequent
than that of double letters for single or
vice versa, especially with the liquids.
The context would also inevitably suggest
'Αρη. For the adverbial ἄρρητ' ...
ὥρκομῶτησαν cf. *Cho.* 722 ἀκμάζει Πειθῶ
δόλια | ξυγκαταβῆναι, *Soph. O. C.* 319
φαιδρὰ γούιν ἀπ' ὀμμάτων | σαίνει με
προστρέχουσα, *Eur. Hel.* 283 θυγάτηρ...
πολιὰ παρθενεύεται, *Lys.* 13. 39 ὅσατα
ἀσπασάμενοι. The meaning is not merely
'dire,' but actually, in a Cadmean mouth,
infanda. The spy is obliged to give the
substance of the oath, though he is re-
luctant to commit such a *δυσφημία*. [It
is true that solemn oaths were often taken

ὠρκωμότησαν ἢ πόλει κατασκαφὰς
 θέντες λαπάξιν ἄστν Καδμείων βία,
 ἢ γῆν θανόντες τήνδε φυράσειν φόνῳ.
 μνημεῖά θ' αὐτῶν τοῖς τεκοῦσιν εἰς δόμους
 πρὸς ἄρμ' Ἀδράστου χερσὶν ἔστεφον, δάκρυ
 λείβοντες, οἶκτος δ' οὔτις ἦν διὰ στόμα.
 σιδηρόφρων γὰρ θυμὸς ἀνδρεία φλέγων
 ἔπνει, λεόντων ὥς Ἀρη δεδορκότων.
 καὶ τῶνδε πύστις οὐκ ὀκνῶ χρονίζεται.

50

48 πρόσθε φυράσειν Stob. *Fl.* 7. 11, but ancient quotations are often too lax for critical purposes. 49 θ' αὐτῶν M. σημεία δ' αὐτῶν Stob. *I. c.* 51 ἀνὰ στόμα Stob.

in the name of three deities, but the practice was in no way binding.]

Ἐννώ. Whatever the derivation of this word (and of Ἐννάλιος), its special connotation is that of havoc and blood. In Plut. *Mor.* 757 D Enyalios is the god who ἐφορᾷ κτείνοντας καὶ κτεινομένους; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2. 651 Ἐνναλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ. Enyo rules κυδοιμὸν ἀναιδέα δημοτῆτος (*Il.* 5. 592). She is the spirit of war in its cruellest aspect.

Φόβον: 'Rout,' the son and attendant of Ares (Hes. *Th.* 933); not the subjective 'Fear' of the vanquished, but the spirit which puts men to flight (*Il.* 13. 298 οἷος δὲ βροτολογιὸς Ἀρης πόλεμόνδε μέτεισιν, | τῷ δὲ Φόβος φίλος υἱὸς ἅμα κρατερὸς καὶ ἀταρβής | ἔσπετο, ὅς τ' ἐφόβησε ταλαίφρονά περ πολεμιστήν, *ibid.* 4. 440). It is in a 'rout' that the thirst for blood gains fullest satisfaction.

46 sq. ἢ πόλει κατασκαφὰς κ.τ.λ. The expression deserves more observation than it has commonly received. ἄστν is the town regarded as a dwelling-place of men; πόλει looks at it as a burgh, a city-state among other πόλεις. Such a πόλις has its walls and buildings; these will be razed out of existence; there will then be left no habitations containing such a people as 'Cadmeans.' To join Καδμείων βία ('in spite of the Cadmeans') would be in the last degree feeble. βία simply = κατὰ κράτος. The words of the champions are λαπάξομεν ἄστν Καδμείων (cf. 518): 'we will make a (or the) "Cadmeans' town" a waste' (i.e. non-existent). The tense of θέντες shows that the πόλεως κατασκαφαί precede, or are the process of which the result is, τὸ λαπάξιν. Hence λαπάξιν cannot mean 'sack,' since the razing would naturally follow the sacking.

The proper sense is 'make empty, desolate' (as by swallowing up): cf. λάπτω and see note on ἐκλαπαῖαι (443). In *Ag.* 133 πάντα δὲ πύργων | κτήνη πρόσθε τὰ δημοπληθῆ | μοῖρα λαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βλαῖον the word amounts to 'destroy' or 'annihilate.'

The town is first taken and then razed to the ground (cf. Soph. *Ph.* 998 Τροίαν ελεῖν δεῖ καὶ κατασκάψαι βίαι), and by the completeness of this act it ceases to have inhabitants. In Soph. *O. C.* 1318 εὔχεται κατασκαφῇ | Καπαεὺς τὸ Θήβης ἄστν δῶσειν πυρὶ (explained by Jebb as 'destroy it with fire in such a manner as to raze it to the ground') shows that κατασκαφαί is not to be taken strictly of any one process of destruction. Though θέντες might here mean 'cause,' it more probably = θέμενοι, ποιησάμενοι. See note to v. 175 for this use of the active, and, for further instance, Pind. *P.* 4. 275 τλᾶθι...ἀμφὶ Κυράνας θέμεν σπουδάν.

[It would be farfetched and erroneous to render '(even) if they have first to dig down the walls (in order to break in), they will sack.' πόλει would not be the word.]

48 γῆν τήνδε: with emphasis. They will not return home, but will shed their blood 'here.' Cf. Hom. *Il.* 18. 329 ἀμφὺ γὰρ πέπρωται ὁμοίην γαῖαν ἐρεῦσαι | αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ.

49 μνημεῖα. The scholia explain by 'περώνας, τρίχας, ταινίας, βοστρύχους, and the like.' Cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 972 μέλεα παῖδος ἐν οἴκοις | κείται μνήματα, πένθιμοι | κούραι καὶ στέφανοι κόμας, *I. T.* 702 τύμβον τε χῶσιν κάπιθες μνημεῖά μου; *ibid.* 820 sq. κόμαι are such μνημεῖα.

τοῖς τεκοῦσιν may either be taken with the general sense (as εἰς δόμους must be)

'Either will we raze amain the city to the ground and make desolate the land of the Cadmeans, or else will we die and mingle our blood with this same soil.' And on Adrastus' chariot all about they were hanging with their own hands last tokens of themselves for their parents at home, letting fall a tear, though not a sigh was on their lips; for there breathed a temper of iron resolve, ablaze with valour, as of lions whose eyes gleam war. And of these doings the tidings tarry not

54 καὶ τῷδε πίστις Stob. (where cod. A has οὐ μόνω χαρίζεται). ↓.

as dat. of behalf, or with *μνημεῖα*: cf. 270 (n.) and Eur. *I. T.* 387 τὰ Ταντάλουν θεῶν ἐστίαματα, *Suppl.* 1204 *μνημεῖα θ' ὀρκῶν μαρτύρημα θ' Ἑλλάδι*.

50 sq. πρὸς ἄρμ' Ἀδράστου. The schol. explains that Amphiarus had foretold that only Adrastus would escape. But, if the chiefs had been sure of this, the whole attack and the oath just given would have been absurd. It is doubtless possible that, while not convinced by the seer, they yet prepared thus for his prediction coming true; but it is quite sufficient and much simpler to recognise that Adrastus is the leader and is taking no part in the attack. He at least will return, and, if any one of themselves should fall, Adrastus will carry his *μνημεῖα* home.

πρὸς ἄρμ'. The accus. includes the carrying to the chariot, and is thus more panoramic than ἄρματι. The same visualising effect is sought by *χερσίν* and the imperfect ἔστεφον.—ἔστεφον. ἐπλήρουν schol., but the thought is simply that the *μνημεῖα* formed a festoon or *στέμμα*.

δάκρυ: a prose writer would have added μὲν for clearness. 'A tear they could not prevent, but...' The tear is that of πόνος, not of self-pity. Epic heroes weep, although Euripides makes his Heracles disapprove: *H. F.* 1354 οὐδ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων ἔσταξε πηγάς, οὐδ' ἂν ὥρμην ποτὲ | εἰς τοῦθ' ἰκέσθαι, δάκρυ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων βαλεῖν. Open lamentation, however, is less noble: cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1636 ὁ δ', ὥς ἀνὴρ γενναῖος, οὐκ οἴκτου μετὰ | κατήνεσεν, Eur. *I. T.* 484.

52 σιδηρόφρων: combines the notions of iron resolve and pride (φρόνημα). In *P. V.* 242 the word means 'pitiless.' The special quality of iron is that it is ἀνεγκτος, ἀδάμαντος, and in the metaphor the nature of the unyieldingness depends upon the context. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 23. 177 ἐν δὲ πυρὸς μένος ἦκε σιδήρεον ('relentless'),

24. 205 σιδήρειον... ἦτορ, Mosch. 4. 44 νδον... σιδήρου, Ov. *Am.* 3. 6. 59 ille habet et silices et vivum in pectore ferrum, *inf.* 717 (n.). It is best to join σιδηρόφρων... ἔπνει, like πνέει μέγας, λαμπρὸς &c.—θυμός: 'mettle,' not 'anger': cf. 494, 603.

53 λέόντων ὡς κ.τ.λ. The hot breath suggests the fiery look (Hom. *Od.* 19. 446 πῦρ ὀφθαλμοῖσι δεδορκώς).—Ἄρη is the spirit either of fight (cf. *Cho.* 32 n., *Suppl.* 757 γυνὴ μονωθεῖς' οὐδέν' οὐκ ἔνεστ' Ἄρης, Pind. *Mor.* 757 B τὸ μαχητικὸν ἐν ἡμῖν καλ... θυμοειδὲς Ἄρην κεκλησθαι νομίζουσιν) or of murder (*P. V.* 886 θηλυκτόνῃ | Ἀρεὶ δαμέντων). Here the two senses are scarcely separable.

δεδορκῶν is more than βλέπωντων (as in Timocr. *fr.* 12 Ἄρη βλέπων, Herond. 3. 17 Ἀἰδὼν βλέψας). The look is keen and bright (see *Suppl.* 384 δεδορκὸς ὄμμα and Chrysipp. *ap.* Aul. Gell. 14. 4 δεδορκὸς βλέπειν).

54 καὶ τῷδε πίστις κ.τ.λ. Since ὄκνος is never merely delay, but always implies shrinking, whether through fear or scruple, we have only the choice between (1) 'and your learning of these tidings (from me) is not delayed by fear (on my part)' or (2) 'and your learning of these facts (i.e. that they are true) is not being delayed by hesitation (on their part)' i.e. you will soon see them for yourself. Both interpretations are given in the scholia. But in the latter we should rather expect 'assurance' (πίστις), as in the text of Stobaeus (see crit. n.), than 'learning' (πίστις). The former is more natural as explaining the next words (= 'but I came at once, before the arrangements were completed'). δ' might in fact have been γάρ (cf. 113 n.). There is no difficulty in ὄκνω, since the bearer of bad tidings commonly felt ὄκνος for the reason that (Plut. *Mor.* 509c) οἱ τὰ κακὰ προσαγγέλλοντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκούοντων δυσχεραίνονται καὶ μισοῦνται: cf. Soph.

- κληρουμένους δ' ἔλειπον, ὥς πάλω λαχὼν 55
 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πρὸς πύλας ἄγοι λόχον.
 πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀρίστους ἄνδρας ἐκκρίτους πόλεως
 πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοισι τάγευσαι τάχος·
 ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἤδη πάνοπλος Ἀργείων στρατὸς
 χωρεῖ κονίει, πεδία δ' ἀργηστής ἀφρὸς 60
 χραίνει σταλαγμοῖς ἵππικῶν ἐκ πλευμόνων.
 σὺ δ' ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸς οἰακοστρόφος
 φράζει πόλισμα, πρὶν καταιγίσαι πνοὰς
 Ἄρεως· βοᾷ γὰρ κῦμα χερσαῖον στρατοῦ.
 καὶ τῶνδε καιρὸν ὅστις ὤκιστος λαβέ. 65
 καὶ γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ πιστὸν ἡμεροσκόπον
 ὀφθαλμὸν ἔξω, καὶ σαφηνεῖα λόγῳ
 εἰδὼς τὰ τῶν θύραθεν ἀβλαβῆς ἔση.
 ET. ὦ Ζεῦ τε καὶ Γῇ, καὶ πολιτισοῦχοι θεοί,
 Ἄρά τ' Ἐρινὺς πατρὸς ἡ μεγασθενής, 70

55 The perpetual gloss γὰρ appears over δ' in rec. (See crit. n. to *Choeph.* 32 and *inf.* 113.) ἔλειπον recc. γὰρ ἔλειπον Brunck. ↓ 58 ταγεῦσαι Robertello.

Ant. 243 τὰ δεινὰ γὰρ τοι προστίθησ' ὀκνον πολὺν (φύλαξ loq.), *O. T.* 749 καὶ μὴν ὀκνῶ μὲν, ἂν δ' ἔρη μαθοῦσ' ἐρῶ.

55 sq. ἔλειπον. λείπω frequently uses its imperf. in an aorist sense. Cf. *Hom. Od.* 16. 50 ἃ ῥα τῇ προτέρῃ ὑπέλειπον ἔδοντες, 14. 480, 15. 88, *Il.* 2. 105 Ἄτρευσ δὲ θυήσκων ἔλειπον πολὺν ἄρην, | αὐτὰρ ὁ αὐτὲ θεύστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι, 19. 288, 339, *Ag.* 611 ἐν δόμοις εἵροι μολῶν | οἶανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε, *Soph. Tr.* 76, *Eur. El.* 14 οὗς δ' ἐν δόμοις ἔλειψ', ὅτ' ἐς Τροίαν ἔπλει. *Hipp.* 907, and in comedy *Antiph. ap. Ath.* 690 A πρὸς τῷ μυροπώλῃ γενόμενον κατελίμπανον | αὐτόν. So in Latin *Cic. ap. Aul. Gell.* 15. 6 *hic silius est vitae iampridem lumina linquens.*

ὥς... ἄγοι: not a final clause, but deliberative: *Hom. Il.* 3. 316 κλήρους... πάλλον... | ὀππότερος δὴ πρόσθεν ἀφείη χάλλεον ἔγχος.—αὐτῶν: is not unnecessary, but virtually=*ipsorum*. ἕκαστος alone might have a wider application.

57 ἀρίστους: not explicitly=τοὺς ἀρίστους, but ἀρίστους τινάς.—πόλεως: with ἐκκρίτους: cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 214 πόλεος ἐκπροκρεῖσθ' ἐμᾶς. But the gen. rather depends on the superl. sense than on ἐκ-.

58 πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοισι: 33 (n.). It is somewhat doubtful whether we should

read the causal middle τάγευσαι or the infin. imperative ταγεῦσαι (cf. *P. V.* 738 οἷς μὴ πελάζειν, *inf.* 75 n.). The same question arises with φράζει (63). On the whole the admonition to the king to 'have' the thing done is the more probable.

59 ἐγγὺς γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The spy can only see this mentally (see 55), but it amounts to certainty.—ἤδη belongs to ἐγγύς.—πάνοπλος: not 'in full armour' but men 'of all arms' (=in full force).—Ἀργείων: though 28, Ἀχαιῖδα. The variation is epic, but, since Adrastus is Argive and the expedition is from that centre, the word is the natural one here. Cf. 535, 560.

60 χωρεῖ κονίει: for the effective asyndeton cf. 169 αἰὲν λακάζειν, 327 ἀγε φονεύει, *Cho.* 288 κινεῖ παράσσει, *Pers.* 429 ἔπαιον ἐρράχιζον, *Soph. Aj.* 60, *El.* 719, *Ph.* 11, *Eur. Hec.* 1175 βάλλων ἀράσσω, *H. F.* 602.—κονίει: 'hastens.' The Homeric *κονιόντες πεδίοιο* (*Il.* 23. 372)—ἀργηστής ἀφρὸς κ.τ.λ. Another condensed and sustained metaphor. The foam of the wave, as the sea rises under the ἀργηστής ἄνεμος (so Verrall), flecks the water (χραίνει σταλαγμοῖς), just as here the foam of the horses flecks the land.—πέδια (like *campi, aequor*) is poetically applicable to either element (cf.

through fear; for I left them casting lots, how by the fall of chance each should lead his troop against the gates.

So marshal thou with speed at the outgoings of the gates men of the best, the country's choicest. For already close at hand the Argive host in full array marches and scours along, and the whitening foam beflakes the plain with drops from the deep breath of the steeds. Do thou, like trusty master of a ship, bulwark the town, before the blasts of war descend in squalls; for on the dry land roars a wave, a wave of soldiery. Do this, and seize the speediest way thereto. For me, I will go on to keep a faithful eye for the day's watch, and, warned by sure news of what passeth from without, thou shalt meet no hurt.

[SCOUT *departs (to left)*].

ET. O Zeus, and Earth, and the realm's guardian Gods; and thou Curse, the mighty Spirit of my father's vengeance;

61 πνευμένων or πνευμάτων *tecc.* (cf. ap. schol. Pind. *P.* 4. 398 the error Soph. *fr.* 312 ἐκπνέουσι πνευμάτων ἀπο). 63 φάρξαι Dind., and this is apparently the older form (Meisterhans² p. 145).

ἀκάριστα πεδία of the sea in Eur. *Phoen.* 210).—ἱππικῶν ἐκ πλευμώνων not only gives the usual Greek qualification, which brings the metaphor into due relation with the literal facts, but it also incidentally informs us of the numerous chariots in the Argive force (cf. ἱππόβοτον Ἄργος). The form ἀργηστής is found in Bacchyl. 5. 67.

62 ναός: for ἄ cf. 42 λοχαγέται. Aesch. has also ἑκατι, δαίος, δαρὸν, γάποτος, ἱπποβάμων, ἑκατογκάρανος, πόρπασον, προσπορπατός, ποινάτωρ, εὐνάτωρ, θοινάτηρ, ἐβδομαγέτας, βαλός. The present phrase is borrowed by Euripides (*Med.* 523 ὥστε ναὸς κενὸν οἰακοστροφόν).

63 sq. φράξαι: see note on τάγεσθαι (58). The middle occurs *inf.* 783. But σὺ with *inf.* would be sufficiently common: cf. Hom. *Od.* 13. 307 σὺ δὲ τετλάμεναι καὶ ἀνάγκη | ... | μηδὲ τῷ ἐκφάσθαι...ἀλλὰ σιωπῇ | πάσχειν, 16. 132 &c. The word is chosen as being suitable to both city and ship; cf. Hom. *Od.* 5. 256 φράξε δέ μιν (*sc.* the raft) ῥίπσσει διαμπερὲς οἰσύνησιν | κύματος εἴλαρ ἔμεν.

πρὶν καταγίγαι...βοᾷ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. It is the roar of the wave in the distance that announces the coming squall. For the picture cf. Hom. *Il.* 14. 394 οὐδὲ θαλάσσης κύμα τόσον βοᾷ πρὶν χέρσον, | πρὶν τοῦθεν ὀρνύμενον πρὶν βόρῳ ἀλεγεινῇ.—κύμα: a favourite similitude: cf. 80, 109, 1069, *Pers.* 89 μεγάλῳ ρέυματι φωτῶν, Eur. *J. T.* 1437, *Rhes.* 290 ῥέων στρατός, Plut. *Sull.* 11. 4 Ἀρχελάῳ δίκην ρεύματος

φερομένῳ (with an army). It is customary to define the metaphor by either an oxymoron adj. or a gen. (Arist. *Poet.* 21 §§ 6—8). In πνοᾶς Ἄρεως (*i.e.* not βορέου or νότον or the like) we have the gen. alone; cf. 358 χνοῶς ποδῶν. The adj. alone occurs in *P. V.* 905 ἄρδης ἄπυρος, 829 ἀκραγεῖς κύνας, *Cho.* 491 πτηνὸς κύων, *fr.* 312 ἀπτεροι πελειάδες, *Ag.* 82 ὄναρ ἡμερόφαντον, *inf.* 82 ἀναυδοῖς ἀγγελος, *fr.* 150 δελφινόρον (read δελφινό-choron) πεδίον, Eur. *Hipp.* 235 ψαμάθοις ἀκυμάντοισι (of hippodrome), *fr. adesr.* 142 πλωταῖς ἀπηναισι, Pind. *N.* 3. 79 πόμ' αἰοδιμον, Arist. *Poet.* 21. 8 φιάλη ἄωνος. Here both qualifications are combined in χερσαῖον with στρατοῦ. So Chaeremon *fr.* 10 στρατὸν ἀνθέων ἀλογχον, Pind. *O.* 6. 46 ἀμειφεῖ ἰὼ μελισσᾶν, *N.* 8. 46 λάβρον λίθον Μοισᾶν.

66 πιστόν: not 'loyal,' but 'one who may be believed.'—ἡμεροσκόπον: the previous spying has been during the night (29). He will render the same service by day. (φύλακα ἀπλῶς of the gloss is superficial.) This statement accounts for his reappearance (356).

70 Ἄρά τ' Ἐρινύς κ.τ.λ. The Curse of Oedipus (for which see *Intro.* pp. xxvii sqq.) is a living and enduring agent identified with the avenging Power which it evokes. (Hom. *Od.* 2. 132 μήτηρ στυγερὰς ἀρήσεται Ἐρινύς.) So general was this identification that Ἄραι is itself sometimes another name for the Erinyes

μή μοι πόλιν γε πρυμνόθεν πανώλεθρον
 ἐκθαμνίσῃτε δηάλωτον, Ἑλλάδος
 φθόγγον χέουσαν, καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους·
 ἐλευθέραν δὲ γῆν τε καὶ Κάδμου πόλιν
 ζυγοῖσι δουλείοισι μήποτε σχέθειν.
 γένεσθε δ' ἀλκή· ξυνὰ δ' ἐλπίζω λέγειν·
 πόλις γὰρ εὖ πράσσουσα δαίμονας τίει.

75

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

* * θρέομαι φοβερὰ μεγάλ' ἄχη.

71 πρέμνοθεν Valckenaer. ↓. 72 δηάλωτον M. 73 γρ. καὶ ὄλβον ῥέοντα καὶ δόμους schol. 75 δουλείοισι M, δουλείοισι Ald. ζευγλῆσι δουλείοισι recc. σχέθειν M rightly. Editors (after Blomf.) substitute σχεθεῖν. ↓ μήποτ' ἐνοσχεθεῖν Dind., μήποτ' ἐνοσχεθῆν M. Schmidt. (Butler's μή ὅτε σχέθω is a solecism.) 78 sq. M prefixes χορὸς παρθένων, but see note on the ὑπόθεσις. Wecklein attempts

(Eum., 417), cf. Soph. O. T. 418 δεινό-
 πους Ἀρά.—μεγασθενής: cf. 1046. A
 frequent epithet is πότνια: Eum. 950
 μέγα γὰρ δύναται πότνι Ἐρινύς, Soph.
 El. 111 πότνι Ἀρά.

71 μή μοι πόλιν γε κ.τ.λ. γε be-
 longs to the whole notion as a plea.
 There is no such thought as '(destroy me,
 if you will, but) do not destroy my city.'
 Rather 'when a city is Grecian like this,
 do not destroy it.' Greek sentiment
 distinguishes keenly between the treat-
 ment of πόλις Ἑλληνική and πόλις βάρ-
 βαρος.—πρυμνόθεν is correct. The sense
 of the adj. πρυμνός is 'at the base'
 (πρυμνόν· τὸ ἐσχατόν Hesych.): cf. Hom.
 Il. 12. 446 (λᾶας πρυμνός παχὺς, αὐτὰρ
 ὑπερθεν | ὀξὺς ἔην, Od. 17. 462 βάλε δεξιὸν
 ὤμον πρυμνότατον, and πρυμνωρεῖν.
 Congruity with θάμνος appears from Il.
 12. 148 ἀγνυτον ὕλην | πρυμνήν ἐκτάμνον-
 τες (=ἐκ ῥίζων Phot.). Sidgwick remarks
 that πρυμνόθεν occurs in Ap. Rhod. 4.
 1684 'and therefore probably in some
 lost epic.' With the thought in general
 cf. Eur. fr. 1109. 10 εἰ μὴ κατασκαφεῖσαν
 ὄψομαι πόλιν | Πριάμου βία πρόρριζον
 ἐκτετριμμένην. The idea in ἐκθαμνίσῃτε
 is that of clearing away as thoroughly
 as men clear the 'bush' for cultivation.

72 sq. Ἑλλάδος φθόγγον χέουσαν
 κ.τ.λ. Our city may have been founded
 by the Phoenician Cadmus, but its speech
 is now Greek, and so are its homes and
 lives. It is, however, altogether im-
 probable that Aesch. would use the
 present coloured phrase as the mere
 equivalent of 'speaking Greek.' From

e.g. Suppl. 640 εὐκταῖα...χεούσας, Hom.
 Od. 19. 521 ἀηδὼν...χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν,
 Bacchyl. 4. 14 ἐθέλει δὲ | γάρυν ἐκ στηθέων
 χέων | αἰνεῖν Ἱέρανα, it may be taken to
 express earnest or passionate prayer.
 'The voice which it now pours in prayer
 is Greek' (not ἀγλωσσος, Soph. Tr. 1060).
 καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους: 'and homes
 with hearths' (not 'your temples,' since
 'your' could hardly be dispensed with,
 and the Ara or Erinys possesses no
 temple). The Cadmeans have been long
 established, with their ἐστῖαι and house-
 hold gods, as part of the Greek world.
 Though Ἑλλάδος cannot be joined in
 grammar with the phrase, its force is felt
 with it. [The accus. is somewhat awk-
 ward in its distance from ἐκθαμνίσῃτε, and
 καὶ δόμους in its distance from πόλιν.
 Except for the special appropriateness in
 χέουσαν we might be tempted (1) to
 suggest Ἑλλάδος | φθόγγον τ' ἔχουσαν
 καὶ δόμους κ.τ.λ. 'possessing the speech
 of Greece and settled hearths in Greece.'
 (2) We might also punctuate φθόγγον
 χέουσαν· καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους, | ἐλευθέραν
 δὲ γῆν τε κ.τ.λ., where the clause with
 δὲ interprets, or presents another view of,
 what precedes (cf. 263 (n.), Cho. 189 (n.)),
 'and never reduce to slavery established
 homes, yes, a free land &c.' But we
 should look for μηδὲ rather than καὶ.]

74 ἐλευθέραν δὲ κ.τ.λ. The sense is
 'a land of freemen—no less than the state
 of (great) Cadmus.' There is no anti-
 thesis of town and country; γῆ and πόλις
 are both comprehensive, presenting the
 realm of the Cadmeans in two lights; one

destroy not, I beseech, in utter havoc, root and branch, prey to the foeman, a city whence pour accents of Hellas; destroy not hearths and homes. I pray ye constrain not a land of freedom, Cadmus' own realm, with the yoke of slavery; but be its succour. Our common cause, methinks, I plead; for a prospering land pays worship to its Gods.

[Exit ETEOCLES.

[The scene becomes the Cadmean acropolis. Enter Chorus of women, young and old, precipitately and without processional order (from right).

CHORUS.

I cry with great pangs of dread. The host is let loose from

to divide vv. 78-106 between twelve choreutae. Suggested arrangements of the whole chorus occupy nine pages (49-58) of his Appendix. 78 The metre requires an addition and emendation, e.g. * <ἴτ' ἵτε> θρεόμεναι (ἵτε being lost through τρεῖς preceding). θρεύμαι φοβερά μεγάλα τ' recc.

as the abode of the free, the other as a state with great traditions.

75 **σχεθεῖν**: imperative. Cf. 63 (n.), Phryn. (Bekk. I. p. 4. 7) αὐτοσχεδιάζω σὺ, ἤκειν σὺ ἀντὶ τοῦ αὐτοσχεδίαζε σὺ, ἦκε σὺ Ἀπτικὸν τὸ σχῆμα, Ar. Eccl. 1105 ὑμεῖς δ', ἐάν τι πολλὰ πολλάκις πᾶθω, | θάψαι μ', Eur. Tro. 421, Eur. fr. 362. 24. For the simple dat. **ζυγοῖσι** (instead of e.g. ἐν ζυγοῖσι) cf. Soph. Tr. 136 ἀ... σέ... ἐλπίσιν λέγω | τόδ' αἰὲν ἵσχειν. The dat. is strictly instrumental, the verb meaning 'hold.' The accent is commonly altered to **σχεθεῖν**, and the tense is called aorist. Neil on Ar. Eg. 320 (παρασχέθειν) refers to Brugmann Morph. Unters. I. 78 sqq., and says 'Arcadius de accent. 155 sq. classes **σχέθω** with **έθω** φαέθω &c.' He adds 'the forms were sometimes felt as aorist.' (So Kühner-Blass II. p. 177.) A number of instances support, though they may not prove, a present meaning: e.g. Hom. Od. 16. 430 ἄλλ' Ὀδυσσεὺς κατέρυκε καὶ ἔσχεθεν ἱεμένους περ (imperf.), inf. 416 (where it is only the change to **σχεθεῖν** that has created the difficulty). Similarly Eum. 438 τόνδ' ἀμυνάθου φύγον (better than -θοῦ as expressing the attempt), ibid. 566 κήρυσσε, κήρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργάθου (more natural in tense than -θοῦ).

76 **ξυνά**: our common cause; see 203 (n.). For the frank appeal to self-interest cf. Cho. 255 sqq.

78-164 The Parodos. The scene changes to the Acropolis. The Chorus,

consisting of women of various ages (see note to ὑπόθεσις), some of mature years (673), and some young maidens (107), comes rushing to the citadel (226), where are situated the ancient ξάνα (βρέτη, 93, 196) of the πολιοῦχοι θεοί. The women enter σποράδην and not in regular formation,—a proceeding which would be dramatically ludicrous—and their first speeches are (for the same reason) not delivered in antistrophic form. Different women reply to each other in a more natural way, and pauses must be assumed. No authoritative division of the lines between various speakers can now be made, but Wecklein's distribution of vv. 78-106 among 12 members of the Chorus is as plausible as any. The dochmiac metre is that of hurried and excited movement. Aeschylus deftly utilises his Chorus so as to describe the approach and arrival of the Argive army. The audience obtain a very vivid presentation of the scene, and the necessary interval is bridged over. That in these actions of the Chorus the poet is true to life appears from e.g. Plut. Cor. 30 ὁρῶντες ἐν τῇ πόλει διαδρομὰς γυναικῶν καὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἱκεσίας κ.τ.λ.

78 **θρέομαι** κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. With the expression cf. Suppl. 118 τοιαῦτα πάθεα μέλεα θρεομένα κ.τ.λ.—**φοβερά**... ἄχῃ=ἄχῃ φόβου.—**μεγάλ'** is not to be denied the notion of 'loud.' The whole = 'my pangs of fear find utterance in loud shrieks.'

μεθεῖται στρατὸς στρατόπεδον λιπών.
 ρεῖ πολὺς ὁδε λεὼς πρόδρομος ἱππότας.
 αἰθερία κόνις με πείθει φανείσ'
 ἀναυδος σαφῆς ἔτυμος ἄγγελος.

80

ἔλε δ' ἐμὰς <φρένας> πεδί' ὀπλόκτυφ', ὡς
 βοὰ χρίμπεται, ποτᾶται, βρέμει δ'
 ἀμαχέτου δίκαν ὕδατος ὀροτύπου.

85

ἰὼ ἰὼ
 ἰὼ θεοὶ θεαί τ' ὀρόμενον κακὸν
 βοᾷ τειχέων ὑπερ ἀλεύσατε.

79 M has a χ prefixed. See schol. We may also punctuate less well *στρατὸς στρατόπεδον λιπών κ.τ.λ.* (so Weckl.). 80 ὡδε recc. 83 sq. ἐλεδέμας

πεδιοπλοκτύπος | τί χρίμπεται βοᾷ ποτᾶται M, with ἔτ in marg. ἐλεδέμας m. βοᾷ* m'. ὡτί or ὡσί or τ' ὡσί (for τί) recc. βοὰ recc. The first schol. implies πεδί' ὀπλόκτυφ' ὡσί and βοάν. Corr. *ed. ψ. ἔλε δέ μ' ἀσπίδων πάταγος (with lacuna) Headlam. Other suggestions are ἐλε δ' ἐμὰς φρένας δέος' ὀπλων κτύπος ποτιχρίμπεται Dind., ἐτι δὲ γὰρ ἐμὰς πεδί' ὀπλόκτυφ' ὡσί χρίμπεται βοάν Paley (partly after Seidler

79 μεθεῖται κ.τ.λ. The exact metaphor is uncertain. The next line and vv. 64, 85, would suggest the opening of a sluice (see note to 544). It is doubtless possible that this line is entirely disconnected from the next, especially as a pause would occur between sentences describing stages of the enemy's progress. But it is unlike Aesch. to alter the similitude in μεθεῖται without further definition. Hence we should hardly think of the start of a chariot-race (*e carceribus emissus est*), still less of 'setting a dog at the prey' (Paley).

[The notion of the schol. and of some editors is that the speakers φαντάζονται ταῦτα, but from the Acropolis they can actually see movement, and they explain that they judge of the rapid and wide advance by the dust.]

80 ρεῖ πολὺς: to be joined, 'flows in full (broad) stream': cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 443, Plut. *Nic.* 9, 1, Hor. *Sat.* 1. 7. 28. For the metaphor in ρεῖ cf. κύμα 64 (n.) and e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 128 εἰσιδὼν | πολλῷ ρεύματι προσνισσομένους.

πρόδρομος: not 'in headlong haste' (as in 195 *q.v.*), but 'in advance' of the main body (schol.).—ἱππότας. In epic times these are charioteers, not mounted men.

81 sq. αἰθερία κόνις κ.τ.λ. If these words belong to the previous speaker the sense is that they cannot yet see the horsemen, but that there is no mistaking

the meaning of the dust. If spoken by another they= 'yes, I believe you, for...'; but this is too much to ask of the passage in the absence of particles.

The language is allusive and compressed. On the surface the meaning is simply 'the dust in the sky appearing as a voiceless harbinger.' But κόνις (cf. *τρόχισ, λάτρης, ψεῦδης*) itself almost certainly bore another sense, viz. 'messenger' (see Verrall, *Append. II.*), and αἰθερία κόνις becomes similar to e.g. κύμα χερσαίων (64), 'a messenger in the air.' Verrall's argument might have been strengthened by quoting *Ag.* 499 μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι κάσις | πηλοῦ ξύνουρος διψία κόνις τάδε, where the apparent grotesqueness of the expression is removed by understanding διψία κόνις 'the thirsty κόνις (messenger)', to be defined by the accompanying words as 'κόνις in the sense of dust.'

φανείσ' may either be joined with αἰθερία ('appearing in the air') or, better, (from the associations of φανῆναι with messengers, e.g. *Ag.* 21 εὐαγγέλου φανέντος ὀρφαίνον πυρός) with what follows (φανείσ'...ἄγγελος).

With ἀναυδος...ἄγγελος cf. *Suppl.* 186 ὀρῶ κόνιν, ἀναυδὸν ἄγγελον στρατοῦ, Theogn. 549 ἄγγελος ἀφθογγος πόλεμον πολὺδακρυν ἐγείρει, | Κύρ', ἀπὸ τηλαυγέος φαινόμενος σκοπιῆς, *Eup.* 245 ἔπου δὲ μηνυτήρος ἀφθέγκτον φραδαῖς (blood). Dust rises freely in Greece. For the general picture cf. Hom. *Il.* 11. 151 ὑπὸ

the camp! Yonder in a mighty flood the van of horsemen streams! I see the dust rise heavenward, and it is my warrant; dumb messenger, but clear and true.

The noise of the hoof-smitten plain confounds my sense. It draws nigh; it flies; it roars like the resistless water that smites the mountain.

Hark! hark! Ye Gods and Goddesses, fend off the on-speeding evil. A rescue for our walls!

and Ritschl), ἰδὲ δὲ Weckl. 86 sqq. ἰὼ ἰὼ ἰὼ θεοὶ | θεαὶ τ' ὁρόμενον κακὸν ἀλεύσεται^a | βοᾷ ὑπὲρ τειχέων | ὁ κ.τ.λ. M (the superscr. α by m'). The fault is in the order. Corr. *ed. (after rejecting βάτε πρὸ τειχέων). †. ἀλεύσεται could only be defended by making the sentence a question; but schol. recognises ἀλεύσατε. ὁρόμενον βία κακὸν ἀλεύσατε | ὑπὲρ τειχέων Passow, βοᾷ ὑπερτρέχων Bücheler. ὄρμενον (Enger) inflicts a loss upon the metre of excitement.

δὲ σφισιν ὦρτο κονίη | ἐκ πεδίου, τὴν ὦρσαν ἐρίγδονποι πόδες ἵππων, Herodian 6. 9. 3 ἀγγελλόντων τινῶν ὅτι δὴ Μαξιμῶνος πρόσεισι, κόνις τε πόρρωθεν ἐγειρομένη φαίνεται, βοῆς τε ἤχος πλήθους ἐξακούεται.

σαφής: clear in its meaning; ἔνυμος: true in its tale. The two words are combined for emphasis of assertion. [Verrall finds in ἔνυμος the sense of etymological truth, with reference to the application of κόνις, i.e. 'κόνις which is indeed κόνις (= ἄγγελος).'] This is ingenious, and ἐτύμως or ἐτητύμως certainly sometimes refers to appropriate application of a name. But so do ἀληθῶς, ὁρθῶς &c., and it is straining the word to insist upon this sense as necessarily conveyed. See e.g. Hom. *Il.* 22. 438, *Od.* 13. 232, Theoc. 15. 82, Soph. *El.* 1451. Headlam (*On Edit. Aesch.*) has pointed out the fallacy.]

83 sq. **Θε δ' ἔμῳς κ.τ.λ.** See crit. n. There is a suggestion that conquest is already achieved, so far as their spirits are concerned (cf. ἀμαχέτου 85). The poet understands the ready despair of women. For the phrase cf. *Suppl.* 786 πατὴρ σκοπαὶ δ' ἔμ' εἰλῶν, and for the verb Bacchyl. 11. 85 τὸν δ' εἰλεν ἄχος κραδίαν, ξέλινα τέ νιν πλάξεν μέριμνα, Hom. *Od.* 19. 471 τὴν δ' ἅμα χάρμα καὶ ἄλγος ἔλεν φρένα.

πεδί' *ὀπλόκτυφ' would rather be expressed in English by 'the ringing of the hoofs upon the plain' (= τὸ τὰ πεδία ταῖς ὀπλαῖς κτυπεῖσθαι). Cf. 344 καρπὸς χαμᾶδις πεσὼν ἀλγύνει, 572 πατρίς... γαῖα... ἀλοῦσα πῶς σοι ξύμμαχος γενήσεται; (and note). The vision of the filled pedía as *sup.* 60, Hom. *Od.* 14. 267 πλήτο δὲ πᾶν πεδίων πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππων, and the familiar κονίοντες πεδίοιο; and the ringing

hoofs as in *Il.* 10. 535 ἵππων μ' ὠκνύδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὐατα βάλλει, Ag. *Eq.* 552 χαλκοκρότων ἵππων κτύπος, Xen. *Eq.* 1. 3 ὥσπερ κύμβαλον ψοφεῖ ἡ κοίλη ὀπλή, Verg. *Aen.* 8. 596 quadrupedante rutrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.

[The infantry do not appear till v. 89, and the context would show that the reference is to ὀπλαὶ and not ὀπλα. Neither the beating of spears on shields (Pind. *N.* 3. 60 δορίκτυπον ἀλαλάν; cf. Ammon. Marc. 16. 12. 13) nor the clang of running hoplites (Pind. *I.* 1. 24 ἀσπίδοδούποιον ὀπλίταις δρόμοις) is in point.]

*ῶς = ὅτι οὕτως: cf. *Eum.* 789 γένωμαι δυσόστοι πολίταις ἀπαθον and *inf.* 562 (n.).

84 **χρίμπεται, ποτᾶται:** for the lively asyndeton, cf. 60 (n.).—**ποτᾶται:** it not only approaches; its approach is swift as flying. So of a hound Simonid. *fr.* 30. 2 ἀνὰ Δώτιον ἀνθεμένον πεδίον | πέταται.—**βρέμει δ':** 'yes, it roars.'—**δ'** is not simply a connective attached to the last of three verbs.

85 **ἵδατος... ὀροτύπου:** a torrent turning into a cataract. That the remark of Hesych. ὀροτύπου δίκην· ὅτι οἱ Γίγαντες ἀποσπῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων κορυφὰς καὶ πέτρας ἐβαλλον belongs to some other passage is clear from our context and also from Photius' explanation of ὀροτύπου as Γίγαντας.

86 sqq. **ἰὼ ἰὼ ἰὼ θεοὶ κ.τ.λ.** See crit. n. Even if the camp of the enemy could be so clearly discerned, **τειχέων** would be an improper word for its enclosure, and an army does not climb the walls of its own camp. Obviously we cannot join ὑπὲρ τειχέων ὄρνυται λαὸς in any such sense. Nor can we understand that phrase (with Verrall) as meaning that 'in the

ὁ λεύκασπις ὄρνυται λαὸς εὐ-
 τρηπῆς ἐπὶ πτόλιν διώκων.
 τίς ἄρα ῥύσεται, τίς ἄρ' ἐπαρκέσει
 θεῶν ἢ θεῶν;
 πότε ἄρα δῆτ' ἐγὼ ποτιπέσω βρέτη δαιμόνων;
 ἰὼ μάκαρες εὐεδροί.
 ἀκμάζει βρετέων ἔχεσθαι· τί μέλ-
 λομεν ἀγάστονοι;
 ἀκούετ' ἢ οὐκ ἀκούετ' ἀσπίδων κτύπον;
 πέπλων καὶ στεφάνων πότε ἢ νῦν <ἄρ'> ἀμ-
 φὶ λιτάν' ἔξομεν;

90

95

89 εὐπρεπῆς recc.

90 πτόλιν recc.

an unobvious addition?

διώκων del. Rothe; but whence came such

93 πότερα M, corr. *ed. ψ (cf. Theogn. 100 ποταμοῦ

A¹ for ποτέ μου). <πάτρια> ποτιπέσω Volckmann (led by schol.). * <πολιά> is

excited imagination of the speakers the enemy is already carrying the outer wall and pursuing to the citadel.' Apart from the fact that the Chorus is intended to describe the progress of the enemy, and that this language would confuse the audience, we find that the infantry is here first mentioned as perceived; in 117 the champions are approaching the gates; in 135 the actual scream of the chariots is heard; and in 144 the stones of the skirmishers are beginning to reach the battlements. The error is (as frequently in this Chorus) one of order.

βοή τεχέων ὑπερ: 'with your war-cry on behalf of the walls' (or perhaps better 'from over the walls,' i.e. outwards). The *βοή* of the enemy is approaching; the answering *βοή* (= *βοήθεια*) of the gods should meet them. Cf. *βοὴν ἀγαθὸς* and *Suppl.* 738 εἰ βραδύνοιμεν βοῇ, *Ag.* 1349 πρὸς δῶμα δεῦρ' ἀστοῖσι κηρύσσειν βοὴν, *Ath.* 178 ε καλοῦντων τῶν παλαιῶν τὸν πόλεμον βοήν.

89 sq. ὁ λεύκασπις κ.τ.λ. The infantry are seen. The white shields of Argos (probably adopted with allusion to *ἀργός* = *λευκός*, as the Lacedaemonians put *Λ* upon theirs) appear in all the three dramatists; cf. *Soph. Ant.* 106 τὸν λεύκασπιν Ἀργόθεν ἐκβάνα φῶτα, *ibid.* 114, *Eur. Phoen.* 1099 λεύκασπιν εἰσὶν ὠμῶν Ἀργείων στρατῶν. It is not, however, certain whether the shields were actually painted white (cf. *Xen. Hell.* 2. 4. 25 ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ οἰσύνια, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο, and the Carian shields *ibid.* 3. 2. 15) or were simply of

plain bright metal. Tin is called white in *Hom. Il.* 11. 35; cf. *ibid.* 23. 267 λέβητα...λευκὸν ἐτ' αὖτως, 14. 185 λευκὸς δ' ἦν ἥλιος ὥς, and 22. 294 Δηϊφῶβον...λευκάσπιδα. In *Verg. Aen.* 9. 548 *parmaque inglorius alba* the adj. = 'undecorated.' There is no contradiction with *Bacchyl.* 9. 10 *φονικασπίδες ἡμίθει* | ... Ἀργείων κριτοί, which refers only to the chiefs, whose shields (as *inf.*) are variously adorned. Argos was famous for its shields (*Pind. fr.* 106 ὅπλα δ' ἀπ' Ἀργεος, ἄρμα Θηβαίων, *O.* 7. 83), which were circular (*Verg. Aen.* 3. 637 *Argolici clipei aut Phoebeae lampadis instar*, said of the eye of Polyphemus).—*διώκων:* intrans. 'driving on'; but the sense of following up the *ἰππῶται* may be included.

91 sq. τίς ἄρα: this combination expresses anxiety: cf. *Ar. Vesp.* 143 τί ποτ' ἄρ' ἡ κάπνη ψοφεῖ; (with Starkie's note). The Chorus is in the same state of nervous indecision as in *Ag.* 1346 sqq.—*θεῶν ἢ θεῶν:* *Hom. Il.* 8. 5 κέκλυτέ μεν πάντες τε θεοί, πᾶσαι τε θεάαι.

93 *πότε ἄρα κ.τ.λ. The question is not 'shall I throw myself?' (*πότερα* = *utrum*), but 'why do I not forthwith...?': cf. 98.—*ἐγὼ:* i.e. *my* part in the matter is to pray. They adopt the recognised resource of desperation: *Eum.* 80 ἔγω παλαιὸν ἀγκαθεν λαβὼν βρέτας, *Ar. Eq.* 30 κράτιστα τολμῶν τῶν παρόντων ἐστὶ νῶν | θεῶν ὄντε προσπεσεῖν τοῦ πρὸς βρέτας.—*βρέτη* is used only of the old ξόανα which have been longest identified with a *πόλις*. The scholiast's *πατρώων ξόανων* seems to imply an adjective (cf.

The folk of the white shield hies and drives on against the town, dight for the fray.

Who then of Gods or Goddesses shall deliver? Who shall be our stay?

And when my part? Shall I not throw myself upon the images of the high powers?

Ah me! ye blessed ones whose seats are sure! It is the hour to cling fast to the images. Why do we tarry, lost in lament? Hear ye, or hear ye not, the clang of shields? When, if not now, shall we make busy with supplications for the robes' and garlands' sake?

perhaps as likely. ↓. M divides with βρέτη | δαιμόνων; δαιμόνων del. H. L. Ahrens. 95 sq. τί | μέλλομεν M. βρετέων δ' ἔχσθαι τί... recc. 98 στεφάνων M, στεφάνων M^a. 98 sq. πότ' εἰ μὴ νῦν | ἀμφίλιταν M. ἀμφί λιτὰν M^a. ἀμφί λίταν' Seidler (λιτάν' Hermann). For the rest, corr. *ed. (partly from schol.). ↓.

ἀρχαῖα βρέτη 195), but πάτρια is not necessarily correct. <πολιά> would be at least as easily lost before ποτι-, and the word would have the advantage of suggesting to the Athenian audience (despite the etymological fallacy) the thought of its own Athena Polias in the Acropolis.

94 μάκαρες εὐδμοι: an exclamation of contrast. The happy and secure state of the Gods is compared with their own present misery and danger. The thought is that of Hes. Th. 118 θεῶν ἔδος ἀσφαλές αἰεὶ. The statues must evidently be considered as seated, i.e. as ἔδη.

95 ἀκμάζει = ὥρα ἐστί: Cho. 722. Other such impersonals are ἡβᾷ (Ag. 589 αἰ γὰρ ἡβᾷ τοῖς γέρονσιν εὐ μαθεῖν), ἀρήγει (Eum. 571), ἀρμόζει (Soph. Tr. 731), κρατεῖ (Eur. Hēr. 248), ὀφείλει (Pind. N. 2. 6). A somewhat similar application of the word occurs in Xen. Cyr. 4. 2. 40 οὐ γὰρ πω διαπέπρακται ἡμῶν ἡ βουλόμεθα, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ πάντα νῦν ἀκμάζει ἐπιμελείας δεόμενα.

97 ἀκούετ' κ.τ.λ. Not addressed to the gods, but impatiently to each other. The schol. takes it, rather feebly, as ἀρα φανταζόμεθα ἢ ἀληθῶς ἀκούομεν;

98 sq. πέπλων καὶ στεφάνων κ.τ.λ. It is surely untenable to render (1) 'when are we to make supplications with offerings of robes and wreaths?' In this sudden and urgent crisis, and amid their panic-stricken flight, the women have not provided and brought such gifts. The situation is in no way similar to that described in Hom. Il. 6. 86 sqq., where there is time for all deliberate action. Nor is it parallel to that in Soph. O. T. 911 (Iocasta loq.) δόξα μοι παρεστώη |

ναοὺς ἰκέσθαι δαιμόνων τάδ' ἐν χερσὶν | στέφη λαβούση κάπιθυμιάματα, or Eur. Heracl. 440 ποῖ τρεψόμεσθα; τίς γὰρ ἀστεπτος θεῶν; Rather (2) 'when are we to engage in prayers by (lit. appertaining to) the robes and wreaths (which we have ere now offered)?' The gen. is made the easier by its use in e.g. Suppl. 335 (n.), Eur. Or. 669 φιλεῖν δάμαρτα πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν δοκεῖς | ταύτης ἰκνούμαι σ', Hes. 752 ἰκετεύω σε τῶνδε γονάτων | καὶ σοῦ γενέλου δεξιᾷ τ' εὐδαίμονος. The audience would immediately think of the πέπλος worked by the ἀρρηφόροι and ἐργαστίνα and offered to Athena Polias at the Panathenaea; but the custom was widespread. Cf. CIA II. 754 ἀμπέχονον περὶ τῷ ἔδει τῷ ἀρχαίῳ and the στολισμός of Isis. On Il. 6. 86 Leaf remarks that 'the idea of propitiating deities by clothing their images with costly robes is not only one of the most natural and universal of cults, but survives in full force to the present day in many parts even of Western Europe.' He quotes Paus. 3. 16. 2 ὁφαίνουσι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αἱ γυναῖκες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χιτῶνα τῷ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις &c. The Cadmean deities are expected to remember such services: cf. Ar. Eq. 1180 καλῶς γ' ἐπόησε (sc. Athena) τοῦ πέπλου μνημένη. (The πέπλοι and στέφη were left on the ἔξανα until the next ceremony.)

πότ' *ἡ νῦν <ἄρ'> κ.τ.λ. This reading, required by the metre, is indicated by the scholion. The more idiomatic expression has been evicted by the more usual (e.g. Dem. Ol. 3. 16 ἡ πότε αἰ δεῖ πράξετε, εἰ μὴ νῦν; Ar. Vesp. 402 πότε δ', εἰ μὴ νῦν, ἐπαρήξετέ μοι;). — πότ' ἡ = πότε

κτύπον δέδορκα· πάταγος οὐχ ἐνὸς δορός.

100

τί ρέξεις; προδώσεις,

παλαίχθων Ἀρης, τὰν τεάν;

ὦ χρυσοπήληξ δαίμων,

ἐπιδ' ἐπιδε πόλιν,

ἂν ποτ' εὐφιλήταν ἔθου.

105

στρ. α'.

θεοὶ πολιάχοι πάντες ἵτε χθονός·

ἴδετε παρθένων

ικέσιον λόχον δουλοσύνας ὕπερ.

κῦμα περὶ πτόλιν δοχμολόφων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν

καχλάζει πνοαῖς Ἄρεος ὁρόμενον.

110

100 πάταγον rec.

102 παλαίχθον rec. M places τὰν τεάν in the next verse.

γὰν τεάν rec., while others have τὰν τεάν or τὰν γήν τεάν, making the interpolation manifest. 103 δαίμων M, δαίμον m. Paley ejects the word. 103—105 Simple dochmiacs might be made with *ὦ χρυσοπήληξ, ἐπιδ' ἐπιδε <δη> | πόλιν, τὰν ποτ' εὐφιλήταν ἔθου. There is some suggestion of τὰν in the schol. (q.v.). 104 τὰν

πόλιν rec.

105 εὐφιλήταν M.

106 M writes θεοὶ with v. 105. πολιάχοι

ἄλλοτε ἢ (or πότε μάλλον ἢ as in Ar. *Lys.* 304): cf. Plat. *Crit.* 53 E τί ποιῶν ἢ εὐωχούμενος ἐν Θετταλίᾳ; Kühner-Gerth II. 304. So οὐδεὶς ἢ (Ath. 44 D &c.).—ἀρ' as in 91, 93.—ἀμφί...ἔξομεν: 'be concerned with': cf. Xen. *An.* 5. 2. 26 ὅπως οἱ πολέμοι ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἔχουσιν, 6. 6. 1, 7. 2. 16, *Oec.* 6. 7. So with εἶναι *An.* 3. 5. 14 ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, and somewhat similarly Hom. *Il.* 23. 159 τάδε δ' ἀμφὶ πονησόμεθ'. [Others render strangely as ἀμφέξομεν λιτανὰ πέπλων 'put round them the supplications of robes.'] For λιτανὰ as noun cf. *Suppl.* 75 γοεδνὰ δ' ἀνθεμίζομαι. The accentuation is debated (λιτανα M in *Suppl.* 817), but the probabilities are gathered from e.g. ἐανός, ἀγανός, ἐπηετανός.

100 κτύπον δέδορκα: a substitution of αἰσθησις ἀντ' αἰσθήσεως most often quoted, because the clearest example. The verb of seeing is somewhat freely applied in Greek: cf. Alex. *ap.* Ath. 134 A ἂν οἶνον μόνον | δόμην ἴδωσι. Similarly *P. V.* 115 τίς ἀχὺ τίς δόμα προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής; Soph. *Ph.* 216 βοᾷ τηλωπὸν ἰωάν. Smyth (*Gk. Mel. Poet.* p. 448) compares e.g. φωνὴ μέλαινα, φαεννὰ ὅπως (Pind. *P.* 4. 283). This use softens the zeugma in e.g. *P. V.* 21 ἦν' οὔτε φωνὴν οὔτε του μορφὴν βροτῶν | ὄψη, Hom. *Od.* 9. 166 Κυκλώπων δ' ἐς γαῖαν ἐλεύσσομεν ἔγγυς ἐόντων, | καπνὸν τ' αὐτῶν τε φθογ-

γὴν.—πάταγος. The enemy is now at closer quarters; it is not merely the distant βοή that is heard. πάταγος answers to the δοῦπος ἀκόντων of Hom. *Il.* 20. 451, Callim. 1. 14. The word appears to have had a special military application: cf. *Il.* 21. 387 σὺν δ' ἔπεσον μεγάλῳ πατάγῳ (in the θεομαχία), Soph. *Tr.* 517 τῶξων πάταγος, *Ani.* 125 π. Ἄρεος, Eur. *Heracl.* 832 π. ἀσπίδων, and Anacreon's πατάγῳ τε κάλαλητῷ.—οὐχ ἐνός: i.e. ἀλλὰ πολλῶν: cf. Hor. *O.* 4. 9. 39 consul non unius anni and see Headlam *On Edit. Aesch.* pp. 41 sqq. The expression is sometimes amplified or explained: e.g. *P. V.* 225 οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον, Soph. *O. T.* 122 οὐ μὰ ρώμη...ἀλλὰ σὺν πλήθει χερῶν, Eur. *Med.* 948 εὐδαιμονήσσει δ' οὐχ ἓν, ἀλλὰ μυρία.

101 sq. τί ρέξεις; A protest, not a mere question of uncertainty. The War-god seems to be helping the enemy by inspiring them. ρέξεις thus contains the notion of a wrong, as in the Pythagorean self-catechism πῇ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;—παλαίχθων: i.e. so long identified with Thebes. Cf. 125 (n.).

103 χρυσοπήληξ: so *Hymn. Ar.* 1 Ἄρε...χρυσοπήληξ. The helmet would be seen upon the βρέτας. All equipment of the Gods is traditionally of the metal which is most prized (Pind. *O.* 1. 1

A clang! I see it clear! The rattle of spears a-many! What is thy purpose? Wilt thou betray the land which is thine own, Ares, indweller from of old? God of the golden casque, look upon the city, which once thou didst approve thy well-beloved.

Ye Gods, our country's warders, come ye all! Behold a ^{1st} suppliant troop of maids, praying against slavery. strophe.

Round our city seethes a wave, a wave of men with sidelong crests, sped on by blasts of the Wargod's breath.

χθορὸς * * * ἴθ' ἴτε πάντες M. The chief error is in the order. Corr. *ed. ↓. There is no probability whatever in the arbitrary ἴθ' ἀθροί (Steusloff). ἴδετε πάντες Turneb. πολιοῦχοι or πολισσοῦχοι recc. πολίοχοι Dind. 109 κύμα γὰρ περὶ πτόλιν | δοχμολόφων ἀνδρῶν καχλάζει πνοαῖς | Ἄρεος κ.τ.λ. M. Corr. *ed. (For the misplacement of γὰρ cf. Diphil. ap. Ath. 422 B ταλαιπωρότερον γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστι in A. B. for τ. οὐδέν ἐστι γάρ (V. L.), and see MSS of Ar. *Plut.* 146.) ↓. γὰρ del. Klausen. ἀνδρῶν δοχμολόφων Lowinski. δοχμολοφῶν Bruck.

κτεάνων δὲ χρυσὸς αἰδοῖστατος), most beautiful, and least susceptible to tarnishing. Cf. *Hymn. Artem.* 5 παγχρόσsea τόξα, *Hymn. Dem.* 19 χρυσεῖσιν δοῖσιν (of Pluto), *Il.* 5. 509 Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσαόρου, *Arion fr.* 2 χρυσοτρίαινε Πόσειδον, *Bacchyl.* 13. 161 χρυσάρματος Ἀθήνα, *Pind. fr.* 116 χρυσάλακτος Λατώ, *Eur. Phoen.* 1372 Παλλάδος χρυσάσπιδος (χρυσολόγην *Ion* 9). *Helios (Hymn.* 9) glances χρυσῆς ἐκ κόρυθος. When Hesych. explains χρυσάλακτος· καλλίτοξος (of Artemis) he is probably understating; at least some gold adornment is implied. Even mortal equipment may be of gold, or ornamented with gold, e.g. *Eur. Phoen.* 168 ὅπλοισι χρυσεῖσιν ἐκπρεπῆς (Polyneices), *ibid.* 939.

105 εὐφιλῆταν ἱθού: at least from the time of the marriage of Cadmus with Harmonia, daughter of Ares. But this only indicates an older special connection of the God with Thebes. For the fem. ending in the compound cf. *Cho.* 68 παναρκέτας νόσον (n.), *Eum.* 77 περιρρύτας, *Alcaeus fr.* 33. 2 λάβαν χρυσοδέταν, *Bacchyl.* 9. 8 παῦλαν ἀπράκταν.

106 sqq. *The women have taken hold of the βρέτη (of which there may be twelve (206 n.), eight being mentioned by name).* Being thus more composed and grouped, they begin a second division of the πάροδος, in which the parts are antistrophic.

107 sq. ἴδετε παρθένων. It is these words which have caused the Chorus to be wrongly described as χορὸς παρθένων (see note to the ὑπόθεσις). Here (as in 156) the παρθένοι are speaking, but it is

only the strophe which belongs to them.—**λόχων** is a figure of speech qualified both by παρθένων and ἰκείσιν: cf. κύμα χερσαῖον στρατοῦ 64 (n.). The λόχοι of the men are to fight; this is to supplicate.—**δουλοσύνας ὑπέρ**: a rare use of ὑπέρ, denoting the thing to be escaped instead of the thing to be sought or protected. The nearest parallels seem to be *Soph. O. T.* 165 εἰ ποτε καὶ προτέρας ἅτας ὑπὲρ ὀρνυμένας πύλει | ἡνύσατ' ἐκτοπιᾶν φλόγα πῆματος ('in arrest of ruin,' Jebb), *ibid.* 187 ὦν ὑπὲρ...εὐῶπα πέμψον ἀλκάν. Cf. *Dem. Ol.* 1. 5 οὐ περὶ δόξης οὐδ' ὑπὲρ μέρους χώρας πολεμοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναστάσεις καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πατρίδος. *Lucian (Merc. Cond.* 40) has πολλοὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας παρελθόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἄλλο χρήσιμον εἰδέναι (= διὰ τὸ...). Somewhat similar is the use of εἵνεκα in *Suppl.* 1017 μὴ πάθωμεν ὦν πολλὸς πόνος, | πολλὸς δὲ πόντος εἵνεκ' ἡρόθη δορί ('to avoid which'). For the approximation to (or interchange with) περὶ see Kühner-Gerth 1. pp. 487, 548. The colloquial English 'trouble over' is analogous.

109 sq. κύμα περὶ πτόλιν κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. This fine figure, with its carefully chosen terms, is another illustration of the closeness with which Aeschylus had observed the sea. As the wind of Boreas or Zephyrus (*Ag.* 696) drives along a wave, over whose dark body a white crest of foam falls aslant, when it rushes against a ship and splashes and seethes around it, so the wind (= spirit or inspiration) of the War-god drives on a wave of men with slanting crests, and

ἀλλ' ὦ Ζεῦ <Ζεῖ>, πάτερ παντελής,
 πάντως ἄρῃσον δαῖτων ἄλωσιν.
 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ πόλισμα Κάδμου
 κυκλοῦνται, φόβος δ' ἄρῃων ὅπλων,
 διὰ δέ τοι γενύων ἱππέων <δετοὶ>
 κινύρονται φόνον χαλινοί.
 ἑπτὰ δ' ἀγάνορες πρέποντες στρατοῦ
 δορυσίοις σάγαις πύλαις ἐβδόμαις

* * *

προσίστανται πάλω λαχόντες.

- 111** <Ζεῦ> add. Hermann. M divides after πάντως. | See antistr. v. 125.
113 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ M (with γάρ superscr. by m, cf. 55 c.n.). Ἀργεῖοι editors. †.
114 φόβος Wakefield. The error would be natural (cf. Eur. *I. A.* 1308 ψόφον (L), φόβον (P)), but σόβος would be as probable. †. κυκλοῦνται φόβοις ἀρείων Enger. ἄρῃων M, corr. Butler. †. **115** διαδέτοι γενύων ἱππέων M. διάδετοι m (marg.). Corr. *ed. †. ἱππέων Passow, διάδετοι δέ τοι γενύων ἱππέων Dind., διάδετοι τε δὴ γένυος ἱππίας Herm. with too much change. **116** μινύρονται L. Dind. (led by Hesych.).

this breaks and seethes round the city.—
 ἀνδρῶν once more defines (64 n.).—δοχμο-
 λόφων. The crest (here obviously white)
 appears, like the white shield, to have
 been a special fashion with the Argives:
 cf. Soph. *Ant.* 114 λευκῆς χιόνος πτέρυγι
 στεγανὸς | πολλῶν μεθ' ὅπλων | ξύν θ'
 ἱπποκόμοις κορύθεσσι. It apparently does
 not stand erect nor fall straight behind,
 but is ἐκ πλαγίου (like the feathers of
 bersaglieri). Otherwise we may under-
 stand (with schol.) that they slant in the
 movement, but the expression is rather
 curt for the thought. [λευκολόφας (Eur.
Phoen. 119), γοργολόφας (Ar. *Ach.* 567)
 might support the δοχμολόφων (rather
 δοχμολοφᾶν) of Brunck. But there seems
 no reason why a form like λευκολόφος
 should not be used of a man as well as
 of a helmet (Ar. *Ran.* 1016 λευκολόφους
 τρυφαλείας), and it is intended that the
 word should be equally applicable to a
 wave.]

καχλάει: cf. 743—746, Eur. *Hipp.*
 1210 κάπειτ' ἀνοιδῆσάν τε καὶ πέριξ ἄφρον'
 πολλὸν καχλάζον ποντῶν φονήματι | χωρεῖ
 πρὸς ἀκτάς.—πνοαῖς: cf. 63, but here the
 sense of ἐπίπνοια (330) is more promi-
 nent.

*Ἄρεος, after the appeal to the friendly
 Ares of v. 102, shows how far the word
 has passed to the abstract (cf. 53 n.). For
 the position of γάρ see *Cho.* 1021 (n.).
 In comedy its place is often very much
 later: thus Ar. *Ath.* 339 v. (Antiph.) ἐπὶ
 τὸ τάριχός ἐστιν ὠρμηκυῖα γάρ, 559 E

(Menand.) νῦν ἀλήθινον | εἰς πέλαγος
 αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖς γὰρ πραγμάτων, 572 A
 (Antiph.) 8th place. So in *Ag.* 105 we
 should punctuate ἀνδρῶν ἐκτελέων ἐτι γὰρ
 θεόθεν καταπνέει κ.τ.λ.

111 sq. πάτερ παντελής κ.τ.λ. The
 alliteration of π is probably purposed:
 cf. *Suppl.* 1017 sq. (n.).—πάτερ appeals
 to his care, παντελής to his might. The
 sense of the latter is 'of full authority':
 cf. τέλος (148), τέλειος (152), *Suppl.* 600
 παντελῇ ψηφίσματα, *Ag.* 1486 Διὸς |
 παναιτίου πανεργέτα.

112 πάντως: not omnino, but = παντὶ
 τρόπῳ (inf. 288), παντὶ σθένει (*Suppl.* 153
 παντὶ δὲ σθένει...ρύσιος γενέσθω), or πάσῃ
 μηχανῇ. So Eur. *Or.* 1299 ὦ Διὸς ἀέναον
 κράτος | ἔλθ' ἐπικούρος...πάντως.—ἄρῃσον =
 arce; not a frequent use, but cf. Eur.
Heracl. 840 οὐκ ἀρήξει' αἰσχύνῃν πόλει;
Med. 1276 ἀρήξει φόνον...τέκνοις, *Tro.*
 771.

113 Ἀργεῖοι...Κάδμου: the anti-
 thesis of foreigner and native, a con-
 sideration involving their respective
 deities. The implication is that (the
 old and great) Cadmus' city should be
 inviolate.—δε is the δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ γάρ of
 scholiasts, and γάρ is an adscript (of m)
 here as in 453. See *Cho.* 32 (c.n.). The
 true way of stating the case is that the
 connective particle is used for metrical
 convenience where the explanatory might
 be expected.

114 κυκλοῦνται κ.τ.λ. A new meta-
 phor begins, derived from hunting. The

Yet do thou, Zeus, Father whose will ends all, baulk the foeman—yea, baulk him—of his prey.

The Argives hem Cadmus' stronghold round, beaters with gear of war. Withal the bits, bound through the horses' jaws, pipe the shrill note of slaughter. And seven champions, pre-eminent of the host in spearman's harness, take stand, each at a seventh gate, as his lot fell.

φόβον recc. (cf. 124). **117** ἀγάνορες M, corr. Dind. (See editor's Appendix to *Cho.* 22.)

118 δορυσσοῖς M, corr. recc. δορυσσοῖς Blomf. (M is weak in the matter of double and single letters.) The letters σαγαῖ (with the final of δορυσσοῖς) are written by m in an erasure. πύλαις ἐπ' ἐμαῖς Enger. ↓. πύλῳν ἐξέδοις Schwerdt (but the notion would rather require εἰσόδους). **119** The antistrophe implies a lacuna here, the sense being probably that given by <προδείχθῃντι πάλαι>, although these words would be too prosaic. προσίσταντο (Paley) is an error. ↓.

quarry is surrounded by the beaters.—**φόβος δ' κ.τ.λ.** could hardly be meant by Aesch. in the feeble sense of 'and we are afraid of...'. Rather **φόβος** (as *inf.* 373 κλάουσιν κώδωνες φόβον, Babr. 1. 26. 4 τῷ φόβῳ καταπλήσων of an empty sling) is the 'scare' used in hunting (cf. *formido*, although the special nature of the Latin 'scare' is not implied).—**ἀρήων ὅπλων** is no idle periphrasis; the adj. has independent point. To **ὅπλα** as instruments of peace the Chorus is accustomed; but these are the instruments of death and destruction. Moreover the **ὅπλα** of these beaters are not *θηρατικά*, but *ἀρεία*. For a similar point in the epithet cf. Xen. *Ages.* 1. 26 οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ σιδηρεῖς... πάντες πολεμικὰ ὅπλα κατασκευάζον, [Hom.] *Hym.* 11. 2 ἧ σὺν Ἄρῃ μέλει πολεμικὰ ἔργα (viz. Athena, whose ἔργα are of two kinds). Shakespeare (*K. L.* 4. 2. 17) makes Goneril say *I must change arms at home, and give the distaff | Into my husband's hands*. For the expression itself cf. [Hes.] *Scut.* 238 πολεμικὰ τεύχεα, Bacchyl. 18. 33, Hdt. 8. 37. The form **ἀρήων** is epic and lyric: cf. Bacchyl. 1. 3, Eur. *Phoen.* 832, Theogn. 557 δῶν.

115 διὰ δέ τοι κ.τ.λ. See crit. n.—**διαδέτοι γένων ἵππειων** makes neither metre nor satisfactory grammar, and the latter is still ignored if we emend with **διαδέτοι γένων ἱππῶν**. Greek would require *διάδοτοι γένονσιν ἱππίας*. To make the gen. depend on *χαλινῶν* is harsh. The reading in the text implies the scansion **γενῶν** (for which see Appendix) and the open **ἱππῶν** (like Ἀργίῶν of 113; cf. *Suppl.* 61 *Τηρείας*, Ag. 127 Ἀτρεΐδας, Eur. *Trö.* 521 Ἀχαιοὶ &c.). The metaphor here has been, like so many more in Aeschylus, commonly overlooked. It is

that of v. 450 (n.), viz. of the playing of a *σύριγξ* or of *αὔλοι*, when the head is bound with the *φορβειά*. The bridle and bit (with *φιμολ*) answer to such musical equipment; but here the players are horses (whence the point of *ἵππων*). Plutarch (*Mor.* 456 c), speaking of Mar-syas with his *φορβειά* and *περιστόμια*, quotes from an anonymous poet the words *συνήρμυσεν... | ...στόμα λάβρον ὀπισθοδέτοιαν ἱμάσιν*. The *χαλινῶν* διὰ *γενῶν* *δέτοι* are the *ὀπισθόδετοι ἱμάντες* in this instance. The tune which these strange pipes are playing is the shrill order to slay (*φόνον*). [It is highly probable that in the actual beating of hunters the *σύριγξ* was used, partly to increase the *φόβος*, partly for the working together of those concerned.]

117 sq. **ἀγάνορες**: used as a noun, unless the lost words contained e.g. *λοχαγοί*.—**πρέποντες** (= *conspiciendī*): closely with *σάγαις*. Their panoply is marked by special splendour. For this use of *πρέπειν* see *Cho.* 12 (n.).—**στρατοῦ** accompanies the superlative force in *πρέποντες*: cf. 57. In *δορυσσοῖς* the metaph. from hunting is still maintained. The hunter has his *σάγη*; but these bear that of the warrior with his *δόρυ*, not of the hunter with his *ἄκων*. The application of *σάγη* is not necessarily military; cf. *Cho.* 558 *παντελή σάγην* (of a traveller). The quarry is shut in and the seven leaders come up to seven openings in the enclosure.

118 sq. **ἐβδόμαις** cannot simply = *ἐπτά*. In Hom. *Il.* 8. 404 οὐδέ κεν ἐς δέκατους περιτελλομένους ἐνιαυτοὺς | ἔλκε' ἀπαλθήσεσθον the sense is 'each till a tenth year'; there is a *δέκατον ἔτος* in each case, and Hom. uses the plur. of the

ἀντ. α'.

σύ τ', ὦ Διογενὲς φιλόμαχον κράτος,
 ῥυσίπολις γενοῦ,
 Παλλὰς. ὃ θ' ἵππιος ποντομέδων ἀναξ
 ἰχθυβόλῳ <βαλῶν> μαχανᾷ Ποσειδᾶν
 ἐπίλυσιν φόβων ἐπίλυσιν δίδου.
 σύ τ' Ἄρης, φεῦ φεῦ, πόλιν ἐπώνυμον
 Κάδμου φύλαξον κἀδεσαί τ' ἐναργῶς.
 καὶ Κύπρις, ἄτε γένους προμάτωρ,
 ἄλευσον· σέθεν <ΜΕΝ> ἐξ αἵματος

120

125

121 ῥυσίπολις M, corr. recc.

122 ἵππιος | ποντομέδων M.

123 <βαλῶν>

add. *ed. (see strophe v. 109). Emendations reported by Weckl. are here

peculiarly audacious (e.g. ἰχθυβόλῳ μαχᾶν ἀποσῶβει κέντρῳ Merkel). ^ημαχανᾷ M.

124 φόνων M (with βον superscr. by m), φόβων recc. (cf. 45, 113). ψ. πόνων Dind.

125 φεῦ φεῦ | ἐπώνυμον Κάδμου | πόλιν M. Κάδμου ἐπώνυμον recc. Corr. *ed.

several cases just as with Hdt. a number of persons possess *μεγάθεα* or as Xenoph. (*Hell.* 3. 2. 18) speaks of τοὺς κρατίστους τὰ εἶδη. Here each stands at a seventh gate, and in the plural they stand 'at seventh gates.'—*προσίστανται*. The tense should be noted. The champions are as yet only approaching. The point of *πάλῳ λαχόντες* is that the approach is being made in orderly and complete fashion, for which pre-arrangement was needed. The words show that the Chorus had been informed of the news in 55 sq.

120 sq. *Διογενὲς*: in a special sense, since she was the child of Zeus without a mother: cf. Eur. *Hel.* 25 *Διογενὲς παρθένος*, *Cycl.* 350 ὦ Παλλὰς...*Διογενὲς θεά*, Soph. *Aj.* 91. The appeal to Zeus is followed by that to Athena in her character as a war-goddess, and especially as *πολιάς* or *πολιοῦχος*. She possessed the title and function of 'guardian of citadel' not only at Athens but in various Greek states (see Farnell *Cults* &c., I. p. 299, Jebb on Soph. *Ph.* 134, Preller *Griech. Myth.*⁴ I. 219). Cf. Pind. *O.* 5. 10 *πολιάοχε Παλλὰς* and the epithet *ἀκραία, πωλαίτις*. Hence *ῥυσίπολις γενοῦ*='prove (indeed) *ῥυσίπολις* (according to your title).' Cf. Hom. *Il.* 6. 305 *πότνι' Ἀθηναίη ῥυσίπολις*, *Hymn. Ath.* 1 *Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην ἐρυσίπολιν*.—*φιλόμαχον*: Bacchyl. 14. 3 *Παλλάδος ὀρσιμάχων*, Pind. *O.* 7. 43 *κόρα ἐγχειβρόμῳ*, *Hymn. Aphr.* 10 ἀλλ' ἄρα οἱ πόλεμοί τε ἄδον καὶ ἔργον Ἄρης, | ὕμναι τε μάχαι τε, Cic. *N. D.* 3. 53 *Minervam...quam principem et inventricem belli ferunt*. She

is *κράτος* as deciding the victory: cf. 148 *πολεμόκραντον ἀγνὸν τέλος*.

122 ὃ θ' ἵππιος κ.τ.λ. The mention of Poseidon next after Athena would in this connection be natural to an Athenian. The two deities were associated in the Erechtheum as joint *πολιοῦχοι*. At Thebes Poseidon was tutelary in a more special degree: [Hes.] *Scut.* 104 Ἐννοσίγαιος, | δς Θήβης κρήδεμον ἔχει ῥύεταί τε πόλιν, *Et. Mag.* p. 547 ἡ Βοιωτία δὴν ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνος (from Aristarchus). With the latter statement cf. the indications in Hom. *Il.* 2. 506, Pind. *I.* 1. 52.—*ἵππιος*. For the god of the sea as god of horses cf. [Hom.] *Hym.* 22. 4 *διχθά τοι, Ἐννοσίγαιε, θεοὶ τιμὴν ἐδάσαντο, | ἵππων τε δμητῆρ' ἔμεναι σωτήρᾳ τε νηῶν*, Soph. *O. C.* 713 *ἀναξ Ποσειδᾶν, ἵπποισιν τὸν ἀκεστῆρα χαλινὸν | πρωταῖσι ταῖσδε κτίσας ἀγνιαῖς*, Ar. *Eq.* 551, *Anth. P.* 9. 90 *νηῶν ὠκυπόρων δς ἔχεις κράτος ἵππιε δαίμων*. In the legends he is either the creator or the tamer of horses. See Farnell *Cults* IV. pp. 14 sqq., where the theory that the title is derived from 'theriomorphic suggestion in the waves' may be supported by such facts as that at Naples the larger racing waves are styled *cavalloni*. How Poseidon Hippios might be represented trident in hand may be seen in the illustrations in Farnell *l.c.* pp. 57, 66.—*ποντομέδων* is suggested by the sight of the trident. Although the god is not called upon to act in his capacity of sea-lord, it is part of prayer to magnify the deity by invoking him under various titles of power and greatness. Moreover there

Do thou too, Zeus-born Might, that lovest battle, Pallas, prove Saviour of thy town! 1st anti-strophe.

And thou, Lord of horses, who dost sway the deep, Poseidon, smite with thy weapon that smites the fish, and give us deliverance, deliverance from our fears.

And thou, Ares—for pity!—shield the town whose name is the name of Cadmus, and make manifest thy kinship and thy care.

And thou, Cypris, for that thou art foremother of our race, give succour. 'Tis from thy blood we are; yet with

πόλιν Κάδμου ἐπώνυμον Dind., Κάδμου πόλιν ἐπ. Bergk.

126 κήδεσαι Μ.

127 ἄτε Μ. 128 sq. σέθεν ἐξ αἵματος | γεγόναμεν· λιταῖς σε | θεοκλύτοις Μ. Corr. *ed. (except for the division). σέθεν γάρ of recc. and λιταῖσι σε of Hermann form the common reading.

is the more likelihood of addressing him by the name he prefers (cf. *sen Iane libentius audis*, and *Ag.* 170 εἰ τὸδ' αὐτῷ φίλον κεκλημένω, | τοῦτό νιν προσενέπω). Hence the three titles here. Cf. *Hymn. Ath.* 3 παρθένον αἰδοῖν ἐρυσίπτολιν ἀλκή-εσσαν, *Hymn. Ar.* 1 Ἄρες ὑπερμενέτα, βρισάρματε, χρυσοπήληξ, | ὀβριμόθυμε, φέραςπι κ.τ.λ., *Luc. Tim.* 1.

123 ἰχθυόλω...μαχανῇ: i.e. τριανῇ, but signifying more than that word, viz. 'smite them as men smite fish.' The trident of the sea-god is not grotesquely called his 'fish-smiting engine.' He bears the τριανᾶ as his emblem of authority and as his weapon (*P. V.* 957 τριαναν, αἰχμὴν τὴν Ποσειδῶνος, *Hom. Il.* 12. 27), but its object with him is not τὸ βάλλειν τοὺς ἰχθύς. Men use the trident (or three-pronged harpoon) for that purpose (*Anth. P.* 6. 38 κητοφόνον τε τριαναν ἐν ὕδασι καρτερόν ἐγχοι, *Epicr. ar.* *Ath.* 699 ἐναλίων θηρῶν βέλος, *Callim. Hymn. Del.* 15 ἰχθυοβόλῃς=ἀλκῇς). The Chorus sees the trident in the hand of the ἔδανον (cf. *Suppl.* 224 ὁρῶ τριαναν τήνδε, σημείον θεοῦ), and, strange weapon as it seems, being the instrument or device wherewith it is customary to slay fish, they implore the god to turn it to other purpose in slaying men.

124 ἐπίλυσιν φόβων: cf. 256 λύουσα πολέμιον φόβον (n.). The objection to φόβων is not to the plural, which would mean 'slaughter after slaughter' (cf. *Plut. Mor.* 577 Α πρὶν ἐμπλήσσαι τὴν πόλιν δλην φόβων), but to ἐπίλυσιν with that word. The expression would be possible only if slaughter were proceeding. [Wecklein points out that repetition of the present

kind is favoured in dochmiacs: cf. *Eur. Hipp.* 836 τὸ κατὰ γὰς θέλω τὸ κατὰ γὰς κνέφας. The excitement implied in the metre is the excuse, and the metrical convenience is obvious.]

125 σύ τ' Ἄρης φεύ κ.τ.λ. The interjections are prompted by the feeling that Ares, through his old tutelary relations with Thebes and his connection with Cadmus, should be the last to help the enemy. Cadmus had married Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite. Hence the emphasis on Κάδμου and the use of κήδεσαι, which combines the two senses of κήδος, viz. *cura* and *affinitas*. Aesch. is fond of playing upon this double meaning: cf. *Ag.* 701 κήδος ὀρθώνυμον ('a κήδος rightly named'), *Cho.* 86 (n.). Meanwhile it is not at all unlike the Greek fondness for paronomasia for κήδεσαι to glance at Κάδ-μον. The words ἐπώνυμον Κάδμου distinctly show that the town is not yet Thebes.—ἐναργῶς: as a θεὸς ἐναργής, *praesens deus*.

127 sqq. Κύπρις: following naturally upon the mention of Ares. For a war-character of Aphrodite, as the oriental *Allat* and wife of Ares, see Farnell *Cults* II. p. 635.—προμάτωρ: in so far as the race is supposed to be descended from Harmonia (*στρατὸν Καδμογενῆ* 289).—σέθεν <μὲν> κ.τ.λ. is not only the easiest cure of the metre, but makes clear the thought and gives a proper value to θεοκλύτοις. 'Though of your own blood, we approach you with full sense of your godhead.'—σε: after ἀπύουσαι; cf. *Hom. Il.* 3. 477 ἀεὶ δ' ἐταίρους, *Pind. O.* 1. 72 ἀπεν...Εὐτρίαναν, *Eur. Hipp.* 167 τὰν δ' οὐρανίαν...ἀύτεν.

γεγόναμεν· λιταῖς <δέ> σε θεοκλύτοις
ἀπύουσαι πελαζόμεσθα.
καὶ σύ, Λύκει' ἀναξ, Λύκειος γενοῦ
στρατῶ δαίῳ στόνων ἀντίτας.
σύ τ', ὦ Λατογένει-
α κούρα, τόξον ἐκπυκάζου.

130

στρ. β'.

ἔ ἔ ἔ ἔ,
ὄτοβον ἀρμάτων ἀμφὶ πόλιν κλύω,
ὦ πότνι' Ἥρα·
ἔλακον ἀξόνων βριθομένων χνόαι,
Ἄρτεμι φίλα·
ἔ ἔ ἔ ἔ.

135

130 ἀντούσαι Seidler. ↓. *ἐπαύουσαι is possible. ↓. M proceeds with the division ...ἀναξ [...δαίῳ [...ὦ |]. **131** λύκειος M, corr. m. **132** στόνων ἀντᾶς M. I provisionally adopt Wecklein's ἀντίτας (from αὐ τίτας of M. Schmidt), but I incline to *στρατῶ δαίῳ <γ' > ἀντᾶ στόνων or ἀντᾶ στόνων στρατῶ δαίῳ. ↓. ἀλλύτας Dind., ἀίτας Stanley, ἀπύα Hermann. **133** ὦ Λατωῖς Enger. τόξον *στυκάζου M

130 ἀπύουσαι. The usual quantity is ἀπύουσαι, but the second syll. may very well be long. Moschus (2. 124) has ἡπύοντες, and (1. 98) ἀνηπύοντες, and he can hardly have lacked warrant. In *Cho.* 395 δαίῳ occurs (from *Il.* 11. 497). The quantity in ἀλώω, λύω, θύω, φύω, κωλύω, φιλύω, μηνύω is variable, and there seems no reason why ἀπύω should not be added to the list. The anacrustic ἀ- is of course irrational.

131 καλ...σύ τ' κ.τ.λ. καὶ begins another appeal, to brother and sister deities, and the pair are joined by τ' of v. 133.

Λύκει' ἀναξ. Apollo as destroyer is called by this title in *Ag.* 1256, *Suppl.* 693, *Soph.* O. T. 203. In *Soph. El.* 645 he is to champion the one cause and injure the other. For an examination of the epithet see Farnell *Cults* iv. pp. 113 sqq., and cf. Jebb on *Soph. El.* 6 τοῦ λυκοκτόνου θεοῦ | ἀγορά Λύκειος (Append.), Leaf on *Il.* 4. 101. The origin was apparently totemistic. To the Greek mind Apollo Lyceus in equally the slayer of wolves (Plut. *Mor.* 966 A, *Anth. Pal.* 13. 22) or the king and protector of wolves (who are προσφιλεῖς to him, Plut. *Mor.* 400 A). A θεὸς ἀπολλύς is also a θεὸς σωτήριος in regard to the agencies which he controls. Artemis is not only the huntress; she is also the protectress of young animals (*Ag.* 139 sqq.). The

sender of plagues and the averter of plagues is the same ἐκθήβολος. Hence Λύκειος may protect from wolves or, as here, act the wolf.—Λύκειος γενοῦ: 'prove (indeed) Wolf,' cf. 121 (n.), 9 (n.). Apollo is to put on that avatar or answer to that title, which may be chosen according to the principle stated in Plut. *Mor.* 385 Β πόθιος μὲν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις μανθάνειν καὶ διαπυνθάνεσθαι· Δῆλιος δὲ καὶ Φαναῖος οἷς ἦδη τι δηλοῦται κ.τ.λ., but which is more probably suggested by some actual appearance with the ξόανον (cf. the coin from Tarsus with wolves standing by an effigy of Apollo, *Hell. Journ.* 1898, p. 171).

[Wolves were common in ancient Greece (cf. Paus. 9. 13. 4).]

132 στόνων ἀντίτας. See crit. n. The emendation of Wecklein is not convincing, but is perhaps the best offered. Grammatically στόνων ἀντᾶς is quite possible as gen. of price or equivalence. The construction is more frequent than is commonly supposed. See *Cho.* 145 (n.) and add to the examples there Eur. *Med.* 534 μείζω γε μέντοι τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας | εἰληφας ἢ δέδωκας, *Rhes.* 467 τοιαῦτα μὲν σοι τῆς μακρᾶς ἀπουσίας | πράξει παρέξω, Neophron *fr.* 3. 3 τοια σε μοῖρα σῶν κακῶν ἔργων μένει, *Soph. Tr.* 287 εἴτ' ἂν ἀγὰ θύματα | ῥέξη πατρίῳ Ζηνὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως, Eur. *Ion* 1359 sq., Herond. 4. 25 ὕλως εἴη | ...τοῖσδε...καλῶν ἔργων. A schol.

prayers that men make to Gods we cry upon thee and draw nigh.

Thou too, Wolf-king, prove wolf indeed to the foeman's host and pay back groan for groan.

And do thou, Leto's virgin child, unsheath thy bow.

Ah! the ringing of chariots—I hear it round our town! ^{2nd}
O Hera Queen! The loud note from the naves of the heavy-strophe laden axles! O Artemis benign!

(apparently), ἐντυκάζου m, εὐ πνυκάζου recc. Corr. *ed. ↓. εὐτυκάζου L. Dind. (from Hesych.), εὐ τυχάζου Hartung (from Hesych. τυχάζεσθαι· στοχάζεσθαι). For στ confused with π in minuscules cf. Theogn. 584 ἐξοστίσω A (for -οπ-), and Ag. 152, where we should read φάσματ' ἀπορθοῦν for φάσματα στρουθῶν. M adds Ἄρτεμι φίλα (from v. 138), which Seidler removed. **136** πότνια M. ἥρη M^a, ἥρα M.

seems, from his ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμεῖς νῦν θρηνοῦμεν, to have construed the words thus. Yet, apart from the metrical difficulty, it is hard, if not impossible, to supply ἡμετέρων. The metre might be cured by a transposition (cf. 87, 106, 109) and participle, viz. στρατῷ δαῖψ γ' ἀντάς στόνων, γ' having the force of a plea (with the adj.), i.e. 'the στρατός of the Argives is an army of your foes.' The vagueness, however, remains, and it would be more satisfactory to read στρατῷ δαῖψ γ' ἀντὰ στόνων 'with shrieks and groans.'

With ἀντίτας there is not merely a notion of 'avenging,' but of paying back like for like. The στόνοι of the Cadmean women are to be requited with στόνοι from the enemy, caused by the βέλεα στονέντα (Il. 8. 159) of the god (cf. Il. 15. 451 πολύστονος ἰός, Theoc. 25. 213 ἰὸν ἐχέστονον). For the application of στόνος cf. Il. 19. 214 φόνος τε καὶ αἶμα καὶ ἀργαλέος στόνος ἀνδρῶν, 4. 445.

133 sq. σύ τ', ὦ κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. The τὸξον is present with the ξέανον. —*ἐκπνυκάζου: take from the bow-case (γωρυτός). Cf. Hom. Od. 11. 607 γυμνὸν τόξον ἔχων, 21. 54 αἰνυτο τόξον | αὐτῷ γωρυτῷ, ὅς οἱ περικεῖτο φαεινός. As the same case also held arrows (see illust. in Dict. Ant. I. 171 A) both bow and arrows are here intended. The notion is thus that of Ant. Rh. P. 13. 12 σὺ σοι φάρετρη λυεταὶ λυκοκτόνος. L. Dindorf's εὐτυκάζου is taken from Hesych. εὐτυκάζου· εὐτυκον ἔχε, ἐτοίμοι. But the στ (which often = π) of M, and the tokens from schol. and recc. point to π rather than τ. For the sense cf. πνυκάζω.

134 sqq. ἰ ἰ κ.τ.λ. A new section, with further description of the course of events. The cries ὦ πότνι' Ἥρα and the

like may come as interjections from other members of the chorus than those singing the rest of the lines.—πότνι' Ἥρα. This goddess is not addressed as φίλη, but with a term of respect only. Hera was commonly considered inimical to Thebes (as in the sending of the Sphinx and in the matters of Semele and Dionysus, Alcmena and Heracles). Her sympathies are naturally with her own special city of Argos (Hom. Il. 4. 50 ἥ τοι ἔμοι τρεῖς μὲν πολὺ φίλτατα εἰσι πόλεις, | Ἄργος τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρύγυνια Μυκήνη). Nevertheless, as one of the πανήγυρις (206) of greater gods, she is among the βρέτη, and Ion of Chios mentions her temple at Thebes (Sallustius Arg. to Soph. Ant.).

137 βριθομένων: with the weight of the men in heavy armour, a fighting man (παραβάτης) and a charioteer (ἥρλοχος). Cf. Hom. Il. 5. 838 μέγα δ' ἔβραχε φήγυνος ἄξων | βριθοσύνη (when Athena mounts beside Diomedes), Hymn. Ar. 1 Ἄρες...βρισάρματε.

χνόαι are variously interpreted as (1) the nave or box, (2) the end of the axle moving in the box. See Jebb on Soph. El. 745 ἔθρανσε δ' ἄξονος μέσας χνόας. It was natural that there should be some vacillation between meanings so close. Here it is the nave, regarded as a pipe. In [Hes.] Scut. 309 ἐπὶ δὲ πλῆμναι μέγ' αὐτεν it is the naves that scream. The actual pipe of the nave was called σῦριγξ (Suppl. 187 σῦριγγες οὐ σιγῶσιν ἄξονήλατοι), and in view of the use of ὄτοβον (applied to a σῦριγξ or αὐλός) and ἑλακον, and of the similar terms in 186 sqq. (where see the note), it is clear that there is an allusion to such musical instruments.

δοριτίνακτος αἰθήρ δ' ἐπιμαίνεται.

140

τί πόλις ἄμμι πάσχει; τί γενήσεται;

ποῖ δὲ τί τέλος ἐπάγει θεός;

ἀντ. β'.

ἐ ἐ ἐ ἔ,

ἄκροβόλων δ' ἐπάλξεων λιθὰς ἔρχεται,

ὦ φίλ' Ἀπολλων.

145

κόναβος ἐν πύλαις χαλκοδέτων σακέων.

καὶ Διόθεν <ὦ>

πολεμόκραντον ἀγνὸν τέλος, ἐν μάχαι-

σί τε μάκαιρ' ἄνασσ' Ὀγκα ὑπὲρ πόλεως,

ἐπτάπυλον ἔδος ἐπιρρύου.

150

140 δοριτίνακτος recc. δ' αἰθήρ M, corr. Herm. (cf. *Suppl.* 925 κάρβανος δ' ὦν for ὦν δ'). δ' om. rec. 142 ποῖ δ' ἐτι M. Corr. *ed. †. ποῖ δὲ τὸ Blomf.

144 ἐπάλξει Heimsoeth. ἐπαλξιν would be an obvious conjecture, but is needless. †. 147 καὶ Διόθεν | M. <ὦ> Lowinski. καὶ might be a corruption of ἦκε (imperat.). καὶ <σὺ> or καὶ <τὸ> G. C. W. Schneider, Διόθεν <ᾧ>

140 αἰθήρ ἐπιμαίνεται. A vivid expression. The air 'maddens' with the brandishing of spears. The notion of the riot of a place filled (and over-filled) with movement appears in Soph. *Aj.* 143 ἱππομανῇ λειμῶνα (= λειμ. δὲ μανεται ἱπποῖς Jebb, who quotes ὕλομανεῖν, φυλλομανεῖν). The air can hardly hold the hurtling spears: cf. the curious expression in Plut. *Sull.* 16. 2 τὴν δὲ κραυγὴν καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸν οὐκ ἔστεγεν ὁ αἶθήρ. So *inf.* 952 μανεται γόοισι φρήν. But here there is the further picture of the emotional participation of nature or inanimate surroundings in an action. This notion (which would appear very modern) is not rare in ancient literature: see Sikes-Allen on *Hymn. Apoll.* 118 μελίσσῃ δὲ γαῖα ὑπερθεῖν and quotations. So Aesch. (*fr. Lycurg.*) ἐνθουσιᾷ δὴ δῶμα, βακχεύει στέγη (at the appearance of Dionysus) and Eur. *Bacch.* 726 πᾶν δὲ συνεβάκχεν ὄρος (on the boldness of which Longinus comments, c. 15). Homer (*Il.* 13. 339) has a boldness of another, but a cognate, kind in ἐφρίξεν δὲ μάχη φθισιμβροτος ἐγχείρισιν. For the participation of the air in particular cf. *Suppl.* 615 χερσὶ δεξιανύμοις | ἐφρίξεν αἰθήρ τόνδε κρανόντων λόγον, Eur. *Ion* 1078 καὶ Διὸς ἀστερωπὸς ἀνεχθρέυσεν αἰθήρ, Ap. Rhod. 2. 569 πάντῃ δὲ περὶ μέγας ἔβρεμεν αἰθήρ (round the Symplegades),

Shak. *Henry V., Prol.* 13 the very casques | That did affright the air at Agincourt. [There may be some notion of τινάσσειν as used of the θύρσος in a Maenad-procession. Here the mad revelling is that of the spear, cf. 485.] The force of ἐπι- is 'withal,' not 'above us.' For the later position of δ' cf. *Cho.* 517 τὰ δῶρα μείω δ' ἐστὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας and note, where add Alex. *ap. Ath.* 28 F δὲ ἂν εἰς ἐτέραν ληθῇ δ' ἀποστέλλων πόλιν as corrected by Porson from δὲ δ' ἂν... of MSS.

142 ποῖ *δὲ τί κ.τ.λ. There is no value in ἐτι of MSS. The double question is a common idiom. Hom. *Od.* 14. 187 τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; Bacchyl. 18. 31 τίνα δ' ἔμμεν πόθεν ἄνδρα τοῦτον | λέγει; 5. 86, Soph. *Ant.* 401, Eur. *I. T.* 1360 τίνας τίς ὦν; *Rhes.* 702, Eubul. *ap. Ath.* 25 C ἰχθὺν δ' Ὀμηρος ἐσθλοῖν' ἔρηκε ποῖ | τίνα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν;

144 ἄκροβόλων κ.τ.λ. The advance has come close. The part. gen. with ἔρχεται as with ἐφικνεῖται and in general with verbs of hitting, missing, touching &c. This is less bold than that in e.g. Eur. *Phoen.* 451 τόνδ' εἰσεδέξω τειχέων, Soph. *Aj.* 1274 ἐρκέων... ἐγκεκλημένους.— ἄκροβόλων (which is more probably passive, 'smitten along their tops') might be separated from ἐπάλξεων ('the stoning of the skirmishers'), but we cannot say

The air, hurtling with spears, maddens withal. How goes it with our city? What is to be? Whither and what the issue that Heaven brings on?

Ah! the rain of stones reaches our battlements and smites^{2nd anti-} their tops. Apollo our friend! In the gateways is the clash of^{strophe.} bronze-bound shields.

And thou, whom Zeus hath made a Power inviolate to decide war's issue, Onca, Queen blest in battle, who standest above our town, deliver thy seven-gated habitation.

Prien. παῖ Διὸς ὅθεν von den Bergh.

148 sq. ἐν μάχῃ, σὺ τε Hermann. †. **149** πρὸ πόλεως M, corr. Hermann, partly from gloss in rec. ἡ ἐπάνω τῆς πόλεως ἱστορουμένη (ιδρυμένη?). The quantity of the final in Ὀγκα is uncertain. If short,

Ὀγκα-πρὸ πόλεως <ῶ> is possible.

150 ἐπιρόν M, ἐπιρρον m.

λιθὰς ἐπάλξεων ('their stoning of the ramparts'), since λιθὰς can hardly possess so distinct a verbal sense. For the thought itself cf. Hom. *Il.* 9. 573 τῶν δὲ τάχ' ἀμφὶ πύλας δμαδος καὶ δοῦπος ὀρώρει | πύργων βαλλομένων, Caes. *B. G.* 2. 6 *undique lapides in murum iaci coepit sunt, murusque defensoribus nudatus est*, Tac. *Hist.* 2. 22.

146 κόναβος κ.τ.λ. The κόναβος is not τυμπάνων χαλκοδέτων (cf. 137 n.), but σακέων.—χαλκοδέτων: see 43 (n.). The shield of hide is rimmed and barred with bronze.

147 sqq. Διόθεν...τέλος κ.τ.λ. Onca is the 'holy war-deciding authority by will of Zeus' (cf. Lamprocles *fr.* Παλλάδα περσέπολιν κλήξω πολεμαδόκον ἀγνὰν | παῖδα Διός). The expression is, however, more highly charged. ἀγνόν combines the notions of (1) the inviolable authority, (2) the virginity of Onca (= Athena): τέλος is (1) one in authority (cf. 120 κράτος, *Cho.* 172 (n.), *Suppl.* 534 τελέων τελευτάτων κράτος, and τὰ τέλη), (2) the 'end' or 'issue' in war: Διόθεν not only states the source of the authority (cf. 311 θεόθεν n.) but alludes to the parentage of Athena (120). There is thus a complete coalescence of 'inviolable end to war by appointment of Zeus' with 'pure power, deciding war, born of Zeus.'—πολεμῶ-κραντον: active, cf. *Cho.* 859 κοπάνων ἀνδροδαίκτων, *Pers.* 106 πολέμους πυργο-δαίκτους.

In ἐν μάχαισί τε κ.τ.λ. the τε is exegetic: 'yea, Queen blessed (*i.e.* successful, *felix*) in battles.' In ἀνασσ'

there is the notion of 'leader' (cf. ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων) beyond the mere title. It is not unlike Greek poetry for the assonance in μάχαισί...μάκαι' to be deliberate in suggestion.

149 sq. Ὀγκα. That this (or Ὀγγα) was the name of a Phoenician goddess is scarcely open to doubt. Pausanias (9. 12. 2), as an argument that Cadmus came from Phoenicia and not from Egypt, uses this fact of the local name 'of Athena,' ὅτι Ὀγγα κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Φοινίκων καλεῖται καὶ οὐ Σάις κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων φωνήν. Such a statement could hardly have been penned at that date, when Phoenician was a living language, if it had been without foundation. The tradition also is constant: cf. Steph. Byz. Ὀγκαίαι· πύλαι Θηβῶν...Ὀγκα γὰρ ἡ Ἀθηναῖα κατὰ Φοίνικας. Two scholia make the same assertion here. The identification with Athena is of course due to the similarity of functions or character between the Hellenic and the Phoenician goddess. Scepticism as to extensive 'Phoenician' settlement in primitive Greece is now upon the wane. See *Introduct.* § 2 and *inf.* 474.

ὑπὲρ πόλεως: see *crit. n.* The expression would recall to the audience the Athenian goddess who χεῖρας ὑπερθεῖν ἔχει (200 sq. n.).—ἐπτάπυλον ἔδος. The whole city is regarded as a seat or shrine of the goddess, but ἔδος alone would have meant literally her temple. Hence the qualifying ἐπτάπυλον (v. 64), which not only thus defines, but implies the size and importance of the city which is hers.

στρ. γ'. ἰὼ παναρκεῖς θεοί· ἰὼ τέλει-
 οἱ τέλειαί τε γᾶς
 τᾶσδέ γε πυργοφύλακες,
 πόλιν δορίπονον μὴ προδῶθ'
 <ὦδ' > ἑτερόφρουι στρατῷ.
 κλύετε παρθένων κλύετε πανδίκως
 χειροτόνους λιτάς.

155

ἀντ. γ'. ἰὼ φίλοι δαίμονες, λυτήριοι
 ἄμφιβάντες πόλιν
 δείξα<τέ> θ' ὡς φιλοπόλεις,
 μέλεσθέ θ' ἱερῶν δαμίων,
 μελούμενοι δ' ἀρήξατε·
 φιλοθύτων δέ τοι πόλεος ὀργίων
 μνάστορες ἔστε μοι.

160

151 m writes λ over ρ in παναρκεῖς.

τέλειαί τε γᾶς.

152 M divides ...θεοί· | ἰὼ τέλειοι
 153 τᾶσδέγε M, τᾶσδε recc. (and editors generally).

154 δορίπονον recc.

155 ἑτεροφῶν στρατῷ M. Corr. *ed. †. ἑτεροθρόφ
 Headlam. I had previously thought of ἑτεροθρῶ <κρατεῖν> στρατῷ. ἑτεροφύλῳ
 Pauw. [The confusion of -φρων and -φων- is frequent: cf. *Suppl.* 625 πρόφρων ὦν
 (M) for προφωνῶν, *Soph. O. T.* 72 φρονῶν (V.) for φωνῶν, *Aj.* 1230 (variants
 ἐφρόνεις, ἐφώνεις). Here also Par. C gives ἑτεροφρώνῳ and Par. A γρ. ἑτεροφρόνῳ

151 sq. ἰὼ κ.τ.λ. Here the παρθένοι
 take up their part (156).—παναρκεῖς =
 ('able to meet all needs' i.e.) 'all-sufficing
 aid.'—τέλειοι: 'of full authority': cf.
 τέλος 147 (n.), *Ag.* 963 ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ'
 ἐπιστρωφωμένον, 964 Ζεῦ Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς
 ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει, *Cho.* 659 τελεσφόρος.
 Mankind are of less avail, and their aid
 of less warrant.

153 γᾶς τᾶσδέ γε κ.τ.λ. γε is *pathe-*
ticum. The word is not at all likely to
 have been interpolated. Its point is that
 their duty *here* is plain; it is to defend
 this land, whatever may be their function
 elsewhere.

154 sq. δορίπονον: either = δορίπονον
 οὔσαν, 'now that it is amid toil of battle,'
 or proleptic 'betray it to suffer with the
 spear.' The latter appears preferable.
 The thought in προδῶθ' is more than that
 of mere abandoning; with πυργοφύλακες
 it alludes to the crime of προδοσία. A
 military crime specially banned was that
 of betraying a φρούριον: *Lys.* 31. 28 εἰ

μέν τις φρούριον τι προῶδωκεν ἢ ναῦν...ταῖς
 ἐσχάταις ἂν ζημίαῖς ἐξημιούτο, *Ar. Ran.*
 362, *Lycurg. c. Leoc.* 155. 59, *Poll.* 8. 52.
 —* <ὦδ' >: A natural assumption of ter-
 ror and despair.—*ἑτερόφρουι: i.e. ἑτερα
 φρονούντι (and not τὰ ὑμῶν). The appeal
 is based on the self-interest of the Gods
 (cf. 77, 161 n., 203). The invaders are
 of a 'different party' as regards the Gods
 whom they specially worship as tutelary,
 cf. 537 ὦν φρονούσι (n.). ἑτεροφῶνῳ
 cannot be brought into the metre, nor is it
 sufficiently effective in sense. The dif-
 ference of dialect is but little in point.
 It is true that the various parts of Greece
 fully recognised their differences in pro-
 nunciation, accent, and vocabulary: cf.
Sol. fr. 32 (25). 10 γλῶσσαν οὐκέτ'
 Ἀττικὴν | ἰέντας (of exiled Athenians),
Soph. fr. 178 χαρακτήρ Λακωνος λόγον,
Cho. 56 ἄμφω δὲ φωνὴν οἰσομεν Παρησιίδα |
 γλῶσσης αὐτὴν Φωκίδος μιμουμένω, and
 the examples in *Aristoph. Lys., Ach. &c.*
 Doubtless also such difference would

Hark, O ye Gods perfect in might! Ye Gods and Goddesses, ^{3rd} absolute powers, tower-warders of this land, betray not thus our ^{strophe.} city in the toil of battle to a host of alien mind. Hark to maidens, righteously hark, when they stretch out their hands in supplication.

O deities benign, bestride the city for its rescue, and show it ^{3rd anti-} your loyal love. Bethink ye of a people's offerings, and when ^{strophe.} ye think, deliver!

Be mindful, I beseech, of the realm's holy rites and zealous sacrifices.

(sic). For ὦδ' lost after -ὦθ- see 27 (c.n.).]

156 sq. **πανδίκως** M, **πανδίκους** M^a. **158** *ὦ φίλοι δαίμονες | λυτήριοι· ἀμφιβάντες* M. *λυτήριοι τ'* Seidler, but the redivision removes the difficulty of the hiatus, even if the pause be not enough in itself.

160 *δείξαθ' ὡς* M. Corr. *ed. The error is of a common type (cf. *Ar. Lys.* 316 *λαμπάθ' R* for *λαμπάδα θ'*). *φιλοπολεις* M (which may possibly be right; see Appendix to v. 115). *φιλοπόλεις* Wunderlich.

161 *μέλεσθε δ' M*, corr. rec. *δημίων* M. **162** *δ' ἐρξάτε* Prien, *δ' ἀρξάτε* Lowinski. **163** *πόλεις* M, corr. Porson.

164 *μνήστορες* M.

imply a different preference of deities, but it is the latter notion which should have the prominence.

156 sq. **παρθένων**: 107 (n.).—**πανδίκως**: not merely = *πάντως* or *παντέλως*, but 'as all right demands.' The *δικη* (= recognised obligation) in the case is clear. See 657 (n.), *Cho.* 677 (n.).

χειροτόνους: panoramic. The whole = *κλύετε παρθένων χείρας ἀνατεινουσῶν καὶ λισσομένων*. The attitude was especially that of women (*P. V.* 1037 *γυναικομίμοις ὑπτάδιασιν χερῶν*), and belonged to supplication in its most earnest and piteous form.

158 **λυτήριοι**: either generic title (= *ἀλεξητήριοι*), or (better) proleptic with **ἀμφιβάντες** (for which cf. *Hom. II.* 1. 37 *ὅς Χρῆσθον ἀμφιβέβηκας*, the notion being originally that of standing astride over a fallen friend, as in *II.* 14. 277 &c.).

160 **φιλοπόλεις**: 'patriotic.' Greek has no objection whatever to the repetition in **πόλιν—πόλεις**. See note on *Cho.* 51 and add *inf.* 574 sq., *Ag.* 14 sq., 350 sq., 372—374, *Eur. I. T.* 336 sqq., *I. A.* 99 sq., *Hymn. Herm.* 352 sq., *H. Apoll.* 351 (173) sq., *H. Demet.* 171 sq., *fr. trag. adespr.* 166. 1—3. See also Jebb on *Soph. O. C.* 554, *O. T.* 517. The form **φιλοπόλεις** may be right (115 *Append.*), especially as lyrics appear to have affected it (*Pind. P.* 2. 1, 7. 1 *μεγαλοπόλεις*).

161 sq. **μέλεσθε *θ' κ.τ.λ.** The change of **δ'** to **θ'** (the pronunciation being very close (27 c. n.)) would not be necessitated by the previous **θ'** (160) alone, since *τε* is occasionally answered by *δέ* (Jebb on *Soph. Tr.* 143, *O. C.* 432). But if **θ'...δ'...δ'** were written, the two latter particles would become coordinate as against the first, whereas the sense demands that the first two particles should answer to each other while the third is subordinate.—**μέλεσθε...μελόμενοι δ' κ.τ.λ.** For this use of the participle repeating and emphasizing the verb cf. *Eur. H. F.* 33 *κτείνει Κρέοντα καὶ κτανῶν ἀρχει χθονός*, *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 232 *ἴσχει ἀνάγκη | μίμνει καὶ μίμνοντα κακῇ ἐν γαστέρι θέσθαι*. The notion is 'bethink yourselves of them, and let that thought lead you to help.'—**μέλεσθε**: to be distinguished from *μύμνησθε*. The care is not for past sacrifices but for those to come. For the principle of *do ut des* (*Harrison Prol. Gk. Rel.* p. 3) cf. 76, *Cho.* 126 (n.), *ibid.* 255 *τούσδ' ἀποφθείρας πόθεν | ἔξεις ὁμοίας χεῖρὸς εὐθόινον γέρας*;

163 **φιλοθύτων**: **φιλο-** denotes zeal and is therefore more expressive than **πολυ-**. Cf. *Cho.* 292 *φιλοσπίνδου λιβός*, *Anth. P.* 7. 22 *φιλορρώξ ἀμπελος*.—While *ιερά* *θήμια* are simply offerings, *ὀργῶν* refers to festivals accompanied by sacrifices.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ.

ὕμᾱς ἐρωτῶ, θρέμματ' οὐκ ἀνασχετά,
 ἥ ταυτ' ἄριστα καὶ πόλει σωτήρια
 στρατῷ τε θάρσος τῷδε πυργηρουμένῳ,
 βρέτη πεσοῦσας πρὸς πολισσούχων θεῶν
 αὔειν λακάζειν, σωφρόνων μισήματα;
 μήτ' ἐν κακοῖσι μήτ' ἐν εὖεστοι φίλῃ
 ξύνοικος εἶην τῷ γυναικείῳ γένει·
 κρατοῦσα μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμιλητὸν θράσος,
 δείσασα δ' οἴκῳ καὶ πόλει πλεόν κακόν.
 καὶ νῦν πολίταις τάσδε διαδρόμους φυγὰς

165

170

166 ἀρεστὰ Dind., ἀρωγὰ Weil. ↓.

-ἐνη Verrall (-ένων might also be suggested).

167 πυργηρουμένῳ(ι) M, -ἐνη M^a.

168 πολισσούχων M^a.

165 sqq. Eteocles has given general instructions in making his dispositions for the defence of the town. Hearing the tumult of the women he seeks them out upon the citadel and reproaches them in great anger. His speech bears an appropriate tone of the colloquial, and is true to life with a measure of that grammatical laxity which belongs to excitement. (See 172, 180.) Cf. the Nurse's speech in *Cho.* 730 sqq. (n.), and that of the Herald in *Ag.* 556—574.

165 ὕμᾱς. The pronoun is in the emphatic position of indignation, impatience or scorn. Cf. *P. V.* 976 σὲ τὸν σοφιστήν, τὸν πικρῶς ὑπέρικρον, Eur. *Med.* 271.—θρέμματ': contemptuous, as in Soph. *El.* 622 ὦ θρέμμι' ἀναίδες, Eur. *Andr.* 261.

166 ἦ. As the schol. observes, this might be either a question or a sarcastic statement. With the latter cf. 567 ἦ τοῖον ἔργον καὶ θεοῖσι προσφιλές (n.). Here, however, ἐρωτῶ leaves little choice.—ἄριστα is explained by the καὶ-clause, of which τε introduces a second part. 'Is this best? Is it (I mean) a help to the country and an assurance to our soldiers?' [καὶ...τε are of course not coordinate.]

167 στρατῷ: either (1) 'our fighting men' or (2) 'our people' (= λαῶ). The latter use (cf. *exercitus*) is not rare: *Eum.* 569 κήρυσσε, κήρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργάθου (the Athenians in general), Pind. *P.* 2. 87 νῶμα δικαίῳ πηδαλιῷ στρατόν, *N.* 1. 61, *O.* 10 (11). 17, Bacchyl. 15. 43 δεξιστρατον εἰς ἀγοράν (= Simon. 91. 10 δημοδόκον), Soph. *El.* 749 στρατὸς

δ' ὅπως ὁρᾷ νιν ἐκπεπτωκότα (the spectators at the games). In Pind. *P.* 2. 87 ὁ λάβρος στρατός is opposed to οἱ σοφοί. A doubt arises *inf.* 289. Here the former interpretation is the more in point.

πυργηρουμένῳ: an obvious correction of πυργηρουμένη (M^a). It does not, however, appear why the corruption occurred. πυργηρουμένης (sc. τῆς πόλεως) is possible as gen. abs. Verrall reads πυργηρουμένη, taking it, rather harshly, as referring to πόλει, the intervening words being ignored in the construction.

168 βρέτη...πρὸς κ.τ.λ. For the position of the prepos. cf. *P. V.* 680 βουστάσεις τε πρὸς πατρός, Simon. *fr.* 146. 10 ἄρμασιν ἐν χαρίτων, Pind. *fr.* 218 πελάγει δ' ἐν πολυχρύσοιο πλοῦτου, Bacchyl. 4. 6 ἀρετᾷ σὺν ἵππων, Eur. *Or.* 94 βούλῃ τάφον μοι πρὸς κασιγνήτης μολεῖν; Soph. *O. C.* 126. More peculiar is *Hymn. Apoll.* 165 Ἰλίου μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν.

Eteocles does not mean that these are not the proper deities to supplicate, but that supplication made in this manner should be a last resort (cf. 93, 95). They should put more quiet confidence in their πολισσούχοι.

169 αὔειν λακάζειν: the asyndeton as in v. 60 (n.). αὔειν is onomatopoeic from αῦ (the howl of a dog). Cf. αἰάζειν, ὠζειν, μύζειν, φεύζειν, ἄζειν (= στενάζειν, Hesych.), ἐλάζειν (= εἰς ἐπικελεύειν ἰδ.), γρύζειν, βαβάζειν.—σωφρόνων μισήματα might be vocative: cf. Hom. *Il.* 2. 235 ὦ πέποιες, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, Soph. *Ph.* 991 ὦ μῖσος, *El.* 289 ὦ δόσθεον μίσημα, *inf.* 640.

ETEOCLES (*entering in anger*).

You I ask, creatures intolerable! Is this for the best to save the town? Doth it give courage to our beleaguered army, to cast yourselves upon the images of the country's guardian Gods and howl and shriek, and make sober folk abhor you?

Neither amid troubles nor when prosperity is kind may I be housed with your breed of women. Let her prevail, and she is bold past sufferance; but let fear seize her, and she makes the trouble worse for house or realm. So is it now. By these wild flyings to and fro ye have made weakness and faint-

171 φύλαφ (or φίλω) for γένει recc. τῷ γυναικείῳ φυτῷ Herm., πῶ γυναικείῳ φύτλῃ Heimsoeth. **172** Schol. may have had ὁμιλητῇ.

In *Eum.* 73 the Furies are μισήματ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων. It is, however, more probably accus. in apposition to the verbal noun implied. Cf. *Soph. Ant.* 44 ἡ γὰρ νοεῖς θάπτει σφ', ἀπόρητον πόλει; *Bacchyl.* 9. 13 τὸν...πέφνε...δράκων...| σῶμα μέλλοντος φόνου. Their screams are a μίσσημα to sober minds.

170 εὐεστοί φίλη. The adj. signifies 'prosperity as we would have it,' 'as it likes us.' So *Ag.* 920.

171 ξύνικοις: not necessarily in marriage, but more comprehensively. In point of fact Eteocles is unmarried (813 n.). —τῷ: contemptuous: cf. τὰ σήματα 385 (n.). So taken, the article seems preferable to τῷ, although the latter would stand with the sense 'any woman creature' (cf. *Soph. Aj.* 784 ὦ δαῖτα Τέκμησσα, δύσμορον γένος).

172 κρατούσα: sc. ἡ γυνή, a natural laxity after γυναικείῳ γένει. Cf. *Luc. Dial. Mort.* 15. 2 τὸ δύστηνον ἐκείνο δοξάριον προετίμων τοῦ βίου, νῦν δὲ συνήμι ἤδη, ὡς ἐκείνη μὲν ἀνωφελής (sc. ἡ φαύλη δόξα=δοξάριον), *Vil. Auct.* 14 οἰκτῖρω σφέας (sc. τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, although what actually precedes is τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πρήγματα). κρατούσα is at first sight a peculiar antithesis to δέισασα, but the real opposition of the latter is with θράσος: 'when she has her way she is insufferably bold,' but when she is *alarmed*... For the terms of the antithesis in general cf. *Xen. Cyr.* 5. 2. 33 οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν μὲν θαρρῶσιν, ἀνυπόστατον τὸ φρόνημα παρέχονται ὅταν δὲ δεισῶσιν, ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους ὦσι, τοσούτῳ μείζω...τὸν φόβον ἐκτενῆται; and for the depreciation of woman in a house *Semonid. fr.* 7 (8). 96 sqq.

οὐχ ὁμιλητὴν θράσος: 'she is so bold

a thing that there is no living with her,' i.e. she dares to do things which men, accustomed to ὁμιλία, would not think of doing. Cf. *Eur. fr.* 276 τὰ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν θράσος ὑπερβάλοιτό τις. In women this quality was a special reproach; *Eur. Heracl.* 474 θράσος μοι μηδὲν ἐξέδοις ἐμαῖς| προσθῆτε. For θράσος=a bold person cf. *Ag.* 794 θράσος ἐκούσιον, *Eur. Andr.* 261 ὃ βάρβαρον σὺ θρέμμα καὶ σκληρὸν θράσος and see 148 τέλος (n.).

173 δέισασα δ' κ.τ.λ. It is very weak to understand this as 'but when affrighted, she is a greater trouble to house and country (than when she is bold)'; moreover ἐτι πλέον would be required. Rather 'she is to house and country an addition of trouble (to that which it already has).' If matters are bad she makes them worse, as in the present instance. This meaning has been overlooked, the common interpretation being 'she is a trouble to a house and greater (still) to a country.'

The antithesis of house and πόλις appears also in *Eur. fr.* 219 τὸ δ' ἐκλαοῦν...| κακὸν δ' ὁμίλημ', ἀσθενὲς δὲ καὶ πόλει, 239 οὐτ' οἶκον οὔτε πόλιν ἀνορθώσειεν ἂν (sc. ἀνάνδρια).

174 sq. καὶ νῦν: a case in point: cf. 21.—πολίταις: dependent on διεροθήσασθ' κ.τ.λ.—θείσαι: not 'having caused' (which is untrue) but=φινᾶς ποιησάμενοι=φυγοῦσαι. This use of the active cannot be denied: cf. *Eur. Med.* 914 ὑμῶν πατὴρ| πολλὴν ἔθηκε σὺν θεοῖς προμηθίαν, *Rhes.* 827 μὴ μοι κότον, ὦ ἀνα, θῆς, *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 708 ἀμφω ἐπ' ἀλλήλῃσι θέσαν γόνον. With διεροθήσασθ' cf. v. 7 πολυρρόθους.—ἄψυχον κάκην is no pleonasm, since there are other special forms of κάκη.

θεῖσαι διερροθήσατ' ἄψυχον κάκην, 175
 τὰ τῶν θύραθεν δ' ὡς ἄριστ' ὀφέλλεται,
 αὐτοὶ δ' ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐνδοθεν πορθοῦμεθα.
 τοιαῦτά τὰν γυναιξὶ συνναίων ἔχοις. 177A
 κεῖ μὴ τις ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀκούσεται,
 ἀνὴρ γυνή τε χῶτι τῶν μεταίχμιον,
 ψῆφος κατ' αὐτῶν ὀλεθρία βουλευέσεται, 180
 λευστήρα δήμου δ' οὐ τι μὴ φύγη μόρον.
 μέλει γὰρ ἀνδρί, μὴ γυνή βουλευέτω,
 τᾶξωθεν· ἐνδον δ' οὔσα μὴ βλάβην τίθει.
 ἤκουσας ἢ οὐκ ἤκουσας, ἢ κωφῇ λέγω;

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. ὦ φίλον Οἰδίπου τέκος, ἔδεισ' ἀκού- 185
 σασα τὸν ἀρματόκτυπον

176 ὀφέλλετε recc. 177 ὑπ' αὐτῶν rec. ↓. 177A The verse is absent from M, but appears in recc. (with τ' ἄν, γ' ἄν, or ἄν, corrected by Blomf.). τοιαῦτ' ἄν ἐν Wellauer. It may be an adscript quotation, but ↓. 178 M has τῆς above the

177 ὑπ' αὐτῶν (of rec.) is probably preferable to ὑφ' αὐτῶν. See *Cho.* 110 (n.), where the point is discussed, and add *Ag.* 1135 ἀμφὶ δ' αὐτὰς θροεῖς | νόμον ἀνομον (M).

177A τοιαῦτά τὰν κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. Though the line may be an adscript expressing some early reader's approval of the sentiments of Eteocles, it may possibly have fallen out of M through the somewhat similar combinations of letters in αὐτοὶ and τοιαῦτα at the beginning of their respective lines. In any case it is a natural summary of irritation, assisted in tone by the colloquial second person, and is sufficiently Aeschylean in style.

178 κεί κ.τ.λ. καὶ belongs to the rapid thinking of excitement. ('I am resolved to stop this) and so, if...'—τῆς ἐμῆς: always more emphatic in tragedy than the simple ἐμῆς (*Cho.* 14, 17, 89 &c.); 'I am the person to direct.'

179 ἀνὴρ γυνή τε: 'be it man or woman.' Cf. *Cho.* 659 ἐξεληθέτω τις δωμάτων τελεσφόρος, | γυνή τ' ἐπαρχος ἄνδρα τ' εὐπρεπέστερον, *Suppl.* 385 δρᾶσαι τε μὴ δρᾶσαι τε, *inf.* 414; but the absence of τε after ἀνὴρ here gives more point to the notion that not even a woman will be spared. For τῶν=τούτων cf. *Ag.* 7, *Eum.* 137.

χῶτι τῶν μεταίχμιον is simply the comprehensive language, disregarding logic, of an angry man. Somewhat similar is

Soph. *El.* 305 τὰς οὔσας τέ μου | καὶ τὰς ἀπούσας ἐλπίδας διεφθόρεν (Plut. *Mor.* 228 D γυναικὸς ἢ παιδὸς ἢ τινος παραπλησίον ἀνθρώπου is of course more directly intelligible). There is no need to force a definite meaning on μεταίχμιον, e.g. (1) sarcastically, a creature who is neither to be called man nor woman, or (2) one who is only partly on the way towards man or woman (i.e. persons of either sex not yet adult). The latter is possible in itself, since with words of the character of μεταξύ one *terminus* may be unexpressed (e.g. Eur. *Hec.* 436 ὅσον χρόνον ξίφους | βαίνω μεταξύ καὶ πυρᾶς Ἀχιλλέως = 'before I reach the sword and pyre'), but it would be distinctly far-fetched.—ἀνὴρ γυνή τε is comprehensive of the sexes as in Hdt. 2. 61 συμφοιτέωσι δέ, ὅτε ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή ἐστί, πλήν παιδιῶν.—With χῶτι τῶν cf. *fr.* 70 Ζεὺς τοι τὰ πάντα χῶτι τῶνδ' ὑπέρερον.

180 ψῆφος...βουλευέσεται: a forcible expression and quite sound. The emphasis lies on ὀλεθρία: 'it is the ψῆφος of death which shall decide their case.' In other words, there will be no deliberating about it at all; the (immediate) award of death will be the only deliberation it will receive. 'Obey me or die. There will be no trial and putting of pebbles into urns; the only pebbles will be the pebbles of stoning.' There is a grim play upon the ψῆφος of the courts and

heart surge through our citizens. Ye go the best of ways to advance the foe without, for our rout and fall are from ourselves within. Such portion may you expect from dwelling where women are.

Well, if one will not hearken to my authority—man, woman, anything betwixt—it is a deadly pebble that shall decide their case; for he dies, for sure, by stoning of the people. Business abroad is for a man; let woman not seek her say. Be you indoors, where you can made no hindrance. Hear ye, or hear ye not, or am I speaking to the deaf?

CHO. Dear son of Oedipus, my dread came when I heard ^{1st} strophe.

line. **180** διοίσεται Herwerden (Hesych. διοίσεται· διακριθήσεται). I formerly suggested βεβλήσεται, but ↓. **181** ηι of φύγηι is in an erasure. **186** τὸν M, τῶν M^a. Perhaps (for metre) we should read *ἀρματόδουπον. For a similar confusion cf. Pind. Ol. 8. 43 βαρυκτύπου (A) for -γδούπου (cett.).

ψῆφος as λίθος. For the very frequent omission of *μόνον*—its place being supplied by position and intonation—cf. 690 (n.), 719.

The regular procedure (Eur. Or. 49 διοίσει ψῆφον· Ἀργεῖον πόλις | ἐλ' χρὴ θανεῖν νῶ λευσίμῳ πετρώματι, *ibid.* 440 ψῆφος καθ' ἡμῶν οἴσεται) is to be replaced by one much more summary.

κατ' αὐτῶν: loosely after τις, cf. 172. Though the βούλευσις will go against them, and κατ' would be required in that sense, it should be observed that βουλευσεται κατ' αὐτῶν can be used in good Greek in the neutral sense of *περὶ αὐτῶν* (even *ἔπαινος κατὰ τινος* being possible), and, apart from *διεθρία*, the sense is simply 'shall consider their case.' This imparts much more grim life to the expression than if we were compelled to render 'shall decide against them.'

181 λευστήρα δήμου δ': explaining the previous line. The addition of *δήμον* emphasises the punishment. It will not be one inflicted merely by me, but one accompanied by the public execration due to manifest public wrong, e.g. *προδοσία*. Cf. Ag. 1615 οὐ φημ' ἀλύξεν ἐν δίκῃ τὸ σὸν κᾶρα | δημορρεφεῖς, σάφ' ἴσθι, λευσίμους ἄρας, and for the expression generally Soph. Ant. 36 φόνον προκείσθαι δημόλευστον ἐν πόλει, Eur. Ion 1222 Δελφῶν δ' ἀνακτες ὤρισαν πετρορριφεῖ | θανεῖν ἐμὴν δέσποιναν οὐ ψήφῳ μῆ.

182 μέλει γὰρ ἀνδρὶ κ.τ.λ.: a commonplace; cf. Hom. Il. 6. 490 ἄλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰούσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμισε | ... πόλεμος δ' ἀνδρεσσι μελήσει, Od. 21. 350, Ar. Lys. 520 (quoting Homer), Eur.

Suppl. 40 πάντα γὰρ δι' ἀρσένων | γυναιξὶ πράσσειν εἰκός, αἵτινες σοφαί.

183 τάξωθεν: in a general sense, things outside the house, as opposed to domestic matters; not the present affairs of the enemy outside the walls.—*ἔνδον* κ.τ.λ.: Eur. Tro. 643 (γυναιξὶν) αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐφέλκεται | κακῶς ἀκούειν, ἥτις οὐκ ἔνδον μένει, Eur. fr. 521.—*βλάβην* = 'hindrance,' from the earlier sense of *βλάπτειν* (Ag. 123 &c.).

184 ἡ κωφὴ λέγω; cf. Cho. 880 κωφοῖς αὐτῷ καὶ καθεύδουσιν μάτην | ἀκραν-τα βάξω;

185 sq. The Chorus pleads uncontrollable alarm, due to the novel and appalling sounds. *ἔδω* takes up *δέσσειν* (173). Aeschylus understood the psychological fact (Plut. Mor. 666 D) that *μεγίστας οἱ διὰ φόβου θόρυβοι καὶ φόβοι παραχᾶς ἐπιφέρουσιν*.—*φῶλον Οἰδίπου τέκος* is an appeal combining loyal affection with respect (cf. 664).

186—191 The language throughout this highly figurative passage is carefully chosen so as to combine the double senses of a series of words. A term commonly applicable in one sense is qualified by an adjective (on the principle illustrated at v. 64) so as to adapt it to another (cf. 135—137). Each of these requires a consideration which has apparently not been given by commentators.—*ἀρματόκτυπον ὄτοβον* is an *ὄτοβος* not of the customary nature (from a flute or pipe), but from a chariot-wheel. There is indeed produced by *σύριγγες*, but *σύριγγες ἀλ-τροχοί*, the pipes of the axle-hub. There is a ringing of *πηδάλια*, but *πηδαλιων*

ὄτοβον, ὅτε τε σύ-
ριγγες ἔκλαγξαν ἐλίτροχοι,
ἱππικῶν τ' αὐόπνων
πηδαλίων διὰ στόμα
πυριγενετᾶν χαλινῶν.

190

ΕΤ. τί οὖν; ὁ ναύτης ἄρα μὴ 'ς πρῶραν φυγῶν
πρύμνηθεν ἠῦρεν μηχανὴν σωτηρίας,
νεὼς καμούσης ποντίῳ <τι> κύματι;

187 ὄτοβον ὄτοβον rec. δι. M, corr. rec. ↓. 188 μ' writes δι' over the beginning of ἔκλαγξαν. ὀλοίτροχοι rec. 189 αὐπνων M. Corr. Verrall (though not in his text). ↓. ἀπνων Lachmann, ἀπύαν (or αἰον) Paley. 190 διὰ στόμα Lachm., διὰ στόματα E. A. I. Ahrens; but neither metre nor sense require the change. ↓. 191 πυριβρεμετᾶν Dind. from a gloss in Hesych. ↓. χαλινῶν M^a through echo of -ᾶν. 192 τί δ' οὖν or πῶς οὖν Blomf. ↓. ἄρά γ' εἰς

ἱππικῶν, which steer, not as do the πηδάλια of a ship, but διὰ στόμα.

186 sqq. τὸν: the art. is demonstrative (as always in lyrics). So 277, 293, 707, 720 &c.—ἀρματόκτυπον: 'sounded by a chariot.' κτύπος is quite appropriate to a musical instrument: cf. Bacchyl. fr. 46 (13). 11 σαλπίγγων κτύπος, Eur. αὐλῶν κτύπος.—ὄτοβον: an appropriate word of the αὐλός or σύριγξ: cf. P.V. 596 ὀτοβεῖ δόναξ.

The construction is most simply taken as ἀκούσασα τὸν ἀρμ. ὄτοβον...πηδαλίων τε, the clause ὅτε τε...ἐλίτροχοι being exegetic of ἀρμ. ὄτοβον: lit. 'when I heard the note sounded by the chariot—yes, when the pipes screamed—and (when I heard) the steering gear &c.' The change from accus. to gen. is correct, since ὄτοβον is a sound and πηδαλίων an instrument. [Less simply we might make πηδαλίων depend on ὄτοβον, with ὅτε τε κ.τ.λ. answering to πηδαλίων τε...; but the latter ὄτοβος is scarcely ἀρματόκτυπος.]

σύριγγες: defined by ἐλίτροχοι (cf. 64). They are σύριγγες with a difference, viz. in the sense of ἡ ὁπὴ τοῦ τροχοῦ (schol. on Soph. El. 716). Cf. Suppl. 187 σύριγγες ἀξονήλατοι, Eur. I. A. 230 σύριγγας ἀρματελούς.—ἐλίτροχοι (cf. 129 θεοκλύτους)='which whirl the wheels.'

189 sq. ἱππικῶν τ' αὐόπνων κ.τ.λ. Verrall's αὐόπνων, though not inserted in his text, is exactly the right word for both sense and metre. The conjecture is happier than he appears to have seen, when the whole passage is treated as double in meaning. Of the bits as un-

couth musical instruments it is suited to the harsh sound: cf. Hom. II. 12. 160 κόρυθες δ' ἀμφ' αὖον αὐτεν, *ibid.* 13 καρφαλῆον ἄυσεν and Latin *aridus*. Of the breathing of the horses it suits the notion of hotness. αὐόπνων is thus the contrary of e.g. ἀδυπνόω φωνᾷ (Pind. I. 2. 25). For bits as αὐλοί see 450 (n.) and Pollux quoted there.—ἱππικῶν again defines: 'not of ships, but of steeds.' The metaphor is not merely from the fact that a rudder guides, but there is a picture of the reins (acting like our steering-ropes) to be pulled on either side. In the Greek ship there are two πηδάλια so worked. The comparison of horses and ships is frequent: cf. Pind. P. 14. 17 sq., Bacchyl. 5. 47 κυβερνήταν (of steeds), Pseudo-Plut. *de vit. et roes. Hom.* § 20 (from some unknown source) φθέγγατο δ' ἡνίοχος νηὸς κυανοπρώροιο.—διὰ στόμα: still expressing the differentia. In a ship the steering would not be through the στόμα, which is the 'front' (cf. the στόμα of an army)=πρῶρα.

191 πυριγενετᾶν χαλινῶν: unlike the χαλινοί, or steering-tackle, of a ship, these are of iron. For χαλινοί of a ship cf. Plut. *Mor.* 767 E (quoting) πολλῶν χαλινῶν ἔργον οἰάκων θ' ἅμα. Doubtless in a ship the χαλινοί and πηδάλια 'sang.' In the case of the horses we are here to think, not of the reins, but of the actual metal bit (cf. Soph. O. C. 1067 πᾶς γὰρ ἀστράπτει χαλινός). Editors should not have changed the word to πυριβρεμετᾶν. It is true that Hesych. has πυριβρεμέτας ὁ χαλινός. Τιμαχίδας (the writer of glosses) δέ, ἥτοι ὁ πυρὶ βρέμων ἢ διὰ πυρὸς βρέμων-

the chariots' ringing note—the ringing when the pipes shrieked in the whirling wheels—and the harsh-tuned gear that steers in the horses' mouths, the fire-begotten bit.

ET. What then? Doth the seaman by fleeing from poop to prow find means to save himself when the ship meets labour in a heavy sea?

recc. *πρώραν* M. **193** *εὔρεν* M, *εὔρε* m'. **194** *ποντίω* * * *ματι* M with *ἐν κύ* (m) in the erasure. *πρὸς κύματι* recc. I have made the simplest correction (↓). *κυκλήματι* M. Schmidt, *προσκληύματι* Lowinski, *σαλεύματι* Wecklein. Other words of a similar form which might be suggested are *προσκρούματι*, *κυλλήματι*, *πίεσματι* and (less plausible) *σποδήματι*, *τι πήματι*. I now regard *σὺν τραύματι* (*Class. Rev.* III. p. 103) as inappropriate (↓), and should reject *νοσήματι* for the same reason.

τος γεγονώς. But the form in which Hesych. quotes shows that he is not referring to the present passage. As appertaining to iron the notion is frequent. Cf. 925 *ἐκ πυρὸς σὺθεῖς* | ... *σίδαρος*, Eur. *Hipp.* 1223 *αἰ δ' ἐνδακούσαι στόμα πυριγενῆ γνάθοις*. In Eur. *Or.* 820 *πυριγενεὶ τέμνειν παλάμα* the Schol. explains by *ἀπρηεῖ*, a connotation which is perhaps present here also. The thought that iron is made by fire is due to the manner of producing and working it from the ore. Moreover the fact that it can become red-hot suggested that it was itself fire condensed. Such a suggestion would be helped by the mystery of meteoric iron, which was probably the oldest form in which the metal was known. Similarly Dionysus was said by some to be *πυριγενής* because vines sprang from volcanic soil (Strabo 13. 4. 11). In epic times the wonder of iron was still fresh. We may be satisfied (for Aesch.) to understand the word as meaning 'produced by the agency of fire.' Cf. Ath. 468 *ἔτινές δὲ ἀπύρωτον φιάλην τὸ κέρας*· οὐ γὰρ γίνεταί διὰ πυρός. So an earthenware vessel is *πυρόκτιτος* (Timoth. *ap.* Ath. 455 F). Critias (*ap.* Ath. 28 c) has *γαίας τε καμίνου τ' ἐκγονον ἦρε* | ... *κέραμον*. For the form *πυριγενέτης* cf. Hom. *Od.* 5. 296 *Βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης*, Timoth. *ap.* Plut. *Mor.* 177 B *γῆγενέταν ἀργυρον*.

192 *τί οὖν*; The final semi-vowels *i* and *u* were naturally capable of pronunciation with an 'on-glide' before a vowel, i.e. *τί ἰ οὖν*, *εὐ ὤ οἶσθα*. (Hence in much of the later prose observation will show that hiatus is only allowed after *-i* and *-u*, where in reality it is no hiatus at all.) In tragedy we have *τί οὖν*; here and *inf.* 691, *Suppl.* 310, *Eum.* 903, Soph. *Ph.* 100, *Aj.* 873; *τί ἔστιν*; Soph. *Ph.* 733; *τί εἶπας*; *Tr.*

1203; *εὐ ἰσθ'* O.T. 959, Eur. *fr.* 946. It will be observed that the following vowel is (in tragedy) always in a long syllable (Smyth *Gk. Mel. Poets* p. 296).

ἐς πρώραν. Paley says 'to the gods there.' But the gods were in the stern (Eur. *I. A.* 209), and supplication to them is made from the *πρύμνα*: cf. *Hymn. Diosc.* 8 *οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν* | *εὐχόμενοι καλέουσι Διὸς κούρους μεγάλοιο* | ... *ἐπ' ἀκρωτήρια βάντες* | *πρύμνης*. The thought is simply that of aimless running from the post of direction (*πρύμνηθεν*: cf. 2 n., Hdt. 1. 24) and leaving the ship to look after itself.

193 *ἦρεν*: the active is used not only for 'found,' but for 'got.' Cf. Soph. *El.* 1305 *μέγ' εὔρεῖν κέρδος*, Pind. *P.* 2. 64 *δόξαν εὔρεῖν*, Eur. *I. A.* 1026, *Heracl.* 303, O. 7. 89, *I. 7.* 4. So *ἔπραξε* (P. 2. 40, *I. 4.* 8), *δρέπειν* (P. 1. 48), *κομίζειν* (Soph. O. C. 6, 1411), *φέρω* (O. T. 590, 764).

194 *καμούσης*: not 'has given in,' since Eteocles would not acknowledge that parallel, but gnomic (with *ἦρεν*).—*ποντίω* * *τι κύματι*. See crit. n.—*ποντίω κύματι* = *πόντω κυμαίνοντι*: cf. 677 *κύμα Κοκκυτοῦ* = 'Cocytus at flood,' Eur. *Suppl.* 473 *κυμάτων ἄτερ πόλιν* | *σὴν ναυστολήσεις* = 'without a swollen sea.' The large number of possible verbals in *-μα* makes certainty of restoration impossible. The reading offered in the text is not merely technically the easiest, in view of the variants *ἐν κύματι* (n.), *πρὸς κύματι* (recc.), which indicate that *κύματι* is correct and that some loss had occurred before it; but also *τι* adds that touch of depreciation of the danger which Eteocles would naturally impart. The ship of the state merely *κάμνει* *τι*. [*πρὸς κύματι* (recc.) is possible in itself: cf. P. V. 911 *θολεροὶ δὲ λόγοι παλιν*· *εἰκὴ* | *στρυγνῆς*

ἀντ. α'. ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δαιμόνων πρόδρομος ἦλθον ἀρ-
χαῖα βρέτη πίσυνος θεοῖς,
νιφάδος ὄτ' ὀλοᾶς
νειφομένας βρόμος ἐν πύλαις·
δὴ τότ' ἤρθην φόβῳ
πρὸς μακάρων λιτάς, πόλεως
ἵν' ὑπερέχοιεν ἀλκάν.

195

200

ΕΤ. πύργον στέγειν εὔχεσθε πολέμιον δόρυ.
οὐκουν τάδ' ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν; ἀλλ' οὖν θεοὺς
τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης πόλεος ἐκλιπεῖν λόγος.

στρ. β'. ΧΟ. μήποτ' ἐμὸν κατ' αἰῶνα λίποι θεῶν
ἄδε πανάγυρις, μηδ' ἐπίδοιμι τάνδ'

205

195 sq. ἦλθον | ἀρχαῖα βρέτη M.

196 θεοῖσι πίσυνος Seidler, but the metrical

flaw may be in v. 186 (c.n.).

198 νειφομένας M. The older editions (unaware of Ablaut-relations) naturally write νιφομένας.

200 πόλεος Wellauer, πόλει Bothe.

203 sq. οὐκουν M, οὐκοῦν m'. m' assigns οὐκοῦν...θεῶν to the chorus

πρὸς κύμασιν ἄτης. Other restorations might introduce various notions. (a) **σὺν χείματι** (cf. Plut. *Cor.* 31 καθάπερ ἐν χεῖμασιν πολλῶ καὶ κλύδωνι τῆς πόλεως) might be suggested, but **ποντίῳ** is then somewhat idle. (b) A word expressive of the shaking or rolling of a ship would be possible, though nearer than Wecklein's **σαλεύματι** would be **κυλίματι** (cf. Theogn. 619 πόλλ' ἐν ἀμχανήσι κυλινδομαι and context, *Orac.* *ap.* Plut. *Mor.* 399 c φθισίβροτόν τ' ἐπὶ κύμα κυλινδομένου πολέμοιο). (c) The notion might be of shock or collision, whether with waves or reef or enemy (e.g. Pind. *O.* 12. 11 ἀνιαραῖς ἀντικύρσαντες ῥαλαῖς). In this sense **προσκρούματι** would be very close to the reading of recc. (d) It might be of the striking of 'a sea' which threatens to swamp (Plut. *Mor.* 206 D συγκλυζόμενου τοῦ πλοίου), and for this, since Eteocles would only acknowledge the blow and not the taking on board, we might have **προσκλύσματι**. But the reading given above is preferable.]

The simile itself is of the commonest: cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 859 ἐν γὰρ κλύδωνι κελμεθ'... | δорὸς Δαναϊδῶν, Soph. *Ant.* 162, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 246, 322, and see *inf.* 743 sqq.

195 sq. ἀλλ'... The point of the

reply is 'Nay, I came to the gods because I trusted in them.'—**πρόδρομος**: cf. Soph. *Ant.* 107 φυγάδα πρόδρομον ('in headlong haste' Jebb). The sense of **προ-** is 'forward,' not 'before.' Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 297 πότνια, μόλε πρόδρομος, and **προφυγεῖν**. In *Suppl.* 352 ἐκένυ φυγάδα περιδρομον we have a different picture. Here there is a destination.—**ἀρχαῖα**: and therefore with more claim to their protection.—**θεοῖς**: stressed. That the power lies with the gods is insisted upon throughout: cf. 205, 212, 219.

197 sq. **νιφάδος...ὀλοᾶς**. Once more the adj. defines (64, 188). The simile is expressed in full in Hom. *Il.* 12. 278—289 τῶν δ', ὥς τε νιφάδες χιόνος πίπτωσι θαμειαί | ἡματι χειμερίῳ... | ὥς τῶν ἀμφοτέρωσθε λίθοι πωτῶντο θαμειαί |... τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ὑπερ πᾶν δοῦπος ὀρύρει; cf. *ibid.* 156, Eur. *Andr.* 1129 πυκνῇ δὲ νιφάδι παντόθεν σποδούμενος (of stones), *Anth. Pal.* 6. 84. 3 ἄκοντες ἰσάριθμός τε χαλάσῃ | χειμάς, Verg. *Aen.* 12. 284 ferreus...imber.

νειφομένας: not νειφούσης, since Zeus νείφει (Weckl.).

199 **δὴ τότ'**: epic, and occasionally lyric, e.g. Pind. *fr.* 65. 3 (Bgg.). Here, however, the sense of **δὴ** is rather more prominent 'naturally, then...'—**ἤρθην**:

CHO. Nay, when to the ancient images of the high powers I came in headlong haste, 'twas trusting in the Gods, at the rattle of the deadly sleet that was snowing in the gates. Yes, dread stirred me then to turn to the blessed ones in prayer, that they might hold protection o'er the town. 1st anti-strophe.

ET. Pray that the wall hold firm against the foeman's thrust. Will that not be in the Gods' behalf? 'Tis said, Gods of a taken town quit their abode.

CHO. Never in days of mine may these assembled Gods so 2nd strophe.

and the rest (with ἀντιλαβή unexampled for Aeschylus) to Eteocles. Misconception of the sense has produced numerous alterations. The only error of M is in the absence of the question mark (*Class. Rev.* III. p. 103). **204** πόλεως M, corr. recc. ἐκλείπειν M, ἐκλείπειν M^a. **205** ἐμὴν recc. (ἐμὰν is possible, cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1488 σκοτίαν αἰώνα, Pind. *P.* 4. 186). λείποι M, corr. recc.

of various forms of excitement, cf. Soph. *O. T.* 914 αἶρει θυμὸν Οἰδίπους... | λύ-
παισι.

200 sq. πόλεως: their motive was patriotic.—ὑπερέχουιν: the expression is taken from the holding of a protecting shield. The usual phrase has χεῖρα for ἀγκάν: cf. Hom. *Il.* 4. 249 ὄφρα ἴδῃτ' αἶ κ' ὕμιν ὑπέρσχη χεῖρα Κρονίων, 24. 374, Theogn. 757 Ἰεὺς μὲν τῆσδε πόλῃος ὑπευρέχει...χεῖρα. So at Athens Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὑπερθεν ἔχει (Solon 2 (13). 4).

202 πύργον στέγειν κ.τ.λ. There is no depreciation of the Gods in this. Eteocles means that this is the right and practical form of prayer. It is also one which it will be to the interest of the Gods to grant. For this insistence on πύργοι see Introd. § 18. In δόρυ there is doubtless a play upon the sense of 'ship' (*Suppl.* 141 δορός ἄλα στέγων δορός, Bacchyl. 17. 90 ἴετο δ' ὠκύπομπον δόρυ, Eur. *Cycl.* 19 ἄνεμος ἐμπνεύσας δορί). The city has been repeatedly regarded as a ship, and the attack of the enemy is their ἐμβολή: hence στέγειν. The parallel meanings are (1) 'withstand the spear' (cf. Thuc. 4. 34 οὕτε γὰρ οἱ πῖλοι ἔστεγον τὰ τοξεύματα, Ar. *Vesp.* 1295 τὰς πηλῆγας στέγειν), (2) 'prove water-tight against the (charging) ship.'

203 sq. οὐκ οὖν τὰδ' ἴσται κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. 'Will not this be to the interest of the Gods?' Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 57 πρὸς τῶν ἐχόντων, Φοῖβε, τὸν νόμον τίθης, Soph. *O. T.* 1434 πρὸς σοῦ γάρ, οὐδ' ἐμοῦ, φράσω. The sense proceeds with 'At any rate the saying goes &c.'—ἐκλείπειν:

gnomic. He does not use the stronger ἐκπεσεῖν, which would be offensive to deity. For the notion of the migration of the Gods in such cases cf. Hdt. 8. 41 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι...ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολειπομένης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, Eur. *Tro.* 25 λείπω τὸ κλεινὸν Ἴλιον βωμούς τ' ἐμούς | ἐρημὰ γὰρ πόλιν ὅταν λάβῃ κακὴ, | νοσεῖ τὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲ τιμᾶσθαι θέλει, Verg. *Aen.* 2. 351 *excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis | di, quibus imperium hoc steterat*, Liv. 5. 21 sq., Tac. *H.* 5. 13 *audita maior humana vox, excedere deos* (at Jerusalem). The schol. refers also to the Ξοανηφόροι of Sophocles.—ἐκλείπειν, like other verbs of abandoning, requires no object. Cf. *Cho.* 268 οὗτοι προδώσει Λοξίου μεγασθενῆς | χρησμός, *Eum.* 64, *Suppl.* 525 ἀλλ' οὐτι δαρὸν χρόνον ἐρημώσει πατήρ, Eur. *Hel.* 595 οἱ φίλτατοι λείπονται.

206 πανάγυρις. The word expresses the number and strength of the Gods represented. That all these should depart is too terrible a thought. That there is a 'full assemblage' of the greater Gods is shown by the previous invocation of Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Ares, Aphrodite, Athena, Apollo and Artemis (111—150). If others in the (varying) list of the Pantheon were present, their omission from the invocation would be explained by the natural absence of warlike emblems from their βρέτη. A similar grouping of images appears in the *Supplices* (where cf. 228 πάντων δ' ἀνάκτων τῶνδε κοινοβωμῶν).—ἑπίδομι: 'live to see.'

ἀστυδρομουμέναν πόλιν καὶ στράτευμ'
ἀπτόμενον πυρὶ δαΐφ.

ET. μή μοι θεοὺς καλοῦσα βουλεύου κακῶς·
Πειθαρχία γάρ ἐστι τῆς Εὐπραξίας
μήτηρ, γυνὴ Σωτήρος· ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.

210

ἀντ. β'. ΧΟ. ἔστι· θεοῦ δ' ἔτ' ἰσχὺς καθυπερτέρα·
πολλάκι δ' ἐν κακοῖσι παναμάχανον
κακ χαλεπᾶς δύας ὑπερθ' ὀμμάτων
κρημναμενᾶν νεφελᾶν ὁδοῖ.

215

207 στ of στράτευμ' is in an erasure.

207 sq. στρατοῦ δαπτομέναν πυρὶ δατοῦ Prien. Schol. has γρ. τυφόμενον. Other corrections of the text assume ὁρβοῖ of v. 215 to be correct.

211 γύναι rec. γονῆς σωτήρος Hermann. ψ. ὀνησιδωρος Heimsoeth.

212 m writes οισ over θεοῦ. Marcellinus (*Vit. Thuc.* § 5) quotes with θεοῦ. θεοὶς δέ γ' Blomf. The punctuation of M is perhaps preferable to ἔστι θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. **213** ἐν κακοῖσι τὰν ἀμήχανον M. Marcellinus (*l.c.*) also has τὰν. τὸν Canter (from schol.).

207 sq. ἀστυδρομουμέναν πόλιν. A πόλις ('realm') is wider than its ἀστυ. A πόλις may be overrun in its surrounding country, but it is only in extremes that its ἀστυ is in the hands of the enemy.—καὶ στράτευμ' ἀπτόμενον: sc. αὐτῆς (or, more closely to the sense, τοῦ ἀστέως). There is no difficulty in rendering 'and an army (*i.e.* a foreign enemy, under orders and in concert) laying hands upon it with foeman's fire.' ['Setting ablaze' would of course require ἄπτον.] There are other sorts and occasions of fire, but here it is the fire of a στράτευμα and intended for nothing else but to create destruction.—ἀπτόμενον possibly contains the same notion of 'attacking' as in Pind. *N.* 8. 22 ἄπτεται (sc. φθόνος) ἐσλῶν ἀέλ, a sense derived from the grip of wrestling.—πυρὶ δαΐφ: the epic phrase, but not necessarily with the adj. understood in precisely the epic sense, which is that of 'burning' (*e.g.* *Il.* 6. 331, 2. 415 πρῆσαι δὲ πυρὸς ὀλοιο θύρετρα, and so apparently Alcman *fr.* 51 χεῖμα πῦρ τε δάιον). For Attic of the 5th cent. the meaning 'cruel' or 'hostile' (*infernus*) was the more recognised: cf. *Cho.* 428 (n.). The common element of sense is destructiveness. For δάιος=πολέμιος note the equivalence of *e.g.* Eur. *fr.* 360. 23 πόλιν τε πολεμία κατέιχε φλόξ with *e.g.* *Hel.* 196 Ἰλίου κατασκαφὰν | πυρὶ μέλουσαν δαΐφ. The picture of devastation by fire recurs *inf.* 329.

209 βουλεύου κακῶς: the emphatic words. The sense almost amounts to 'Heaven helps those who help themselves.' Demosthenes (*Aristocr.* § 113) describes as the two blessings τὸ εὐτυχεῖν and τὸ καλῶς βουλευέσθαι: cf. the version of Longinus (2 § 3), who says of τὸ εὖ βουλευέσθαι that οἷς ἂν μὴ παρῇ συναναιρεῖ καὶ θάτερον.

210 Πειθαρχία...Εὐπραξίας: personified. Cf. Theogn. 384 sq. πενίην | μητέρ' ἀμηχανίης, Crates *fr.* 2. 2 εὐτέλειη, κλεινῆς ἔγγονε σωφροσύνης, Alcaeus *fr.* 73 (65) πενία...ἀμαχανία σὺν ἀδελφεῷ, poet. incert. *ap.* Plut. *Mor.* 34 E τῆς δειλίας γὰρ αἰσχρὰ γίγνεται τέκνα, *ibid.* 644 D τὸν τῆς τύχης παῖδα κλῆρον, Ag. 760, Alcman 62 <τύχα> εὐνομίας <τε> καὶ πειθῶς ἀδελφὰ καὶ προμαθείας θύγατερ, Dionys. *fr.* 4 ἡ γὰρ τυραννὶς ἀδικίας μήτηρ ἔφν, Soph. *fr.* 839, Eur. *fr.* 474 πόνος γάρ, ὡς λέγουσιν, εὐκλείας πατήρ, Shak. *Macb.* 4. 3. 114 *This noble passion, | Child of integrity.* The personification is made the more pronounced by the article: cf. *P. V.* 1069 ἀνωγε γάρ σε τὴν αὐθαδῖαν | μεθέντ' ἐρευνᾶν τὴν σοφὴν εὐβουλίαν. Εὐπραξία was one title of Artemis, but that consideration is not in point.—Πειθαρχία is emphatic: 'It is Obedience (loyalty) that is the mother of Well-being.'

211 γυνὴ Σωτήρος: rightly retained by Verrall as 'wife of the Goodman Σωτήρ' (not Zeus, but generically). The

do; nor may I live to see this realm with its town o'errun, and soldiers lay hands on it with desolating fire.

ET. Come! What use to call on Gods, and act with folly? The mother of Well-being is Loyalty, wife of Upholder. So goes the saw.

CHO. E'en so! Yet the Gods have a strength of higher warrant, and often when a man is all-helpless in distress, it guides him even from misery's worst straits where the clouds hang o'er his eyes. 2nd anti-strophe.

τιν' would be unsatisfactory. Except for the evidence of Marcellinus the *a* might have come from misplacement of the superscript in τὸν ἀμηχανον, but ^aκακοῖσι παναμάχανον (*ed. after κακοῖσι τὸν παναμάχανον of M. Schmidt) is better. †. τ' ἂν G. C. W. Schneider (making πολλάκι = 'perhaps'). 214 καὶ χαλεπᾶς δῦας ὑπερ τε Marcellinus. 215 κριναμέναν νεφέλᾶν M (and so, but with κρημ-, μ' and Marcell.), corr. Hermann. ὀρθοῖ M, corr. Oberdick (cf. 27 c.n.). †.

notion is that anyone who is to be a σωτήρ (or ὁ σώσων) must be wedded to πειθαρχία (Soph. *Ant.* 675 τῶν δ' ὀρθομένων | σῶσει τὰ πολλὰ σώμαθ' ἡ πειθαρχία). The words ᾧδ' ἔχει λόγος shew that an old proverb is being quoted, though not necessarily in the exact words. The meaning is not 'such is my order' (like ᾧδ' ὁ μῦθος ἐστάντω, or the εἰρηται λόγος of *Eum.* 713), but 'so goes the saw': cf. *Cho.* 519, Eur. *I. A.* 72 ὡς ὁ μῦθος ἀνθρώπων ἔχει. [Hermann's γονῆς σωτήρος adds nothing to the sense of εὐπραξίας. Moreover it is not εὐπραξία which σῶσει. There would, of course, be no objection to the fem. σωτήρος (713 n.).]

212 θεοῦ: stressed (cf. 194, 205). —καθυπερτέρα: viz. than mere πειθαρχία, or than all that *we* can do by τὸ βουλευέσθαι καλῶς.

213 πολλάκι: the same form (lyric) occurs in *Suppl.* 126, Soph. *Ph.* 1456. —παναμάχανον: see crit. n. Apart from the greater strength of the word the passage gains in another way by this reading. It is more desirable to join ἐν κακοῖσι closely with ἀμάχανον than with ὁδοί. This could not be done with τὸν ἀμάχανον, since the article is wrongly placed.

214 sq. καὶ χαλεπᾶς κ.τ.λ.: καὶ belongs to χαλεπᾶς, 'even when grief is stubborn.' It would be very weak and also harsh to make it connective (i.e. 'conducts the helpless in his troubles and out of the mist'). The picture is that of a

man who is rendered helpless by darkness or fog, not seeing his way nor knowing how to act, like Ajax in Hom. *Il.* 17. 645. On that passage Longinus (9. 10) writes ἄχλυσ ἄφνω καὶ νύξ ἄπορος τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπέχει μάχην· ἐνθα δὲ ὁ Αἴας ἀμηχανῶν κ.τ.λ.—χαλεπᾶς: 'severe' in the sense of hard to cope with. Cf. *Suppl.* 172 χαλεποῦ γὰρ ἐκ πνεύματος εἰσι χειμῶν. For the expression in general cf. Ap. Rhod. 2. 580 ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς γὰρ ἀμήχανος ἦεν ὄλεθρος, Pind. *O.* 7. 24 ἀμφὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων φρασὶν ἀμπλακίαι | ἀναρλθμητοί κρέμανται· τοῦτο δ' ἀμάχανον εὐρεῖν κ.τ.λ.; and for the metaphor in νεφέλᾶν cf. *fr. mel. adesp.* 139. 7 τὸ δ' ἀμαχανίας πόρον εἶδες ἐν ἄλγεσιν, | καὶ λαμπρὸν φάος ἀγαγες ἐν σκότῳ, Dem. 18. 291 τὸν κινδυνὸν παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥστερ νέφος, Bacchyl. *fr.* 20, *Il.* 18. 22 ἀχεος νεφέλη. Similar in notion are *Cho.* 804 δὸς ἀνιδεῖν δόμον ἀνδρός, | καὶ νιν ἐλευθερίως | λαμπρὸς ἰδεῖν φίλοις | οἴγμασι δνοφερᾶς καλύπτρας, Eur. *Ion* 1466. [It is a matter of indifference whether κρ. νεφέλᾶν be treated as gen. abs. or as dependent on δῦας, 'grief (consisting) of mists.']

ὁδοί: see crit. n. Except for the metre, ὀρθοῖ would stand, in the sense 'leads on the right path': cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1254 ὀρθὸς εἰς ὁδὸν πορεύεται. But ὀρθὸν ἀγειν εἰς ὁδὸν can be compressed into a more Aeschylean ὁδοῦν. ὁδοί clarifies the metaphor, which appears also in Pind. *N.* 7. 97 ἀμαχανίαν δυσβάτω.

ET. ἀνδρῶν τάδ' ἐστί, σφάγια καὶ χρηστήρια
θεοῖσιν ἔρδειν, πολεμίων πειρωμένοις·
σὸν δ' αὖ τὸ σιγᾶν καὶ μένειν εἴσω δόμων.

στρ. γ. XO. διὰ θεῶν πόλιν νεμόμεθ' ἀδάματον,
δυσμενέων δ' ὄχλον πύργος ἀποστέγει.
τίς τάδε νέμεσις στυγεί;

220

ET. οὔτοι φθονῶ σοι δαιμόνων τιμᾶν γένος·
ἀλλ' ὥς πολίτας μὴ κακοσπλάγχχνους τιθῆς,
εὐκηλος ἴσθι μηδ' ἄγαν ὑπερφοβοῦ.

ἀντ. γ. XO. ποταίνιον κλύουσα μιγά<ΔΔ> πάταγον
ταρβουσύνῳ φόβῳ τάνδ' ἐς ἀκρόπτολιν,
τίμιον ἔδος, ἰκόμαν.

225

216 τόδ' Blomfield. **217** ἔρδειν M. πειρωμένοις M (with ων over οἰς by m'). †.
218 Wecklein would read the improbable σοὶ for σὸν, misled by schol. (q.v.).
219 For the metre see note on v. 225. διαὶ θεῶν Meineke. νεμόμεσθ' M, corr. recc.
Though the corruption is generally from -μεσθα to -μεθα the reverse occurs in Ar.
Thesm. 802 (R), 810, *Pax* 1081. ἀδάμαντον M, corr. Pauw. **221** τί M, corr. Heath.

216 σφάγια καὶ χρηστήρια. The words are not synonymous. In Xen. *An.* 5. 6. 21 there is a similar distinction: τά τε ἱερὰ ἡμῖν καλὰ, οἱ τε οἰωνοὶ αἰσίοι, τά τε σφάγια κάλλιστα. σφάγια are specifically offerings to the νεότεροι (Harrison *Prol. Gk. Rel.* cap. II.) while χρηστήρια are more general, i.e. 'and (other) victims,' here sacrifices to the supernal powers. The word originally meant the victims used in consulting oracles, but in practice often became = ἱερὰ. The notion here is only of service and placation: cf. *Suppl.* 459 δεῖ κάρτα θύειν καὶ πεσεῖν χρηστήρια | θεοῖσι πολλοῖς πολλά, πημονῆς ἄκη. Nor are the words synonymous in Soph. *Aj.* 218 τοιαῦτ' ἂν ἴδοις σκηνῆς ἐνδον | χειροδάκτα σφάγι' αἰμοβαφῇ, | κείνου χρηστήρια τάνδρος (i.e. 'these are the strange χρηστήρια he offers').

217 θεοῖσιν. In tragedy, when used in its full length of three syllables, the word is emphatic: cf. *Cho.* 776 μέλλει θεοῖσιν ὦνπερ ἂν μέλῃ πέρι. Eteocles takes up their repeated mention of θεοί: 'the gods (of whom you speak so much).'
πειρωμένοις. The neighbouring πολεμίων makes it desirable to avoid πειρωμένων in agreement with ἀνδρῶν. On the other hand there can be no ambiguity caused by the dat. θεοῖς. Hence 'in the case of those doing their best against the enemy' or (better) 'at grips (cf. *πείραν* 486 n.) with the enemy.'

218 τὸ σιγᾶν κ.τ.λ.: according to

the Greek conception of ideal woman. Cf. Eur. *Heracr.* 476 γυναῖκι γὰρ σιγὴ τε καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν | κάλλιστον, εἴσω θ' ἥσυχον μένειν δόμων, Ar. *Lys.* 514, Xen. *Oec.* 7. 30. In Soph. *Aj.* 293 γυναι, γυναῖξί κόσμον ἢ σιγὴ φέρει is called a stock phrase (ἀεὶ ὑμνούμενον).

219 διὰ θεῶν: again emphatic. The words belong to the next line also. —νεμόμεθ': i.e. 'we, the women,...' (and therefore it is right for us to pray).

221 τίς τάδε κ.τ.λ.: lit. 'what anger shews dislike of this conduct of ours?' = 'why should there be any show of anger at our conduct?' —τάδε: used by a speaker of his own actions, attitude or language (*Suppl.* 394, *Cho.* 636). —νέμεσις: Hom. *Il.* 3. 156 οὐ νέμεσις Τρώας καὶ ἐνκνήμδας Ἀχαιοὺς | τοιγῶδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν, *Od.* 20. 330 οὐ τις νέμεσις μενέμεν τ' ἦν κ.τ.λ., *Cypr.* fr. ap. Ath. 334 D ἐτελείτω γὰρ φρένας αἰδοῖ | καὶ νέμει. The word is taken up by φθονῶ in the reply. —στυγεί: of the practical demonstration of μῖσος: see *Cho.* 611 (n.), 906, *P. V.* 37, Eur. *Or.* 1153.

222 φθονῶ: answering to νέμεσις. The reply of Eteocles is pious but practical. —γένος is not merely comprehensive. It acknowledges the difference of Gods from men in 'kind,' i.e. in respect of their higher powers. This also is the intention in the change to δαιμόνων. Α δαίμων is any power beyond the human. The word includes θεοί but is wider (see note

ET. It is for men to do service to Gods with victim and sacrifice, when at grips with the foe; but your part is to hush and stay at home.

CHO. 'Tis through the Gods that we dwell in an unconquered ^{3rd} land, and that the wall keeps out a horde of enemies. How can ^{strophe.} our acts bring anger and abhorrence?

ET. I mislike not that ye pay honour to beings of higher power; but, for fear ye make our burghers craven-hearted, be calm, nor let your terror master you too far.

CHO. 'Twas at the sudden sound of the mingled rattling, ^{3rd anti-} that in fright and dread I came to this citadel and sanctuary. ^{strophe.}

223 τιθεῖς M, τιθῆς m'. **224** ἐκηλος recs. **225** κλύουσα πάταγον ἀνάμυγα M, ἀνάμυγα rec. Corr. *ed. ↓. κλύουσ' ἀνάμυγα πάταγον Prien, Lowinski, Oberdick. ποτίφατον κλύουσα πάταγον ἀναμίξ Heimsoeth. **226** ἀκρόπολιν M, corr. Porson. ἐς σκοπᾶν (or σκοπίαν) rec., whence τάνδε ποτὶ σκοπᾶν Hermann.

on 510).—φθονῶ with infin. as in Hom. Od. 19. 348 τῇ δ' οὐκ ἂν φθονέοιμι ποδῶν ἄψασθαι ἐμέοι.

223 πολίτας) (δαιμόνων. —κακο-σπλάγχχνους: cf. ἀσπλαγχχνος, θρασύ-σπλαγχχνος and Aristes ar. Longin. 10. 4 (of fear) σπλάγχχνοις κακῶς ἀναβαλλο-μένοισι.

224 μῆδ' ἄγαν. At this date such an expression would imply a glance at the proverbial μῆδὲν ἄγαν (Theogn. 401). So P. V. 72, 343, Συρρλ. 1072 τὰ θεῶν μῆδὲν ἀγάξειν.—ὑπερφοβοῦ: there is emphasis, but no real tautology, with ἄγαν. ὑπερ- means either (1) 'on behalf of (us, or the city)': cf. 279 ὑπερδέδοικεν (n.), or (2) 'greatly,' i.e. 'do not carry your great fear too far.' The second is preferable, not only from the difficulty of supplying ἡμῶν or τῆς πόλεως, but in view of e.g. Pers. 796 ὑπερπόλλους ἄγαν, Eum. 824 ὑπερθύμως ἄγαν, Soph. Aj. 951 ἄγαν ὑπερβριθεὶς ἄχθος.

225 ποταίνιον: pronounced ποταλ-ιον. Cf. 115 γενήιον and Appendix to that line. The sense is 'new (or sudden) and strange,' and it was this strangeness which frightened them. Cf. Bacchyl. 16. 51 ὑφαινέ τε ποταινίαν μῆτην, Soph. Ant. 849.—πάταγον is not the rattle of the enemy's spears and armour, since it would be manifestly untrue for the Chorus to say that it only fled to the Acropolis upon hearing that sound (see 78 sqq.). Their hurried flight for refuge took place before the enemy came near. The πάταγος is the rattling of arms going on about the town when Eteocles gave his first orders. This rattling may well be described as μυχός.

226 ταρβοσύνη φόβῳ. τάρβος was not originally identical in meaning with φόβος (which in Homer still means 'rout,' 'flight'). The one word expressed the feeling, the other the movement: cf. Il. 12. 45 τοῦ δ' οὐποτε κυδάλιμον κῆρ | ταρβεῖ οὐδὲ φοβεῖται. It is not, indeed, likely that the tragedians were alive to the special epic distinction (which Aristarchus was compelled to point out); but they felt some difference between the words, and Aesch. at least could not have regarded himself as simply writing the equivalent of φοβεῖρ φόβῳ or ταρβοσύνη τάρβει. It was, however, inevitable that no consistent discrimination would be maintained between words whose values overlapped, and poets freely availed themselves of the pair of terms for the species of emphasis which appears in the English 'fear and dread.' Hence e.g. Συρρλ. 744 περιφοβόν μ' ἔχει τάρβος, Soph. Tr. 176 φόβῳ ... ταρβοῦν, Eur. H. F. 971 ταρβοῦντες φόβῳ, Phoen. 361 οὕτω δὲ τάρβους ἐς φόβον τ' ἀφικόμεν, Or. 312 τὸ ταρβοῦν κάκφοβοῦν, I. A. 1535 ταρβοῦσα τλήμων κάκπεπληγμένη φόβῳ. Similar are Or. 56 ἄλαιοι πλαγχθεῖς, I. A. 1350 λευσθῆναι πέτροισι. In e.g. Soph. O. T. 65 ὕπνῳ εὐδοῦντα, Verg. Aen. 1. 680 sopitum somno, 'in slumber and sleep' is an expression emphasizing the fact that the 'slumber' is 'real sleep,' i.e. deep. The intensification is here of a similar kind: the fear is overpowering.

227 τίμιον ἔδος: i.e. where the gods ἱδρύνται ἐν τιμῇ. The adjective doubtless also implies that it is the place which would be longest held in respect in a siege. The apposition to ἀκρόπολιν

- ET. μή νυν, εἰν θνήσκοντας ἢ τετρωμένους
 πύθησθε, κωκυτοῖσιν ἀρπαλίζετε.
 τούτῳ γὰρ Ἄρης βόσκειται, φόνῳ βροτῶν. 230
- XO. καὶ μὴν ἀκούω γ' ἱππικῶν φρυαγμάτων.
 ET. μή νυν ἀκούουσ' ἐμφανῶς ἀκού' ἄγαν.
 XO. στένει πόλισμα γῆθεν, ὡς κυκλουμένων.
 ET. οὐκοῦν ἔμ' ἀρκεῖ τῶνδε βουλευεῖν πέρι.
 XO. δέδοικ', ἀραγμὸς δ' ἐν πύλαις ὀφέλλεται. 235
- ET. οὐ σῖγα μηδὲν τῶνδ' ἐρεῖς κατὰ πτόλιν.
 XO. ὦ ξυντέλεια, μὴ προδῶς πυργώματα.
 ET. οὐκ ἐς φθόρον σιγῶς' ἀνασχῆσῃ τάδε;
 XO. θεοὶ πολῖται, μὴ με δουλείας τυχεῖν.

228 μὴ νυν M. †. θνήσκοντας M. Heimsoeth should not have proposed θανόντας.

presents the two aspects of the refuge, one as a stronghold, the other as a sanctuary. The poet is doubtless thinking of the Athenian Acropolis, which was 'wholly dedicated' (Dem. *Fals. Leg.* 428 *δλης οὐσης ἱερᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως*). Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 482 *ἄβατον ἀκρόπολιν, | ἱερὸν τέμενος*.

228 μὴ νυν: νυν in comedy is long, and it is but a school tradition that in tragedy it must be short. The sense here and in v. 232 plainly demands νυν rather than νῦν. We might indeed render 'well, whatever you may have done until now) from this time onward....' But in 232 it is impossible to force a temporal value upon the word.

229 ἀρπαλίζετε: sc. the news. The sense is of eager appetite, which will not wait. Cf. *Eum.* 982 *πινῶς ἀντιφόνους ἄτας ἀρπαλίσαι*. As *δέχεσθαι* is used with *λόγον*, *ἀγγελίαν* &c., so *ἀρπαλίζομαι* is explained as *ἀσμένως δέχομαι* (Hesych.). Paley understands *αὐτοῖς* ('carry them off'), but the sense is incorrect and would be inapposite.

230 Ἄρης βόσκειται. The War-God is *φιλαιματος* (cf. 45) and it is for warriors *αἵματος ἄσαι* Ἄρηα (Hom. *Il.* 22. 267). He is fed on *human* blood (cf. *Il.* 5. 31 Ἄρες Ἄρες βροτολοιγέ), and that offering cannot be withheld. The notion was once quite literally held, since all sacrifice was regarded as food, whether it ascended in smoke or sank into the earth. Here βόσκειται is seen on its way to the metaphorical, fully reached in *Cho.* 26 (n.), Pind. *P.* 2. 25 Ἀρχιλόχον βαρυνλόγους ἔχθεσιν | πιαινόμενον. The remark might seem small encouragement to the Chorus,

but the thought is that the War-God is fighting on the Cadmean side. His strength will be thus maintained.—Ἄρης: cf. 331, Soph. *Ant.* 139.

231 καὶ μὴν...γ'. This group of particles has two uses, (1) as drawing attention to new matter for consideration (*Cho.* 204 καὶ μὴν στίβοι γε, δεύτερον τεκμήριον), especially a new arrival upon the scene (see 359 n.), (2) as confirmatory of the preceding thought (e.g. here, that there is good cause for dread). It is not always easy (nor is it so in the present place) to separate these senses, which both arose from a phraseological or expletive application of 'yes, and indeed...' or the colloquial 'and, more by token....'

232 μὴ νυν: see 228 (n.).—ἐμφανῶς: with what follows. The thought is 'If you hear, pray do not hear too clearly,' i.e. either (a) 'do not make too much demonstration of what you hear' (but conceal it), or (b) 'do not hear more than there is to hear' (through imagination in your panic). For the former (which is the better) cf. *Hymn. Herm.* 92 καὶ τε ἰδὼν μὴ ἰδὼν εἶναι καὶ κωφὸς ἀκούσας, and the monostich of Menander *ἂ μὴ προσήκει μῆτ' ἀκοε μῆθ' ὄρα*.

233 στένει: cf. [Hes.] *Scut.* 344 *περισπανάχιζε δὲ γαῖα* (in a fight), *Pers.* 685 *στένει, κέκοπται καὶ χαράσσεται πέδον*.—πόλισμα regards the town as a structure, while πόλις is more abstract. The 'groaning' is not only to be taken literally of the rumbling noise, but also as a sound of omen or prophecy.—ὡς κυκλουμένων: ὡς implies that, from their position at the images, they do not actually

ET. Come! If ye hear of men dying or wounded, do not seize on the news with shrieks. For this is the Wargod's meat—the blood of men.

CHO. Ah! there I hear snorting of horses!

ET. Nay, do not hear too plainly what ye hear.

CHO. The stronghold groans from out the ground! They compass it about!

ET. What then? If I deal with it, it is enough.

CHO. I am afeared! The crashing grows louder at the gates.

ET. Silence! No talk of this about the town!

CHO. O ye who share with us! betray not our strong walls!

ET. Can ye not hush—plague on you!—and find patience?

CHO. Gods of one realm with us! keep from me the fate of slaves!

232 μὴ νῦν M. 233 δῆθεν recc. νέρθεν Nauck. κυκλούμενον rec. 234 Qi. οὐκουν with question? 238 φόνον M, corr. m.

see the encompassing, but gather it from the nature of the sound. Dramatically this is intended to describe the nearer progress of the enemy.—κυκλούμενων is middle. For the passive sense, 'as if we are being surrounded,' κυκλούμενοις would be more natural.

235 δέδοικ': still pleading the excuse of 185, 225.—δ' (which scholiasts usually in such cases explain by γάρ) gives the circumstance of their fear, amounting to its reason (*Cho.* 32 c. n., 57, 238 &c.).—ὀφέλλεται is the emphatic word. The noise in the gates has been heard before (146), but it is growing.

236 οὐ σίγα κ.τ.λ. For a discussion of such uses of οὐ μὴ see Gildersleeve *A. J. P.* III. p. 205, *Class. Rev.* x. 150 sqq., 239 sqq., xl. 109, Jebb *Append.* to *Soph. Aj.* 75, Goodwin *M. & T.* § 299. That the expression was regarded as an assertion and not as a question appears from the indirect use in *Eur. Phoen.* 1590 σαφῶς γὰρ εἶπε Τειρεσίας οὐ μὴ ποτε | σοῦ τῆνδε γῆν οἰκόντες εὐ πράξειν πόλιν. This also makes οὐ σίγα μὴ ἐρεῖς the more simple for e.g. σίγα ἀνέξη.

237 ξυντέλεια. The πανήγυρις of deities (206), while forming a συντέλεια relatively to each other (i.e. as sharing in the τέλος or office of defending the πυργώματα), are also in a συντέλεια with the citizens, as having a common interest, and the sense is rather this ('our partners' = σὺν ἡμῖν τελοῦντες εἰς πολίτας: cf. 239 θεοὶ πολῖται).—ξυντέλεια thus becomes collective concrete: cf. 502 προσφίλεια

δαιμόνων (n.), *Cho.* 21 ἦδε προστροπή ('band of suppliants'), *Suppl.* 38 πατραδέλφειαν τῆνδε, 273 δρακονθόμιλον δυσμενῆ ξυνοικίαν, *Pers.* 544 ἀνδρῶν | ποθέουσαι ἰδεῖν ἀρτίστυναν, *Eur. Or.* 1233 ὦ συγγένεια (of a person), *Phoen.* 291. [The associations of the word were not yet rendered prosaic by its use in connection with the trierarchy. This dates only from the middle of the 4th cent. Gilbert *Gk. Const. Ant.* p. 372 (Eng. trs.).]

238 οὐκ ἐς φθόρον ... ἀνασχήση; ultimately a combination of οὐκ ἐς φθόρον; with οὐκ ἀνασχήση; but ἐς φθόρον has virtually become expletive (like Latin *malum*). Cf. *Ar. Ran.* 607 οὐκ ἐς κόρακας μὴ πρόσσιτον (where the reading and punctuation are correct; see note there), Nicophron (*Mein. Com. Fr.* II. p. 848) οὐκ ἐς κόρακας τῷ χεῖρ' ἀπολοῖς ἐκποδῶν; For the colloquial expression cf. *Soph. O. T.* 1146 οὐκ εἰς δλεθρον; οὐ σιωπήσας ἔση; *ibid.* 430. *Epicharm.* (*ap. Ath.* 63 c) has the art. ἀπαγ' ἐς τὸν φθόρον. The use of φθειρεσθαι=εἵρειν is also tragic (*Eur. Andr.* 707 εἰ μὴ φθερῇ...τῆσδ' ἀπὸ στέγης, *Heracl.* 284). So in other serious poetry *Theogn.* 833 πάντα τὰδ' ἐν κοράκεσσι καὶ ἐν φθόρῳ.

239 θεοὶ πολῖται: our fellow-citizens: cf. 237 ξυντέλεια (n.). The appeal = 'do not see us, your humbler fellow-citizens, enslaved.'—μὴ με...τυχεῖν: a familiar and old construction in a prayer (with εὔχομαι, δότε or the like understood). Cf. *Hom. Il.* 7. 179 Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ Ἄλαντα λαχεῖν ἢ Τυδεὸς υἱόν, 2. 412, *Od.* 17. 354

ET. αὐτὴ σὺ δουλοῖς κάμει καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν.

240

XO. ὦ παγκρατὲς Ζεῦ, τρέψον εἰς ἐχθροὺς βέλος.

ET. ὦ Ζεῦ, γυναικῶν οἶον ὥπασας γένος.

XO. μόχθηρον, ὥσπερ ἄνδρας, ὦν ἀλῶ πόλιν.

ET. παλινστομεῖς αὖ θιγγάνουσ' ἀγαλμάτων;

XO. ἀψυχία γὰρ γλῶσσαν ἀρπάζει φόβος.

245

ET. αἰτουμένῳ μοι κοῦφον εἰ δοίης τέλος.

XO. λέγοις ἂν ὡς τάχιστα, καὶ τάχ' εἴσομαι.

ET. σίγησον, ὦ τάλαινα· μὴ φίλους φόβει.

XO. σιγῶ· σὺν ἄλλοις πείσομαι τὸ μόρσιμον.

ET. τοῦτ' ἀντ' ἐκείνων τοῦπος αἰροῦμαι σέθεν.

250

καὶ πρὸς γε τούτοις, ἐκτὸς οὖσ' ἀγαλμάτων,

240 κάμει καὶ σὲ καὶ πόλιν recc. (a manifest piece of editing). αὐτὴν Butler, αὐτὴν σε Paley (αὐτὴν σὺ is also possible). καὶ σὲ καὶ πᾶσαν Wunderlich. πτόλιν M, πόλιν recc. **243** ἀνδρες recc. **244** πολυστομεῖς Blomfield. ↓. **246** γρ.

Ζεῦ ἄνα, Τηλέμαχόν μοι ἐν ἀνδράσιν δλβιον εἶναι, Soph. O. T. 190, fr. trag. adesp. 151 ὦ Ζεῦ, γενέσθαι τῆσδε μ' ἐξάντη νόσου, Cho. 306, Ar. Ach. 816, Ran. 885 Δήμητερ ... εἶναι με τῶν σῶν ἀξιον μυστηρίων.

240 δουλοῖς: i.e. by causing faint heart among the troops (cf. 175, 223). The pres. is conative, 'you are doing your best to enslave.'—κάμει should certainly be retained; the irritation (self-regarding) is a true touch. For the whole expression cf. Eur. Phoen. 437 παῦσαι πόνων με καὶ σὲ καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν, a line which strengthens an otherwise natural suggestion, αὐτὴν σὺ δουλοῖς κάμει κ.τ.λ. (for αὐτὴν = σεαυτὴν see 181 n.).

241 τρέψον...βέλος. In the βρέτας Zeus is to be understood as represented with his thunderbolt (cf. 103, 123, 134). The thought is exactly that of v. 123.

242 ὦ Ζεῦ: sarcastically and irritably echoing their invocation.—ὥπασας: 'attached,' 'added' (to man). The word is connected with ὀπαδός, ὀπάων. Cf. 479. The addition was made at the creation of mankind, as in the legend of Pandora. For the taunt cf. Semon. 7 (8). 96 Ζεὺς γὰρ μέγιστον τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν κακόν, | γυναικάς.—γένος: see 171.

243 μόχθηρον: rather than μοχθηρόν, since the meaning is ἐπίπονον (Cho. 748 c. n.).—ὦν ἀλῶ πόλιν: Hom. Il. 9. 591 κατέλεξεν ἅπαντα | κῆδε' δσ' ἀνθρώποισι πόλει τῶν ἄστου ἀλώη.

244 παλινστομεῖς: referring not to their retort, but to their ill-timed ὦν ἀλῶ

πόλιν, which is a δυσφημία. The sense is not 'talk back' (with which θιγγάνουσ' ἀγαλμάτων has no special point), but πάλιν = 'away' (Hom. Il. 21. 415 πάλιν τρέπεν ὅσσε φαεινῶ) i.e. 'away from the right manner,' 'perversely' (see Bury's note to N. 1. 58). In Bacchyl. 11. 53 ταῖσιν δέ... | στήθεσσι παλιντροπον ἐμβαλεν νόημα answers to *ibid.* 45 παραπλήγι φρένας κ.τ.λ. So Ap. Rhod. 3. 1155 παλιντροπήσιν ἀμήχανος ('perverseness'). This also appears to be the correct sense in Eur. Ion 1096 παλινφάμος αἰοῖδ' | καὶ μοῦσ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἴτω δυσκέλαδος (= δύσφημος, βλάσφημος). The schol. is therefore so far right in explaining by δυσφημίς, if *δυσ-* be understood of utterance out of keeping with the time and place. The notion that the word tends to evoke the thing dates from a pre-civilised 'magic' period. [The other sense, which is the more ready to suggest itself, would find support in e.g. Il. 9. 55 οὐ τίς τοι τὸν μῦθον ὀνόσσειται, ὅσσοι Ἀχαιοί, | οὐδὲ πάλιν ἐρέει, 'contradict.']

αὖ: not 'again,' but an expletive (which deserves more notice) in indignant questions, cf. P. V. 67 σὺ δ' αὖ κατοκνεῖς; *ibid.* 769 σὺ δ' αὖ κέκραγας κἀναμυθίζῃ;

245 ἀψυχία: cf. 175 ἀψυχον κἀκην. The Chorus is growing repentant.—ἀρπάζει: like a runaway steed (674 n.).

ET. 'Tis yourselves that are making slaves both of me and all the realm.

CHO. Almighty Zeus, turn thy bolt upon the foe!

ET. Zeus, what a breed didst thou bestow on us in women!

CHO. A miserable one, like men, when their country is made captive.

ET. What! use wrong words, with your hands on the forms of Gods?

CHO. 'Tis fear and faint heart; it carries my tongue away.

ET. I beseech you, let my authority be gently used.

CHO. Say on forthwith, and forthwith I shall know my answer.

ET. Be silent, unhappy women; cease frightening your own.

CHO. I am silent. I shall suffer but my fate, as others will.

ET. This change of talk is better to my liking. But do more still. Leave the images, and make the better prayer

λόγον schol. 247 καὶ τὸτ' Meineke. ↓. οἴσομαι rec. I no longer propose καὶ ταχθήσομαι (Class. Rev. III. 103). 249 σπείσομαι M, corr. m'. 251 ἀγαμμάτων M. Schmidt. ὑλαγμάτων might be offered as more in the tone of Eteocles; but ↓.

Cf. Ar. Ran. 993 ὅπως | μὴ σ' ὁ θυμὸς ἀρπάσας | ἐκτὸς οἴσει τῶν ἐλαῶν.

246 αἰτουμένῳ: not merely = oro as a formula (Cho. 2, 478), but he changes his tone with theirs. He will put his command as a request.—κοῦφον εἰ δόξης τέλος: either (1) 'grant easy fulfilment' (i.e. one which will cost you no effort), or (2) 'let my authority lie lightly upon you' (or 'find gentle course'), i.e. do not make me lay it upon you in a more severe shape (βαρὺ). The former may look the easier, but it is less suited either to the word κοῦφον (cf. Isoc. 199 B ἡγούμενοι κουφοτέρην καὶ νομιμωτέρην εἶναι τὴν Εὐαγόρου βασιλείαν) or to the king's attitude, which now combines gentleness with firmness.—τέλος includes the sense (inseparable from the Greek) of an end to the discussion. In point of grammar εἰ originally implies a suppressed apodosis: 'if you would give my request an authority which sits lightly (it would be well, or, I should thank you).' In practice it is used, like εἰ γὰρ or εἴθε, to introduce a wish. Cf. Hom. Il. 10. 111, 24. 74, Soph. O. T. 863 εἰ μοι ξυνηλῆ...μοῖρα, Eur. Hec. 836 εἰ μοι γένοιτο φθόγγος ἐν βραχίσσιν.

247 τάχ' εἴσομαι. The expression, like the English 'I will see,' is virtually a promise, but is saved from the colloquialism of the English phrase partly by τάχ', partly by the sense of εἴσομαι (= 'shall be able to tell,' cf. Eur. Heracl.

269 πειρώμενος δὴ τοῦτ' ὅτ' αὐτὶκ' εἴσομαι). —τάχ' after ὡς τάχιστα should be observed in the rendering.

249 σὺν ἄλλοις: emphatic, as is τὸ μόρσιμον; 'I shall be in no worse plight than others, and I can only suffer my fate.' Cf. Suppl. 1058 ὁ τι τοι μόρσιμόν ἐστιν, τὸ γένοιτ' ἂν, [...μετὰ πολλῶν | δὲ γάμων ἄδε τελευτὰ | προτερῶν πέλοι γυναικῶν, Pind. fr. 107. 17 δλοφύρομαι οὐδέν, ὁ τι πάντων μέτα πέσομαι, Eur. Phoen. 894 εἰς γὰρ ὧν πολλῶν μέτα | τὸ μέλλον, εἰ χρή, πέσομαι, Hērff. 834, Thuc. 7. 75. 6. Greek frequently substitutes stress for μόνον ('only fate'): cf. 180 (n.).

250 sqq. The whole of the following speech of Eteocles is quite sound, but has suffered much from misinterpretation. It is hoped that the translation will sufficiently defend the text.

250 τοῦτο...τοῦπος: 'that utterance,' not merely 'word' (viz. σιγῶ), cf. Cho. 46 (n.), 92, and inf. 566 (n.)—σθέν: as in τοῦτ' σου ἐπαινώ, θαυμάζω, μέφομαι &c., rather than merely possessive.

251 ἐκτὸς οὖσ' ἀγαλμάτων: a device for getting the Chorus back into the ὀρχήστρα. The phrase with ἐκτὸς treats the ἀγάλματα as forming a place (e.g. κύκλος ἀγαλμάτων). So οἱ ἐπώνυμοι in the Athenian Agora, and the familiar use of the names of articles (οἶνος, χύτραι &c.) for the parts of the market in which they

εὔχου τὰ κρείσσω, ξυμμάχους εἶναι θεούς.
 κάμῶν ἀκούσας' εὐγμάτων, ἔπειτα σὺ
 ὀλολυγμὸν ἱερὸν εὐμενῇ παιώνισον,
 Ἑλληνικὸν νόμισμα θυστάδος βοῆς,
 θάρσος φίλοις, λύουσα πόλεμιον φόβον.
 ἐγὼ δὲ χώρας τοῖς πολισσοῦχοις θεοῖς,
 πεδιονόμοις τε κἀγορᾶς ἐπισκόποις,
 Δίρκης τε πηγαῖς, οὐδ' ἀπ' Ἴσμηνὸν λέγω,

255

253 ἀκούσας M. **254** ἱερὸν Dind. Headlam suggests ἐμμελῆ for εὐμενῇ. παιώνισον M, which m' would correct to παιάνισον. The conflict of evidence is frequent (cf. MSS at Xen. *An.* 6. 1. 11). †. **256** πολεμίῳν rec. A former suggestion θάρσος φίλοις κλύουσι, πολεμίῳν φόβον is here withdrawn, although schol. (q.v.)

are sold. For εἶναι ἐκτός cf. Hom. *Od.* 16. 267 ἄμφι ἔσσεσθον | φυλόπιδος κρατερῆς, 19. 389 ἔξεν ἀπ' ἐσχαρόφιν.

252 εὔχου τὰ κρείσσω: 'make the better prayer,' i.e. put it into its better shape, with more confidence and words of better omen. It is wrong to use in prayer such expressions as imply that the Gods may 'betray' us (237) or that the city may fall (239). The notion is the same as in 266 sq. Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1419 ἐπεὶ στρατηλάτου | χρηστοῦ τὰ κρείσσω μηδὲ τάνδεα λέγειν, Theoc. 24. 73 μελλόντων δὲ τὸ λῶιον ἐν φρεσὶ θέσθαι.—**ξυμμάχους εἶναι** is emphatic. The Chorus is not merely to pray *μὴ* **προδότης εἶναι** τοὺς θεούς, but that they may be more, viz. **ξυμμάχους**. [We should not render 'make the better boast,' as a brachylogy for 'put your prayers into better shape and boast that the Gods are on our side.'] In the next line **εὐγμάτων** are 'vows,' not simply prayers.

254 ὀλολυγμὸν ἱερὸν κ.τ.λ. The intention is to impress both friend and enemy. The ὀλολυγμός (or ὀλολυγή) is the women's jubilant cry at the smiting of the victim, and, being taken to imply auspicious sacrifice, it would inspirit the Cadmeans and discourage the enemy, who would recognise its meaning (hence v. 255). For the use of the word see Hesych. (ὀλολυγή), Hom. *Od.* 3. 449 πέλεκυς δ' ἀπέκοψε τένοντας | αἰχένιους, λῦσεν δὲ βοὸς μένος, αἱ δ' ὀδύλυναν | θυγάτηρ, *Ag.* 599 ὁμως δ' ἔθνον, καὶ γυναίκεϊ νόμῳ | ὀλολυγμὸν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν κατὰ πτόλιν | ἔλασκον εὐφημοῦντα, *Cho.* 385 (n.), Xen. *An.* 4. 3. 19. It was part of the summons or invocation of the Gods: cf. Eur. *fr.* 351 ὀλολύζετε, ὦ γυναῖκες, ὥς ἔσθῃ θεὰ | χρυσὴν ἔχουσα Γοργόν' ἐπίκουρος πόλει.

See also Monro on *Od.* 22. 408 (p. 288). Its rejoicing tone appears again from *e.g.* Eur. *Med.* 1176 ἀντιμολπον ἤκεν ὀλολυγῆς μέγαν | κωκυτόν. To this **παιώνισον** is suited, since a **παῖαν** is used either in thanks for deliverance or in confidence of appeal (Soph. *O. T.* 5, 186 and see Smyth *Gk. Mel. Poets* p. xxxviii). It therefore naturally accompanied prayers: cf. Eur. *I. T.* 1403 ναῦται δ' ἐπευφήμησαν εὐχαῖσιν κόρης | παῖα. According to schol. on Thuc. 1. 50 the paean before battle is addressed to Ares, that after battle to Apollo. In any case it is εὐφημος (Hesych. ἀπαιώνιστον· δύσφημον). For the spelling with -ω- see *Cho.* 342 (n.) and Phot. *παιωνίξεν*· τὸ ἀλαλάζειν.

ἱερὸν: in its earliest meaning, 'strong.' The sense is that of *Cho.* 385 ἐφυνήσῃ... | πυκνέεντ' ὀλολυγμὸν (= πανηγυρικόν, λαμπρόν schol.). Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 768D λαμπρόν ἀνωλόλυξε.—**εὐμενῇ**: 'loyal and hearty.'

255 Ἑλληνικὸν = 'Panhellenic' (and therefore understood by the enemy): Eur. *I. T.* 10 στόλον | Ἑλληνικὸν συνήγαγ', *Hēr.* 1016 ἐγὼ δ' ἀγῶνας μὲν κρατεῖν Ἑλληνικοὺς | πρῶτος θέλωμ' ἄν. (A Greek may further emphasise the notion with Παν-, *e.g.* Eur. *Suppl.* 526 τὸν Πανελλήνων νόμον | σῶζων, Pind. *I.* 2. 38.) Hence **νόμισμα**: the ὀλολυγμός is 'current coin of sacrificial shout' among all the Greeks alike. The gen. **θυστάδος βοῆς** defines or limits the metaphor precisely as in 64 (n.).

256 θάρσος φίλοις: rather in apposition to the notional contents of ὀλολυγμὸν... **παιώνισον** (cf. 169) than to ὀλολυγμὸν itself.—**λύουσα πολεμίον φόβον**: 'by curing war-fear.' He does not say **πολεμίῳν φόβον**, since he would not acknowledge such alarm even if it existed. With

‘May the Gods fight for us.’ Listen also to my vows, and then do thou raise with high and hearty zest the jubilant chant that passeth in all Greece for the shout of sacrifice. ‘Twill hearten our friends and rid them of battle-fright.

I vow to the country’s guardian Gods, whether they watch the fields or keep eye upon the mart, to Dirce’s streams—yea,

might support it. ↓. φίλοις φύονσα Wakefield.

259 πηγῆς recc. Ἰσμηνοῦ M, Ἰσμηνοῦ m. Corr. Abresch. ὑδατί τ’ Ἰσμηνοῦ Geel, ὑδατά τ’ Dind., χῦδατ’ Kirchhoff. I formerly suggested λουτρά τ’ (comparing Eur. *Phoen.* 341 ἀνυμέναια δ’ Ἰσμηνός ἐκθεύθη λουτροφόρου χλιδᾶς), but have now no doubt of the true correction. ↓.

λύουσα cf. Eur. *Or.* 104 σύ νυν χάριν μοι τὸν φόβον λύσασα δός, fr. 573 καρδίας ἔλυσε τοὺς ἀγαν πόνοους, Soph. *El.* 939 τῆς νῦν παρούσης πημονῆς λύσεις βάρος, Epinicus ar. Ath. 432 C πῶμα, καύματος λύσιν, Hom. *Od.* 23. 343 (ἕπνος) λύων μελεδήματα θυμοῦ. In Euphron ar. Ath. 7 E ἔλυσε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν should not be altered (with Porson) to ἐπανσε.

257 sqq. ἐγὼ δὲ κ.τ.λ.: resuming 253, ‘Well, my prayer is....’ The local deities addressed are (1) the πολιισσοῦχοι θεοί, divided in the next line into πεδινόμοι and ἀγοραῖοι, (2) the κουτροτρόφοι δαίμονες, Dirce and Ismenus; τε (after Δίρκης) joins these two classes. Hence the position of χώρας, which prefaces all and belongs to all, as if χώρας δαίμοσι πᾶσι was to be the expression.

To distinguish the former class into three subdivisions, viz. as gods of the Acropolis, the country, and the agora, is less good. In one sense πόλις is the realm, in another it is the ἀστυ (or, again, the acropolis of that ἀστυ). The senses of πολιισσοῦχοι may be correspondingly wide or narrow. Thus in *Suppl.* 1030 πολιοῦχος | τε καὶ οἱ χεῖμ’ Ἑρσίνου | περιναλοῖσιν παλαιὸν the gods of city and country are contrasted. Such variation must be discerned from the context. Here the article τοῖς is unduly strained if we are to treat πολιισσοῦχοις as distinguished from, instead of comprehending, those in the next line. The construction is πεδ. τε κάγ. ἐπισκόποις (οὐσίην), with τε καὶ = ‘be they...or’ (cf. 414 sq.). Little help can be obtained from the doubtful *Ag.* 88 πάντων δὲ θεῶν τῶν ἀστυνόμων | ὑπᾶτων χθονίων | τῶν τ’ οὐρανίων τῶν τ’ ἀγοραίων, but, if ἀγορονόμων be right for οὐρανίων, the ἀστυνόμοι there answer to the πολιισσοῦχοι here and are similarly distinguished. So Plutarch (*Sull.* 7. 6) contrasts τὸν ἀστυκὸν ὄχλον καὶ ἀγοραῖον with the ἀρουραῖοι.

259 Δίρκης...Ἰσμηνόν: female and male, nymph and river-god. In Callim. *Hymn. Del.* 76 Dirce is called daughter of Ismenus (Δίρκη τε Στροφίη τε μελαμψήφιδος ἔχουσαι | Ἰσμηνοῦ χέρα πατρός). For the topography see *Introd.* § 15. These streams are the κουτροτρόφοι of Thebes. For the reverence paid to them as such cf. Hom. *Il.* 23. 142 (Achilles and the Spercheus), *Cho.* 6 (n.). In Hes. *Th.* 347 the fountain-nymphs ἀνδράς κουρίζουσι σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνακτι | καὶ ποταμοῖς. The deification is of a frequent kind: cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1333 πρὸς νῦν σε κρηνῶν καὶ θεῶν ὁμογενίων (Polyneices to Oedipus), *Suppl.* 1035 sqq., *Eum.* 27 Πλειστοῦ τε πηγᾶς...καλοῦσα (the προφῆτις at Delphi), and the ἐμμετρος ὄρκος of Demosth. (Plut. *Dem.* 9. 4) μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμούς, μὰ νάματα. Plutarch (*Comment. in Hes.* § 75) gives as an explanation that the ἀνάοι ποταμοὶ resemble τὴν ἀνέκλειπτον τῶν θεῶν οὐσίαν. Doubtless these streams played in the Theban epic a part as conspicuous as Scamander and Simois in the Trojan. Dirce (cf. *inf.* 294) was more important to Thebes than Ismenus, and hence the Theban Pindar (*I.* 1. 29) uses βρέθροισι τε Δίρκας...καὶ παρ’ Εὐρώτα as parallel references to Thebes and Sparta. Hence also *Dircaeus* = ‘Theban’ (Verg. *Ecl.* 2. 24, Hor. *Od.* 4. 2. 25). This will account for the form of mention of Ismenus here.

πηγαῖς: not = κρήναις, but the ‘flowings.’

οὐδ’ ἀπ’ Ἰσμηνόν λέγω. The corruption to Ἰσμηνοῦ was almost inevitable. So *Ag.* 1599 ἀπὸ σφαγῆν ἐρών (Auratus) became σφαγῆς. The proper correction would doubtless have been accepted more generally if scholars had not been under the misapprehension that in such cases there must be ‘tmesis’ of an established compound verb (viz. ἀπολέγω). This is

εὖ ξυντυχόντων καὶ πόλεως σεσωμένης,
 μῆλοισιν αἰμάσσοντας ἐστίας θεῶν,
 ταυροκτονούντας θεοῖσιν, ᾧδ' ἐπεύχομαι
 θῆσειν τροπαῖα, πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήματα.
 “λάφυρα δάων δουρίπληχθ' ἄγνοῖς δόμοις
 στέψω πρὸ ναῶν, πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήματα.”
 τοιαῦτ' ἐπεύχου μὴ φιλοστόνως θεοῖς,
 μῆδ' ἐν ματαίοις κἀγρίοις ποιφύμασιν.
 οὐ γάρ τι μᾶλλον μὴ φύγῃς τὸ μόρσιμον.
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἐξ ἐμοὶ σὺν ἐβδόμῳ

260 σεσωσμένης M.

261 αἰμάσσω τῶθ' Ritsch. ↓.

262—265 Through missing the living tone of the speaker (↓) critics have needlessly rearranged these lines with various omissions and alterations (see Weckl. Append.). Weckl. would abbreviate them to λάφυρα δάων δουρίπληχθ' ἄγνοῖς δόμοις | στέψω πρὸ ναῶν, πολεμίων ἐσθήματα, Hermann to θῆσειν τροπαῖα, δάων δ' ἐσθήματα | στέψω πρὸ ναῶν δουρίπληχθ' ἄγνοῖς δόμοις, but these offer no account of the supposed interpolations. Some of the later copies omit v. 265; others omit πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήματα only. **263** τρόπαια M.

to reverse the chronological order. In reality compound verbs grew out of expressions like this, in which the so-called preposition is a full adverb (cf. *inf.* 1019). οὐδὲ λέγω Ἰσμενὸν ἄπο = ‘nor do I reckon Ismenus out.’ See *Cho.* 954 (n.). In *Soph. fr.* 618 τὸ γὰρ | γυναιξὶν αἰσχροὺν σὺν γυναικὶ δεῖ στέγειν should be corrected to σὺν γυναικὶ κ.τ.λ.

260 εὖ ξυντυχόντων: the condition attaching to the vow. The participle is neuter, cf. *Suppl.* 129 πελομένων καλῶς, *Eum.* 775, *Cho.* 79 βία φερομένων (n.), where add Herond. 2. 85 ὡς ἀμαρτύρων εὐντων, *Soph. El.* 1344 τέλουμένων, *Eur. Alc.* 88 ὡς πεπραγμένων.

261 αἰμάσσοντας: with the accus. is understood τοὺς πολίτας (or comprehensively τινάς). The vow is a proclamation or order for the thing to be done, not simply a declaration that he himself will do it (= αἰμάσσω).—ἐστίας θεῶν = βιωμούς (*Soph. O. C.* 1495 βούθυτον ἐστίαν).—θεῶν defines, as against human ἐστίαι. The repetition of the word θεοῖσιν in the next line would not in any case offend Greek ears (*Cho.* 52 n.), but it is here deliberate, the vow being made in slow and unequivocal terms and tones. ταυροκτονούντας αὐτοῖς would be less solemn and insistent. Moreover θεοῖσιν helps to make clear the notion that the slaying is really for sacrifice, not for feast.

262 ταυροκτονούντας: implying no niggardly sacrifice, ‘no less than bulls.’ Cf. *Paus.* 9. 3. 8 αἱ μὲν δὴ πόλεις καὶ τὰ

τέλη θήλειαν θύσαντες τῇ Ἥρᾳ βοῦν ἕκαστοι καὶ ταῦρον τῷ Διὶ... τοῖς δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως δυναμένοις τὰ λεπτότερα τῶν προβάτων θύειν καθέστηκε. The asyndeton as in v. 60.—**263**: i.e. ‘in the following set terms do I vow...’

263 πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήματα: ‘yea, the raiment of the foe.’ δ' explains, defines, or gives an alternative expression for τροπαῖα. Cf. *Cho.* 189 (n.), 709. [If ἐσθήμασι were right it would be instrumental, and we should construe (rather awkwardly) ‘I vow that we will set up trophies—slaying sheep and bulls the while—yes, with (i.e. making the trophies out of) the raiment.’]

ἐσθήματα do not include the armour (466). Garments formed a valuable portion of spoil in antiquity: cf. *Xen. Hell.* 2. 4. 19 τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκέλευσαν, *Plut. Mor.* 230 Ε θαυμαζόντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς λαφύροις τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς ἐσθῆτος. The importance attached to ‘changes of raiment’ in the Bible, and the derivation of ‘robe’ (from ‘reave’ = ‘spoil’) illustrate the point. Agesilaus (*Ath.* 550 E), seeing that the Asiatics were richly dressed but feeble in body, γυμνοὺς πάντας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους ἐπὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἄγειν καὶ χωρὶς πωλεῖν τὸν τοῦτον ἱματισμόν, ὅπως οἱ σύμμαχοι γιγνώσκοντες διότι πρὸς μὲν ἄλλα μεγάλα πρὸς δ' ἄνδρας εὐτέλεις ὁ ἀγὼν συνέστηκε κ.τ.λ. To give up this spoil (about which there is none of the modern sordidness) to the gods was a large sacri-

and to Ismenus no less—that if good befall and the realm be saved, men shall steep the hearths of the Gods in blood of sheep, and slay them bulls, while we set up trophies—the raiment of the foe. These are my words ‘With the spear-rent spoils of the enemy will I bedeck your hallowed abodes before your shrines, even with the raiment of the foe.’

In such wise make your prayers to heaven, not with a passion of groans, nor in wild and frenzied blurtings; they can help you nothing to escape from fate. Meanwhile I will go, and at the

^{τα}
ἐσθήμασι M (σ in a smear, and the correction by m).

264 δουρίπηχθ’ Dind.

δουρίληθθ’ Porson. ↓.

265 δ’ M with τ’ superscr. (m).

267 ποφύγμασιν

M, ποφ**γμασιν M^a, corr. recc. The later identity of pronunciation of οι and υ caused some embarrassment to transcribers when both occurred in adjoining syllables: cf. *fr. frag. adesp.* 223 (N) where text of Hesych. has κλοιτοιμωγεῖς for κλύειτ’ οἰμωγῆς.

268 μᾶλλον M, καλλων M^a.

269 ἐγὼ δέ γ’ ἄνδρας anon. (marg. Ald.). ↓.

fice. The annexing of such ἐσθήματα appears also in another connection, Soph. *El.* 267 ὅταν θρόνοις Αἰγισθον ἐνθακοῦντ’ ἰδῶ | τοῖσιν πατρίοις, εἰδῶ δ’ ἐσθήματα | φοροῦντ’ ἐκείνῳ ταῦτά (which should be taken literally). Raiment goes with gold in epic times: cf. *Od.* i. 165, 5. 38, *Hymn. Herm.* 181 (where it is part of the treasure of the temple at Delphi).

264 sq. λάφυρα κ.τ.λ. Here begins the formal vow (*verba concepta*) promised in 258. For the vow and the practice itself cf. Soph. *Aj.* 92 καὶ σε παγχρύσοις ἐγὼ | στέψω λαφύροις τῆσδε τῆς ἀγρας χάριν, Hom. *Il.* 7. 81 εἰ εἰ δέ κ’ ἐγὼ τὸν ἔλω, δῶν δέ μοι εὖχος Ἀπόλλων, | τεύχεα συλῆσας οἴσω πρὸτ’ Ἴλιον ἱρὴν, | καὶ κρεμύω ποτὶ νηὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο, Eur. *El.* 6, *Rhes.* 180, *I. T.* 74 θριγκοῖς δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς σκῦλ’ ὄρας ἡρτημένα.

δουρίπηλχθ’ : i.e. bearing the marks of the spears with which the owners were slain. This would not enhance their value to the human spoiler, but it would not reduce it in the eyes of the Gods. For the word cf. Hom. *Il.* 19. 25 χαλκοτύπους ὤτειλάς. [Porson’s δουρίληθθ’ would answer to σκύλους...δοριθηράτους of Eur. *Tro.* 573, while the variant δουρίπηλχθ’ would mean ‘fastened with spears’ (which serve as πάσσαλοι : cf. Eur. *Andr.* 1123 κρεμαστὰ τεῖχη πασσαλῶν καθαρπάσας and the πεπηγμένα σκύλα of Joseph. *Ant.* 5. 14 quoted by Stanley).]

ἀγνοῖς : the gifts are to be inviolable because the temples are so. The dat. is that of the recipient, not local.

στέψω : cf. 50, but there is also the sense of honour paid to the God (cf.

στέφος, στέφανος). The word seems to have had special recognition in this connection (Eur. *Tro.* 573 σκύλους...οἶσιν...στέψει ναοὺς).—πρὸ ναῶν defines; i.e. in the πρόναος or προστώων, where dedicated offerings were often kept. The perishable ἐσθήματα would naturally not be hung, like armour, outside under the θριγκοί or on the triglyphs (Meleager *Anth. Pal.* 6. 163, Eur. *Bacch.* 1212 ὡς πασσαλεύη κρᾶτα τριγλύφους τότε | λέοντος).

πολεμίων δ’ ἐσθήματα : as in v. 263 and with the same construction. He must necessarily repeat in the actual words of his vow the terms which he has promised to employ.

266 τοιαῦτ’ : emphatic.—μὴ φιλοστόνως : i.e. not as in 237, 239, but as in 254. For φιλο- preferred to πολυ- cf. 163 (n.).—θεοῖς : added with the thought (especially implied in the next line) that ‘groans and wild blurtings’ are no decorous way of approaching deity.

267 ἐν : modal; cf. Soph. *Ph.* 60 οἱ σ’ ἐν λιταῖς στείλαντες κ.τ.λ. Kühner-Gerth i. p. 466.—ματαιοῖς : combines the notions ‘foolish’ and ‘reckless.’ Cf. *inf.* 425 (n.), 429.—ἀγροῖς : the opposite of ‘civilised’; the conduct of ἀπαίδευτοι.

268 οὐ γάρ...μὴ. For the separation of οὐ μὴ cf. Soph. *Aj.* 560 οὐτοὶ σ’ Ἀχαιῶν, οἶδα, μὴ τις ὕβριση, *Ant.* 1042 οὐδ’ ὥς μiasma τοῦτο μὴ τρέσας ἐγὼ | θάπτεω παρήσω.

269 ἐπ’ cannot mean ‘to fetch,’ since τάδε and not εἰμι is the verb. But there is no objection to regarding it as an adverb (as in ἐπὶ δέ), ‘and, in addition...’ Cf. Hom. *Il.* 13. 800 ὡς Τρῶες πρὸ μὲν

ἀντηρέτας ἐχθροῖσι τὸν μέγαν τρόπον
εἰς ἐπτατειχεῖς ἐξόδους τάξω μολών,
πρὶν ἀγγέλους σπερχynoύς τε καὶ ταχυρρόθους
λόγους ἰκέσθαι καὶ φλέγειν χρείας ὕπο.

270

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. μέλει, φόβῳ δ' οὐχ ὑπνώσκει κέαρ.
γαίτονες δὲ καρδίας
μέριμναι ζωπυροῦσι τάρβος
τὸν ἀμφιτειχῇ λεών,
δράκοντας ὥς τις τέκνων

275

271 ἐπτά τεῖχος (*Class. Rev.* III. 104) is not required (↓). It is, I find, recorded as a conjecture in one rec. **272** ἀγγέλου recc., γρ. ἀγγέλων rec. ↓. **273** χρείας M, but with *pel* by *m* in an erasure. **274** ὑπνώσει M, corr. *m*. **275** Dind.

ἄλλοι ἀρήροτες, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοι κ.τ.λ., *Soph. O. T.* 181 ἐν δ' ἄλοχοι πολιαί τ' ἐπιματέρες... ἰκτῆρες ἐπιστενάχουσιν. Similarly *Ag.* 1644 οὐκ αὐτὸς ἠνάρξῃς ἀλλὰ σὺν γυνῇ, 1358, and frequently πρὸς (*Eur. Phoen.* 610 καὶ κατακτενῶ γε πρὸς). It should be noted that Eteocles here simply undertakes to be one of seven, and it is only circumstances which bring him directly face to face with Polyneices. He is not even aware as yet that Polyn. is to be one of the Argive seven.—ἐμοὶ σὺν ἐβδόμῳ is the ἑβδομος αὐτὸς of prose.

270 ἀντηρέτας ἐχθροῖσι: cf. *Pers.* 1023 θησαυρὸν βελέεσσιν, *Cho.* 979 δεσμὸν ἀθλίῳ πατρί, *Nicanor* *ap.* *Ath.* 370 Α ἦν μάντιν λαχάνοισι παλαιόγονοι ἐρέπουσιν.—τὸν μέγαν τρόπον: with ἀντηρέτας (with the verbal force of ἐναντιωσομένων, συστησομένων).—By τὸν (unless the phrase is proverbial) is meant 'in their great manner' i.e. in the great style corresponding to theirs (as described in vv. 42—51). These words are almost a preface to the subsequent descriptions of the several champions. For τρόπον cf. 452 οὐ μικρὸν τρόπον, [*Eur.*] *Rhes.* 599 μολόντα 'Ρῆσον οὐ φαῖλῳ τρόπῳ.

271 εἰς ἐπτατειχεῖς ἐξόδους. This cannot mean 'the seven outlets of our walls.' Such a phrase as λευκοπήχεις χεῖρες is no parallel, since this = 'hands attached to white fore-arms,' or (with χεῖρες of the whole arm) 'arms with white πήχεις.' The sense can only be 'outlets belonging to seven forts' (*Hdt.* 3. 14). τεῖχος is here used, not of the whole circuit of the walls, but of a part. There was a tower at each gate, and the gateway itself was an elaborate structure in the old 'Cyclopean' or Tirynthian style. In

Eur. Phoen. 1058 τὰ δ' ἐπτάπυργα κλῆθρα γὰς the precise meaning is uncertain, but this, together with the very similar passage *ibid.* 748 ἐλθὼν ἐπτάπυργον ἐς πόλιν | τάξω λοχαγοὺς πρὸς πύλαισιν κ.τ.λ. might suggest that the original epic contained some expression which produced both ἐπτάπυργος and ἐπτατειχεῖς as synonymous. 'Seven-fortressed outlets' is good Greek for 'outlets at seven fortresses.' See the much more difficult adjectives cited on v. 610.

272 sq. πρὶν ἀγγέλους κ.τ.λ. The construction is πρὶν σπερχynoύς τε καὶ ταχ. λόγους ἰκέσθαι ἀγγέλους κ.τ.λ.: '(I will go and make the preparations) before hurried and impatient rumours come (to our men) as messengers and set them ablaze under stress (of the situation),' i.e. before they take their orders from such rumours instead of from disciplined instructions of mine. Eteocles must go to arrange the scheme of defence; otherwise his men will have nothing to depend upon for their orders except hasty rumours (of what the enemy is doing), and these will excite them (to act under feverish impulse) through the apparent urgency (to do something). The proper ἀγγελοι are the aides-de-camp.—φλέγειν recalls the use of θερμός, and is opposed to 'cool' action.—σπερχynoύς and ταχυρρόθους are not synonymous. The former expresses the ill-considered nature of the news, the latter the swiftness with which it spreads (cf. 175 διεπρροθήσατ').

[Others take ἰκέσθαι as meaning 'reach us,' i.e. before words come as messengers and prevent our acting coolly. But this is surely without point for λόγους. Weil construes ἀγγέλους τε σπερχynoύς καὶ

seven fortified outlets I will post six men, with myself for seventh, to match the enemy in right gallant style. Else will they take their cue from clamorous and impatient rumours, which fire them by urgency.

[Exit ETEOCLES (to right).]

CHORUS (now supposed to be again on the level which represents the Agora).

My will is good, but my heart is sleepless with fear. Dismay dwells nigh and sets it on fire with dread of the folk around the ^{1st} strophe.

writes *κάρσας* when the pronunciation is disyllabic. But see note to v. 225.
276 *ταρβῶ* rec. (to make a construction). **277** *Qu. τὸν ἀμφὶ τεῖχῃ?*
278 *δράκονταδ' M, corr. Bothe. δράκοντά γ' Heath. ↓.*

κ.τ.λ., with e.g. τὰ πράγματα as obj. το φλέγειν.]

274 *μέλει*: sc. μοι τούτων τῶν λόγων. The Chorus would fain obey. Cf. *Pers.* 1060.—*οὐχ ὑπνώσει κέαρ*: i.e. I cannot lull it (κοιμᾶν) to quiet (cf. *εὐκηλος* 224). In a normal state the heart is unfelt, and may be said to sleep; when excited, it ἐξεγέρεται. The same half-personification of the heart in *Hom. Il.* 10. 93 αἰνῶς γὰρ Δαναῶν περιδείδια, οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ | ἐμπεδόν, ἀλλ' ἀλαλκτέμηναι, κραδίη δέ μοι ἔξω | στηθέων ἐκθρόσκει, *Od.* 20. 13 κραδίη δέ οἱ ἔνδον ὑλακτεῖ, *P. V.* 907 καρδιά δὲ φόβῳ φρένα λακτίζει, *Cho.* 164 ὀρχεῖται δὲ καρδιά φόβῳ. For the notion of ὑπνώσει=‘at peace,’ cf. *Eur. Suppl.* 1148 οὐπω κακὸν τὸδ' εὐδδει, *Soph. Ph.* 827 ὑπν' ὀδύναις ἀδαίης, ἔπνε δ' ἀλγέων, *Simon. fr.* 37. 15 εὐδε βρέφος, εὐδέτω δὲ πόντος, | εὐδέτω δ' ἄμετρον κακόν.

275 *γέλτονες δὲ καρδίας*. For the cognate *καρδίας* after *κέαρ* cf. *Ag.* 962 ψύχος ἐν δόμοις πέλει | ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ' ἐπιστροφωμένον, *Eur. Or.* 1324 ἦντιν' ἐν δόμοις | τηλουρὸς οὔσα δωμάτων κλύω βοήν, and ἦτορ...κραδίη in *Il.* 10. 93 (quoted in the last note). For *καρδίας* cf. 225. So *Suppl.* 74, 807.—*γέλτονες*. The choice of this word, together with *ζωπυροῦσι*, may suggest an allusion to the habit of neighbours coming to borrow fire (ἐναέσθαι) and stirring up the slumbering flame (cf. *Xen. Mem.* 2. 2. 12 τῷ γέλτονι βούλει σὺ ἀρέσκειν ἵνα σοι πῦρ ἐναύῃ). It would be unlike Aeschylus to use two such specialised words as if they were colourless.

276 sq. *ζωπυροῦσι τάρβος τὸν ἀμφι-τεῖχῃ Λεών*. For the construction after the combination (=ποιοῦσι με ταρβεῖν τὸν κ.τ.λ.) cf. *Suppl.* 575 χλωρῷ δέλματι

θυμὸν | πᾶλλον' ὄψιν ἀήθη, *Ag.* 183 Ζῆνα δέ τις...ἐπινίκια κλάζων, (probably) *ibid.* 805 Ἴλιου φθορὰς...ψήφους ἔθεντο, *Soph. El.* 123 τίν' αἰεὶ τάκεις ὧδ' ἀκρόστον οἰμωγὰν | τὸν πάλαι...ἄλόντ'...Ἀγαμέμνονα; *O. C.* 1120 τέκν' εἰ φανέντ' ἀελπτα μηχανῶ λόγον, *Tr.* 207, *Eur. Bacch.* 1289 λέγ', ὥς τὸ μέλλον καρδιά πῆδημ' ἔχει, *Tr.* 58, *Dem.* 4. 45 τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀποστόλους, and (with another case) *Simon. fr.* 37. 14 καὶ κεν ἐμῶν ῥημάτων λεπτὸν ὑπείχες οὐας (=ἤκουες).

It is doubtful whether we should read *ἀμφιτεῖχῃ* or *ἀμφὶ τεῖχῃ*. The former might equally mean ‘walled round’ (the fear being for the besieged) or ‘round (i.e. outside) the walls’ (cf. *ἀμφιβώμιος*, *ἀμφίβροτον* *σάκος*, and *ἀμφίπολιον* *ἀνάγκαν* of *Cho.* 74). But the parallel with *δράκοντας* clearly indicates the latter. Moreover (1) the adj. would be rather one of assurance if applied to the besieged, (2) the construction of the accus. is more difficult, (3) *τὸν* in lyrics=‘that.’—*ἀμφὶ τεῖχῃ* would be without ambiguity.

278 sqq. *δράκοντας* κ.τ.λ. See crit. n.—*δράκοντα δ'* was due to a mistaken desire to supply a connecting particle, and when *δράκοντα δ'*...*δυσενάτορας* had resulted, an emendation would take

the form of *δυσενάτορας*, of which *δυσενάτορας* α̅ is the outcome. [The objections to reading *δράκοντα δ'*...*δυσενάτορας* α̅ are (1) the position of *δέδοικεν*, which must have *τις* for its subject, and not *καρδιά*, (2) the article α̅ after *τις*.] The picture of snake and bird is first found in *Hom. Il.* 2. 308 sqq., where the anxiety is for *νήπια τέκνα*, φίλα τέκνα. Cf. *inf.* 499, *Hor. Epod.* 1. 19 ut *adsidens implumibus pullis avis* | *serpentinum allap-*

ὑπερδέδοικεν λεχαί-
 ων δυσεννότορας 280
 πάντρομος πελειάς.
 τοὶ μὲν γὰρ ποτὶ πύργους
 πανδαμεὶ πανομιλεῖ
 στείχουσιν· τί γένωμαι;
 τοὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφιβόλοισιν 285
 ἰάπτουσι πολίταις
 χερμάδ' ὀκρίοεσαν.
 παντὶ τρόπῳ, Διογενεῖς
 θεοί, πόλιν καὶ στρατὸν
 Καδμογενὴ ρύεσθε. 290

ἀντ. α'. ποῖον δ' ἀμείψεσθε γαίης πέδον
 τὰσδ' ἄρειον, ἐχθροῖς
 ἀφέντες τὰν βαθύχθον' αἴαν
 ὕδωρ τε Διρκαῖον, εὐ-
 τραφέστατον πωμάτων 295

279 ὕπερ δέδοικε M (the final ε by m'). λεχέων M and schol., corr. Lachmann.

280 ^{ει} ^αδυσεννότορας (superscr. by m') M, corr. Bothe. M divides with *ἅπαν* | *τρόμος*, with *ῆ* over *α* (m') and *φ* over *μ* (m). *α* om. recs. πάντροφος as well as πάντρομος

sus timet.—ὑπερδέδοικεν or ὑπερ δέδοικεν? In Hom. *Il.* 10. 93 αἰνῶς γὰρ Δαναῶν περιδείδια the rule of caesura requires the compound verb (cf. 13. 52), whereas *ibid.* 23. 159 τάδε δ' ἀμφὶ πονησόμεθ' is necessary. ὕπερ might seem more natural (Eur. *Trö.* 829 οἶον δ' ὑπὲρ οἰωνὸς τεκῶν βοᾷ hardly supports it), but Eur. *Alc.* 155 πῶς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐνδείξαιτό τις | πόσιν προτιμῶσ' ἢ θέλουσ' ὑπερθανεῖν; *Suppl.* 344 χυπερορρωδοῦσ' ἐμοῦ make distinctly for the compound. The same question often arises as to *πρός*: cf. *Cho.* 300 (n.), Wayte on Dem. *Androt.* § 617. So Eur. *fr.* 360. 18 ἐξὶν προπάντων μίαν ὑπερδοῦναι θανεῖν (or ὑπερ?).

280 sq. *δυσεννότορας*: 'cruel visitants of a bed.' The words are perhaps so chosen that there may be (as applied to the enemy) an allusion to the sense of 350 sqq. As taken literally of the serpents the meaning is that they creep into the bed for a strange and cruel purpose, viz. to devour. In v. 490 the thought is slightly varied.

πάντρομος = the familiar *τρήρων πέλεια*. For the alternative *πάντροφος* Hermann cites Soph. *Ani.* 1282 *γυνὴ τέθυγκε τοῦδε*

παμμήτωρ τέκνου ('true mother,' Jebb). Here the word would apparently imply that she will go through all risks for their sake. But this makes a somewhat heavy demand on the Greek and in no way suits the application to the Chorus.

282 sqq. *τοὶ μὲν...τοὶ δ'*. It is disputed whether these are two parties of the besiegers, one closely attacking the fortifications and the other acting as more distant artillery, or whether *τοὶ μὲν* refers to the citizens and *τοὶ δ'* to the enemy. The arguments for the former view seem conclusive: (a) the ejaculation *τί γένωμαι*; is called forth by the danger, not by the defence; (b) the emphasis in *πανδαμεὶ πανομιλεῖ* should rather indicate confidence, if it referred to the defenders; (c) *πολίταις* loses any value as antithetic to *πύργους*, and would rather be *αὐτοῖς* if it referred to the persons described as *τοὶ μὲν*; (d) *ποτὶ...στείχουσιν* is a less fitting expression of the hastening of the citizens to the ramparts than of the march of the enemy toward the walls; (e) the citizens are not now approaching the ramparts, since they went long ago (30 sqq.); (f) *τοὶ μὲν* is

wall, as for her nestling brood's sake some ever-trembling dove fears the snake's cruel visit to their bed.

See! yonder they march upon our walls in full array, in every sort! What must become of me? And yonder they shower their jagged stones upon our citizens, assailed from every side! O Gods of race divine, spare ye no means to save the city and the men begotten of Cadmus!

What ground more worth than this will ye take in place of it, if ye give up to the foe our deep-soiled land and the water of Dirce, most rich in nurture of all that Poseidon, ^{1st anti-strophe.}

was known to scholl. (q.v.) and was read by Tzetzes (Lycoph. 87) and Eustath. (1602. 7). ↓. δῶσενάτορ' ἄγαν | τροφὸς Lachmann. **283** πανδημεὶ πανομιλεῖ M. πανδημὶ Ald. πανδαμὶ Blomfield. **287** ὀκρυβεσσαν M, corr. m'. **288** διογενεῖς owes its εἰς to m (after an erasure). **291** ἀμείψασθε M, corr. m'. Schol. had ἀμείψεθε. **294** εὐτρεφέ|στατον M, corr. rec.

too cold a manner of describing their fellow-citizens.

πανδαμὲι πανομιλεῖ = 'in full numbers, and in all arms.' Cf. 59 πάνοπλος. There is no contradiction between these words and the statement that there are others (τοὶ δ'). The sense is that all the force which would be used in storming is advancing; the skirmishers are not of such a body.—τί γένωμαι; In this expression, as in τί πάθω; there is properly nothing deliberative. The uses (phraseological) are survivals from the date when the subjunct. was scarcely distinguishable from the future. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 5. 465 οἶμοι ἐγὼ τί πάθω; τί νύ μοι μήκιστα γένηται; [In Thuc. 2. 52 ὑπερβιαζομένον τοῦ κακοῦ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι γένωνται κ.τ.λ. the deliberative sense may be recognised as 'not knowing what to make of themselves.']

285 sqq. ἀμφιβόλοισιν: 'doubly assailed,' viz. by the storming party and by the slingers. The adj. is proleptic. So in English we might say 'they are between two fires,' when an attack is double, without pressing for the strict meaning 'fore and aft.' The word was in military use (Thuc. 4. 32, 36).—ἀμφι- as in ἀμφιπύτων.—ὀκρυβεσσαν: a natural touch, particularly with women, who picture the cruel wounds from the 'jagged' stones. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 4. 518 χερμαδίῳ γὰρ βλήτῳ παρὰ σφυρὸν ὀκρύβεντι (where the painful effects are described, from which death results).

288 sqq. παντὶ τρόπῳ = πάσῃ μηχανῇ, τέχνῃ. Cf. III πάντως.—Διογενεῖς: a magnificatory appeal to their power (cf. 122).—στρατὸν: ambiguous in meaning,

as in 167 (n.). For Καδμογενῆ see 127 (n.). The intention of the word here is to remind the Gods of the old dignity of Cadmus and his *affinitas* to themselves.

291 ποῖον...γαίας πέδον: rather than ποῖας, since γαίας πέδον forms one notion ('ground, considered as soil'). Cf. *Cho.* 569 βαλὼν ἔρκειον πυλῶν (n.), *Soph. Aj.* 860 πατρίων ἐστίας βάθρον &c.—δ' introduces a question of remonstrance: cf. *Cho.* 86 τί φῶ δ' ἔχουσα τάσδε κηδεύους χοάς; (n.), Kühner-Gerth II. pp. 262 sq.—ἀμείψασθε: 'get in exchange': *Soph. Tr.* 736 λφούς φρένας | τῶν νῦν παρουσῶν τῶνδ' ἀμείψασθαι ποθεν, *Cho.* 788 δίδυμα καὶ τριπλά...ἀμείψῃ, *Ar. Rhod.* 4. 1761 ἀμείψατο δ' ὄνομα Θήρης | ἐξ ἔθεν.

292 sq. ἐχθοῖς: i.e. yours as much as ours.—τῶν is demonstrative (cf. 186): 'that well-known....'—βαθύχθον αἶαν κ.τ.λ. No soil is so fertile (*inf.* 580 n.) and no waters are so nutritious. The πεδία of Thebes were of rich soil, unlike that of Attica, which was λεπτόγεις (Thuc. 1. 2). Cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 64 Δίρκης βαθυσπόρους γύας, *Hymn. Apoll.* 228 Θήβης ἀμ πεδίων πυρφόρον, *Ar. Lys.* 87 ὥς Βοιωτία, | καλὸν γ' ἔχουσα τὸ πῆδιον. Low-lying 'food-bearing' lands of some extent and a constant water-supply account for the rise of the larger communities in early Greece, and also for the great epic struggles.

294 sq. ὕδωρ...Δίρκαϊον: 259 (n.).—εὐτρεφέστατον. Local waters enjoyed various reputations, not only according to their abundance or permanence, but also according to their nutritive quality as κουροτρόφοι. Cf. *Suhrb.* 867 ἀλφειβοῖαν ὕδωρ, | ἔνθεν ἀεζόμενον | ζώφυντον αἶμα βροτ-

ὄσων ἴησιν Ποσει-
δάν ὁ γαῖόχοος
Τηθύος τε παῖδες;
πρὸς τὰδ', ὦ πολιοῦχοι
θεοί, τοῖσι μὲν ἕξω
πύργων ἀνδρολέτειραν
καταρίψοπλον ἄταν
ἐμβалόντες ἄραιοσθε
κῦδος τοῖσδε πολίταις,
καὶ πόλεως ῥύτορες < ἔστ' >
εὐεδροί τε στάθῃτ'
ὀξυγόοις λιταῖσιν.

300

305

στρ. β'.

οἰκτρὸν γὰρ πόλιν ὦδ' ὠγυγίαν
'Αἶδα προΐάψαι δορὸς ἄγραν

296 sq. Written as one verse in M. 302 καταρίψοπλον M, καὶ τὰ ῥίψοπλον m. †.
κάρτα ῥίψοπλον M. Schmidt, κῆρα, ῥίψοπλιν Lowinski. 305—307 Written in M

οἰσι θάλλει (of the Nile), *Pers.* 33 πολυ-
θρέμῳ Νεῖλος, which is best explained
from Plutarch (*Is.* 5) as referring to the
πολυσαρκία which it produces. The locus
classicus on the subject is *Ath.* 41 F sqq.—
πωμάτων: *Suppl.* 1038 ποταμούς δ', οἱ διὰ
χώρας | θελεμὸν πῶμα χέουσιν πολύτεκνοι.

296 ὄσων ἴησιν κ.τ.λ. Euripides
(*Bacch.* 520) calls Dirce 'Ἀχελϋὸν θυγάτηρ.
Poseidon is regarded as the supreme lord
of all water, and in any case, since rivers
are the children of Ocean, he is overlord
of them as well as of the sea.—γαῖόχοος
comes from γαῖά/χοος (so in Laconian)
rather than from γαῖά(σ)χοος, but it was
commonly interpreted in the latter sense
(‘lord of the land’). Hence e.g. *Anth.*
Pal. 6. 70. 1 ὦ πόντον βασιλεῦ καὶ κοῖραν
γαλῆς. It is of course as ὁ γαῖόχοος that
the god would supply the fountains in-
land. Hence the article here. [Ety-
mologically Ποσειδῶν (Ποτιδᾶν) may be
related to ποτὴν, ποταμός (Ahrens *Phil.*
23. 1), but there is no need to suppose
that Aesch. is thinking of such a con-
nection.]—Τηθύος τε παῖδες. Tethys
was the wife of Oceanus (*Ov. Fast.* 5.
81 *duxerat Oceanus quondam Titanida*
Tethyn). Her children are the streams
and fountains, or the powers identified
with them. In Hes. *Th.* 365 there are
3000 Ὠκεανῖαι and as many ποταμοί... |
υἱέες Ὠκεανοῦ, τοὺς γείνατο πόντια Τηθύς,

ibid. 337, 346 τίκτη δὲ θυγατέρων ἱερὸν
γένος, αἱ κατὰ γαῖαν | ἄνδρας κουρίζουσι.
Cf. *Hom. Il.* 21. 195 Ὠκεανοῖο | ἐξ οὐπερ
πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα | καὶ
πᾶσαι κρῆναι καὶ φρεῖατα μακρὰ νάουσιν,
P. V. 137, *Soph. fr.* 248.

299 πρὸς τὰδ': cannot mean τῶνδε
χάριν, but=‘and so.’ Cf. *Eum.* 548
and, more fully, *Pers.* 173 πρὸς τὰδ' ὥς
οὕτως ἐχόντων.

300 sqq. τοῖσι μὲν ἕξω. The answer
to μὲν appears in καὶ (305). Cf. *Cho.* 973
σεμνοὶ μὲν ἦσαν ἐν θρόνοις τόθ' ἤμενοι |
φίλοι τε, καὶ νῦν κ.τ.λ., Kühner-Gerth II.
271.—ἀνδρολέτειραν καταρίψοπλον. The
two notions are those of death and flight,
and the picture is of slain men and
abandoned shields. For the latter notion
cf. ῥίψασπις, ἀσπίδαποβλήης, and *Anacr.*
fr. 26 ἀσπίδα ῥίψ' ἐς ποταμοῦ καλλιῤῥου
προχοάς, *Archil. fr.* 58 ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίων
τις ἀγάλλεται, ἣν παρὰ θάμνω | ἔντρος ἀμώ-
μητον κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων, *Hes. Od.* 2.
7. 9 *celerem fugam | sensi relicta non bene*
parmuia. Alcaeus makes the same con-
fession (*Strab.* 13. 600), which seems to
have been a convention of lyric bravado.
For the single -p- cf. *Suppl.* 856 πολύ-
ρυτον, *Pind. P.* 6. 37 ἔπος οὐκ ἀπέριψεν,
Herond. 6. 48 Κέρδων ἐραψε.

303 ἄραιοσθε: from ἀρᾶνναι (Jebb on
Soph. Aj. 75, Kühner-Blass II. p. 350).—
τοῖσδε πολίταις: either (1) ‘in the minds

Upholder of the earth, and the children of Tethys pour forth for drink?

Therefore, O guardian Gods, upon them without the walls hurl destruction, with slaughter of men and casting away of shields, and so win glory with the people of our realm. Be saviours of the city and stablish firm your seats at our shrill laments and prayers.

Sore pity were it to send down thus to doom a city imme-^{2nd} strophe.

as two verses, divided at εθεδροι |. **305** ῥυτορες M, with ῥ over ο (m'). Corr. Headlam. **306** τε M, but with ε by m'. **309** αἰδα M, corr. m. "Αἰδι rec. (recalling Homer).

of us citizens,' or (2) 'for these, your fellow-citizens.' For the former cf. Hom. *Il.* 4. 95 πᾶσι δέ κεν Τρῶεσσι χάριν καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο, 9. 303 ἢ γάρ σφι μάλα μέγα κῦδος ἄροιο. The dat. is the same as in Soph. *O. C.* 1446 ἀνάξιαί γάρ πᾶσιν ἔστε δυστυχεῖν, *Ant.* 904 καίτοι σ' ἐγὼ 'τίμησα τοῖς φρονούσιν εὖ, Eur. *Hec.* 309 ἡμῖν δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀξιος τιμῆς. For the latter view cf. Hom. *Il.* 16. 84 ὡς ἂν μοι τιμὴν μεγάλην καὶ κῦδος ἄρῃαι, 22. 217 νῦν δὴ νῶϊ γ' ἔολπα... | οἴσσεσθαι μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιοῖσι προτὶ νῆας (where see Leaf), *Od.* 14. 370 ὦ παιδί μέγα κλέος ἦρατ' ὀπίσσω. There is undeniable ambiguity, but the former rendering is commonly assumed and is probably correct.

306 sq. **σταθῆτ'**: not = *ἑστατε*, but 'establish yourselves' (at this crisis). The tense is that of an act, not of a state. 'Make your stand as beings of happy seats' = 'ensure the safety and well-being of your seats.'—**τε** thus expresses a consequence of **ῥυτορες ἔστ'**.

ὀξύβοις: **ὄξυ**- denotes the shrill tones regular in lament: Soph. *El.* 243 ὀξύτων γῶων, *inf.* 905, 1014, *Cho.* 818 (n.), *Ath.* 174 F ὄξυ καὶ γοερὸν. The dat. is conveniently styled 'causal,' though in origin it is here the same as the dat. of recipient or dat. commodi ('responsive to our prayers'). For the causal use cf. *Cho.* 30, 51, 633, *Syrph.* 517 καὶ δὴ σφε λείπω χεῖρ καὶ λόγους σέθεν, *Ag.* 1100 ἐπαργέμοισι θεσφότοις ἀμχανῶν, Soph. *Aj.* 531 φόβοισι γ' αὐτὸν ἐξελυσάμην, Eur. *Andr.* 247.

308 **οἰκτρὸν**: the antistrophe (320) replies with **κλαυτὸν**.—**ᾄδ'** belongs to the sentence, not to ὠνυγίαν: 'in the way now threatened.'—**ὠνυγίαν** = *ἀρχαίαν*, but with more strength. The sense is practically 'immemorial,' 'pre-historic.' Cf. *Pers.* 978 τὰς ὠνυγίους... Ἀθάνας, Hes.

Th. 806 Στυγὸς ἄφθιτον ὕδωρ | ὠνυγίον, Soph. *O. C.* 1769 Θήβας...τὰς ὠνυγίους, Callim. 4. 160 ὠνυγίην...Μεροπηίδα νῆσον, Soph. *Ph.* 141 σὲ δ', ὦ τέκνον, τόδ' ἐλήλυθεν | πᾶν κράτος ὠνυγίον. The origin of the word was lost in antiquity, and it was almost inevitably derived by Greek fancy from an eponymous ὠνυγος, a name which suggests a connection with Γύγης. According to Pausan. 9. 5. 1 γῆν τὴν Θηβαῖδα οἰκῆσαι πρώτον λέγουσιν Ἐκτηνας, βασιλέα δ' εἶναι τῶν Ἐκτήρων ἀνδρα αὐτόχθονα ὠνυγον· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπικλησὶς ἐς τὰς Θήβας ἐστὶν ὠνυγίαι. The Ectenes were followed by Hyantes and Aones, and these were overcome by Cadmus and his Phoenicians. Similarly Strab. 9. 18 τῆς Βοιωτίας...καλουμένης τότε ὠνυγίας (viz. in the time of Cecrops). But Ogygos appears also (Paus. 1. 38. 7) as father of Eleusis, the eponymus of the town in Attica. Moreover Aesch. (*Pers.* 37) calls the Egyptian Thebes ὠνυγίους, and a wide and general use of the word is seen in the quotations given above, together with Hom. *Od.* 1. 88 (of the island of Calypso), *Eum.* 1037 γὰς ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν ὠνυγίοισιν, Pind. *N.* 6. 43 Φλοῖοντος ὑπ' ὠνυγίους ὄρεσιν. A comparison of the various passages points to the notion of immemorial age combined with some mystery, as in the 'Druidical remains' of modern times. One of the gates of Cadmea was called ὠνυγίαι (Introd. § 16), and this was probably the most ancient.

309 **Ἄῖδα προιάψαι**: from the well-known epic phrase (Hom. *Il.* 1. 3): cf. *ibid.* 5. 190 Ἀἰδῶνῃ προιάψεν. Since here it is a city and not a human life that is in question, Aesch. is treating Ἄῖδα as = 'destruction,' with an eye to its supposed connection with ἀ-ιδεῖν (as in Soph. *Aj.* 608 τὸν ἀπότηρον αἰδηλον

δουλίαν ψαφαρᾶ σποδῶ
 ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιοῦ θεόθεν
 περβομέναν ἀτίμως·
 τὰς δὲ κεκηρωμένας ἄγεσθαι,
 εἰ ἔ, νέας τε καὶ παλαιὰς
 ἱππηδὸν πλοκάμων, περιρ-
 ρηγνυμένων φαρέων.
 βοᾷ δὲ <κα>κκενουμένα πόλις,
 λαῖδος ὀλλυμένας μειζοθρόου.
 βαρείας τοι τύχας προταρβῶ.

310

315

ἀντ. β.

κλαυτὸν δ' ἀρτιτρόποις ὠμοδρόπων
 νομίμων προπάροιθεν διαμεῦψαι
 δωμάτων στυγεράν ὁδόν.
 τί; τὸν φθίμενον γὰρ προλέγω
 βέλτερά τῶνδε πρᾶσσειν.

320

310 δουλίαν M, corr. rec. ἄγαν δουλίαν, ψαφαρᾶν would be no improvement.
311 πεδόθεν Heinsoeth. ↓. **313** m' writes εἰ over η of κεκηρωμένας. ↓. **315** ἱππη-
 δῶν M^a. περιρρηγνυμένων M, corr. m. **317** γοᾷ Pauw. ↓. δ' ἐκκενουμένα M. (For
 metre see v. 329.) δὲ καὶ κκενουμένα Hermann, but καὶ lacks point. I have written δὲ
 κακκ—(i.e. κατακ—). (Cf. Theogn. 431 κάκ for κάκ κακού.) **318** λαῖδος M, with η
 over α (m'). μειζοθρόου M. **320—322** ἀρτιτρόποις M, with Δ over the second τ (m).

ἄιδαν) and the sense of nothingness or annihilation (cf. 846 ἀφανῆ χέρσον and note on the passage there).

προ-: as in προβάλλειν, προίημι, προί-
 cere, not with a temporal notion.—δορὸς
 ἄγαν: a favourite metaphor: cf. Ag. 369.

310 ψαφαρᾶ σποδῶ: modal or circumstantial dative, joined either (1) to what follows; the city is sacked 'with crumbling dust,' i.e. it is both burned and sacked, or (2) to what precedes, i.e. προϊάψαι ψαφ. σποδῶ. The latter appears preferable. The total thought is 'to make it fall conquered (δορὸς ἄγαν), enslave it (δουλίαν), burn it (σποδῶ), and sack it (περβομέναν), and all with the consent of the gods!'

311 sq. Ἀχαιοῦ: cf. 28. The Achaean is a foreigner in the eyes of Thebes.—ἀνδρὸς is added not only where there is compliment but where there is dislike, fear or contempt.—θεόθεν: 'by the will of Heaven': cf. Cho. 38 (n.), Pers. 102. Similarly Διόθεν (Cho. 305). Sometimes the word means by actual 'prompting' of the gods (Ag. 107).—ἀτίμως describes the manner of the sacker, 'with no scruple or regard': cf. P. V. 194 ποίω λαβὼν σε Ζεὺς ἐπ' αἰτιάματι | οὕτως ἀτίμως καὶ πικρῶς αἰκίζεται;

313 τὰς δὲ κεκηρωμένας κ.τ.λ. The picture is that drawn by Priam in Il. 22. 62 sqq. νῆας τ' ὀλλυμένους ἐλκεθείσας τε θύγατρας, | καὶ θαλάμους κεραϊζομένους, καὶ νήπια τέκνα | βαλλόμενα προτὶ γαίῃ ἐν αἰνῇ δημοσότηι, | ἐλκομένας τε νυοὺς ὀλοῆς ὑπὸ χερσίν Ἀχαιῶν. Cf. *ibid.* 9. 590 ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δὲ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει, | τέκνα δὲ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγονσι βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας, Eur. *Phoen.* 563. An excellent comment on the passage may be seen in the destruction of the German village represented on the column of Marcus Aurelius.—κεκηρωμένας: the reference here is to the married women; the unmarried are dealt with in 320 sqq.

314 εἰ εἰ: the exclamation at this particular point is forced from them by the painful vision.—νέας: monosyllabic. Cf. *Eum.* 957 and the pronunciation in Eur. *Cycl.* 28 (νεανίαι), *I. A.* 615 (νεανίδες), *Ar. Vesp.* 1067 (νεανικὴν), and see Cho. 86 (n.).—νέας τε καὶ παλαιάς: not merely a rhetorical division. Each age deserves its αἰδώς, the one for its modesty, the other for its years.

315 ἱππηδὸν πλοκάμων: cf. *Suppl.* 426 ἀπὸ βρέτειων... | ...ἀγομέναν | ἱππηδὸν ἀμπόκων, 895 δλκῇ γὰρ οὐ τοι πλόκαμον οὐδὰμ' ἄζεται, Eur. *Andr.* 401 αὐτὴ δὲ

morial, made slave and booty of the spear, crumbling in ashes, sacked with Heaven's will by the Achaean as of none account: sore pity that, bewidowed, the women, young and old, should be led like horses by the hair, and their garments rent about them.

Loud is the clamour when a city is made empty and the captives go to their doom 'mid mingled cries. Grievous truly is the lot my dread foresees.

'Tis woeful for modest maids to travel in hate the road to new homes after no nuptial rites. Nay, the dead, I vow, are happier in their lot.

ώμοτρόπων rec. The text is sound. ↓. Many changes have been attempted, e.g. ἀρτι-
τρόφους Schneider, ώμοδρόπους Lowinski, ἀρτιτρόπων ώμοδρόποις Ritschl, ἀρτιδρόπων
ώμοδρόποις Prie n &c. Peculiarly eccentric is Wecklein's δμφάκων τρυγεράν δρόσον (322).
323 πρὸ λέγω Hoelzlin (cf. schol.). τί γάρ; φθίμενόν τοι Blomf., τί γάρ; φθίμενον τὸν
πρὸ Burgard. Possibly τί τὸν φθ. γάρ πρὸ λέγω; with the next line for answer to the

δούλη ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων ἔβην, | κόμης
ἐπισπασθεῖσα.—περιρρηγνυμένων: not of
the rending of garments in grief (limited
among the Greeks to the funeral cere-
mony, *Cho.* 27 sqq.), but the robes are
torn in the rough handling of the soldiery,
the result being τὸ ἀσχημονεῖν (*Eur. Hec.*
569 sq.).

317 sq. βοᾷ: the present tense realises
the imaginary scene. The meaning of βοᾷ
is explained in μεξοθρόον. Cf. *Eur. Tro.*
28 πολλοῖς δὲ κωκυτοῖσιν αἰχμαλωτῶν |
βοᾷ Σκάμανδρος δεσπότης κληρομένω.—
λαΐδος ἄλλυμένας: 'as the booty goes to
its ruin.' λαΐς comprehends both chattels
and enslaved persons. To the former
ἄλλυμένας is applied in the sense of
being 'lost,' i.e. taken in plunder; to
the latter in the sense of φθειρομένης=
ἐρροῦσης. Paley quotes *Eur. Hec.* 914
μεσονύκτιος ἄλλυμαι. For λεία of persons
cf. *Eur. Tro.* 610 ἀγόμεθα λεία (*Androm.*
104), *Hec.* 881 τὰς αἰχμαλώτους εἶπας,
Ἑλλήνων ἄγραν. In *Phoen.* 564 δύη δὲ
πολλὰς αἰχμαλωτίδας κόρας | βία πρὸς
ἀνδρῶν πολεμίων πορθομένας a v. l. is
λεηλασιμένας (so here schol. has πορθου-
μένας).—μεξοθρόον. There are (1) the
different speeches of Cadmeans and
Achaeans (cf. ἀλλόθρους and *Hom. Il.*
4. 435 οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦεν ὁμὸς θρόος, οὐδ'
ἱα γήρυς, | ἀλλὰ γλῶσσ' ἐμέμεκτο), (2) the
different sorts of cry of the exulting con-
querors and the lamenting victims (called
in *Ag.* 333 βοήν ἀμεικτον).

319 βαρείας: with emphasis; hence
τοι. They realise all that it means to
them.—προταρβῶ: 'fear in prospect.'
Cf. *Suppl.* 1005 πολέμους αἰματέντας
προφοβοῦμαι. [*Bar.* τύχας is accusative.]

320 κλαυτὸν: antistrophic to οκτρὸν
(308). They now turn to the fate of the
παρθέναι. The reading of M yields an
unimpeachable sense: 'It is lamentable
for modest (maidens), before the rites for
gathering the maidenhead, to journey a
loathed way to a home.' The sense of
ἀρτιτρόποις ('right-mannered') answers
to that of ἀρτίφρων, ἀρτίνοος.—νόμματα
ώμοδρόπα are the ceremonies (betrothal
and wedding ceremony) which go with,
or lead to, the consummation of marriage,
in which ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν παρθεναίαν δρέπεται.
The captors drag off the maidens to their
homes (δωμάτων) without such νόμματα
(=νομιζόμενα, *iusta*), and, whereas the
ὁδὸς or 'journey' of the bridal procession
should be one of joy, accompanied by the
hymeneal chant, this 'bringing home' (*in*
domum deductio) will be sullen and hateful
(στυγερά). The gen. δωμάτων ὁδόν (cf.
le chemin de...) can hardly be objected to.

For the thought cf. *Eur. Hec.* 949
ἐξέκισεν ῥ' οἴκων γάμος οὐ γάμος (of the
captive chorus). With ώμοδρόπων cf.
Sappho fr. 93 (of the μαλοδρόπης and
the maidens) and the imitation in *Catull.*
62. 39. In *Suppl.* 1009 the virgins are
ὀπώρα. Compare also the use of δμφαξ
for a young girl (*Anth. Pal.* 5. 20).
More common than the metaphor from
fruit is that from flowers (*flos virgini-*
tatis). With νομίμων cf. *Eur. Phoen.*
344 οὔτε σοι πυρὸς ἀνήψα φῶς | νόμιμον
ἐν γάμοις κ.τ.λ.

διαμείψαι contains a point which ἀμεί-
ψαι would lack. The way seems long
and bitter, and δια- helps this thought.

323 sq. τί; apparently like *Quid?*
(‘Is it not thus?’). But this abrupt use

πολλὰ γάρ, εὔτε πόλις δαμασθῆ,

325

ἔ ἔ, δυστυχῇ τε πράσσει·

ἄλλος δ' ἄλλον ἄγει, φονεύ-

ει, τὰ δὲ πυρφορεῖ·

καπνῷ δὲ χραίνεται πόλισμ' ἅπαν·

μαινόμενος δ' ἐπιπνεῖ λαοδάμας

330

μιαίνων εὐσέβειαν Ἄρης.

στρ. γ'.

κορκορυγαὶ δ' ἀν' ἄστνυ, πρόλιφ' ὀρκάνα

πυργῶτις· πρὸς ἀνδρὸς δ' ἀνὴρ

question.

325 πόλις M, corr. rec.

326 πάσχει rec. The gloss is by

no means rare: cf. Soph. *El.* 1026 πάσχειν (Γ) for πράσσειν (cett.), *ibid.* 1103 πράσσουντε, falsely quoted by schol. to *O.C.* 1676 as πάσχοντε.

327 δ' om.

Heimsoeth. M writes the whole of φονεύει in the line.

328 τὰ δὲ καὶ

πυρφορεῖ rec. (scanning φᾶρέων in v. 316).

πυρπολεῖ Heimsoeth. ↓.

329 καπνῷ

requires support, and the true text may be τί τὸν φθίμενον γὰρ πρὸ λέγω; 'Nay, what am I to say of him who dies before (meeting with such a fate)?' This question would be answered by the next line. For πρὸ as adverb cf. *Ag.* 264 πρὸ χαίρετω. For the position of γὰρ see 109 (n.). It would appear that the scholiast so interpreted πρὸ. Otherwise προλέγω = 'declare (openly)'. τῶνδε: the fate which I describe. With the sense cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1654 ὡς σὲ στεναῶ τῶν τεθνηκότων πλέον.

325 πολλὰ γάρ. γάρ = 'yes.' It would perhaps be best to assume that another portion of the Chorus joins in, expressing agreement with the picture drawn by the previous speaker and giving another description. Hence the apparent lack of due sequence in the events, which has caused some perplexity.—πολλὰ... δυστυχῇ τε is not strictly equivalent to πολλὰ καὶ δυστυχῇ, but τε is exegetic. [*Soph. Ph.* 584 should not be quoted, since πολλὰ... χρηστά θ' is not the reading of the MSS, but is due to Dobree.]

327 ἄλλος δ'. For δ' in place of γὰρ cf. 235 (n.).—ἀγει: as prisoner (313).—ἀγει, φονεύει = ἡ ἀγει ἡ φονεύει. For the asyndeton cf. 60 (n.), 169, and for the matter *Thuc.* 2. 92 τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξώγησαν.

328 τὰ δὲ πυρφορεῖ. The verb is intrans. and τὰ is contained or adverbial accusative. It is not right to supply τὰ μὲν previously with φονεύει. The sense is simply 'and in other cases one bears (and applies) fire.'

329 καπνῷ δὲ χραίνεται. The thought is not merely of the destruction but of the fair buildings all defiled. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 911 κατὰ δ' αἰθάλου | κηλὶδ' οἰκτροτάταν κέχρωσαι (Troy), *Pind. P.* 5. 84 καπνωθεῖσαν πάτραν ἐπεὶ ἴδον | ἐν Ἄρει, *Ag.* 809, *Plut. Mor.* 587 C καπνῷ συμμελανθῆναι.

330 μαινόμενος κ.τ.λ., i.e. the Spirit of Havoc masters a whole army with his madness.—ἐπιπνεῖ λαοδάμας should be joined, like πνεῖ πολὺς, λαμπρός &c. In λαοδάμας the notion is of a contagious or epidemic frenzy, affecting all the victors, not an individual here and there. Under ἐπιπνεῖ there also runs the sense of a wind strengthening a conflagration.

331 μιαίνων εὐσέβειαν: i.e. his breath pollutes all sense of reverence in the conquerors; but the expression is in effect brachylogic for 'make the conquerors outrage all εὐσέβεια.'—εὐσέβεια is half personified. She is the fair pure female spirit who prompts to right and pious acts, while Ἄρης is the licentious male (μάχλος Ἄρης of *Suppl.* 644) who defiles her in his madness (cf. *Suppl.* 231 μαινόντων γένος, where the reference is sexual). The language of Aesch. is, as usual, extremely condensed, the words being selected to convey parallel meanings. Thus μιαίνων contains the above sexual allusion while on the surface its sense is that of Eur. *Suppl.* 378 ἀμνη... νόμον βροτῶν μὴ μαινεῖν, *fr. adespr.* 486 οὐ γὰρ τις... | νόμον μαιλιν ἀσφαλῶς γηράσεται. So ἐπιπνεῖ combines the notion of the hot breath of madness (*Soph. Ant.* 135 μαινομένα ἐν ὀρμῇ | βακχεῶν ἐπέπνει |

Great and grievous are the sufferings when a city is overcome. Man seizes man, makes prisoner, or slays. Yonder he carries fire, and all the town grows foul with smoke. The spirit of Havoc o'ermasters a whole people and pollutes all piety with his mad breath.

Tumult fills the town; the screen of bulwarks fails; man ^{3rd} strophe.

M, corr. m. Brunck omits δὲ to suit v. 317 as given in M. **330** δὲ πιννεί recc. **332** sq. *ποτὶ πτόλῳ δ' ὀρκάνα πυργῶτις* | M. *πρὸ τί recc.* Corr. *ed. *πρὸλι-* created both *ποτι-* (or *προτι-*) and *πτολι-*. †. Forms like *ἐλιφ'* were objected to by transcribers (cf. Eur. *El.* 14 οὗς δ' ἐν δόμοισιν ἐλιπεν δτ' εἰς Τροίαν ἐπλεῖ for *ἐλιφ'*) and the absence of the augment created further perplexity. Hermann omits *πτόλῳ*, reading *πρότι δ' ὀρκάνα*. *πυρῶτις* Pauw, *παναγρῶστις* Weil. For the division of the lines contrast 344 sqq. (in M).

ῥιπαῖς ἐχθιστῶν ἀνέμων) with that of sexual passion (*Suppl.* 17 *ἐπιπνοῖς*, Plat. *Symp.* 181 c οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐπιπνοῖ).

εὐσεβείαν is to be understood in connection with 328 sq. The conqueror should respect temples and altars: see 569, 1001 and cf. *Ag.* 350 εἰ δ' εὐσεβοῦσι τοὺς πολιτισσοῦχους θεοὺς | τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης γῆς θεῶν θ' ἱδρύματα, | οὐ τὰν ἐλόντες αὖθις ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν κ.τ.λ.

332 sq. *κορκορυγὰ δ' κ.τ.λ.* Another presentation of the scene (cf. 325 n.), not a sequel to that already described. For the repeated **δὲ** cf. *Cho.* 325 φαίνει δ' ὕστερον ὀργάς | ὁτοῦνται δ' ὁ θνήσκων, | ἀναφαίνεται δ' ὁ βλάπτων, *ibid.* 643—645.

The text of M and its antistrophe are difficult to relate metrically, and the difficulty is increased by the somewhat doubtful meaning of **ὀρκάνα**. In Eur. *Bacch.* 611 Πενθέως | ὥς εἰς σκοτεινὰς ὀρκάνας πεσοῦμενος the sense is commonly taken as 'nets,' but 'enclosure' (=prison) is at least as probable. Here the schol. says τὸ θηρατικὸν δίκτυον, δ καὶ σαργάνη καλεῖται, but the very attempt to identify these words indicates a guess. According to Photius a meaning is ὁ περιέχων τοῖχος οἰκισμῶν ἢ χωρίων· λέγεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρκος, ὃ ἐστὶ περιβόλον φράγμα; also he gives *περίφραγμά τι ἀκανθῶδες*. The connection of *ὀρκάνη* and *ἔρκος* is etymologically sound, and, since *ἔρκος* can be used either of an enclosing net or an enclosing wall of defence, it is entirely probable that *ὀρκάνη* can possess the same two meanings. Here *πυργῶτις* at once suggests a 'fortified' wall of defence. The *ὀρκάνη* is constructed of *πύργοι* (in the

sense of that word throughout this play): cf. Eur. *Hec.* 910 ἀπὸ δὲ στεφάνων κέκαρσαι | πύργων. That there should be meant a 'net of towers' approaching the city for its capture is in the highest degree improbable (even if we allow the anachronism). No mention is made of any attack upon the walls except by ladder, and the sudden and speedy advance (79—119) puts such enquiries out of the question. The metaphor of a net 'of doom' encompassing a city is natural enough (*Ag.* 370 γάγγαμον ἄτης παναλώτου), but a tower brought up here and there would hardly be called a net.

The **ὀρκάνα πυργῶτις** being therefore = τὸ ἔρκος τῶν πυργωμάτων, the error lies (where it is always suspected on grounds of metre) in *ποτὶ πτόλῳ*. The emendation **πρόλιφ'* (cf. *κάλλιφ'* Hom. *Il.* 6. 223) accounts for the corruptions. See crit. n. The augment is absent as in 83 *ἔλε*, *Cho.* 938 *ἔλασε* &c. This would be encouraged by the frequent Homeric omission with *λιπεῖν* (e.g. *Od.* 22. 119 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ λιπον τοῖ). The aor. is correct when the presents, since the failure of the wall occurs once for all, while the other incidents are continuous or repeated. For the absence of an accus. see 304 sq. (n.), and for the word itself (= *προδῶκε*) Thuc. 7. 75, Ar. *Thesm.* 927 ἦν μὴ *προλίσσῃ* αἱ μυρία με *μηχαναί*, Hdt. 8. 52 τοῦ φρονήματος *προδοδωκότος*.—**πυργῶτις**: cf. Eur. *H. F.* 790 *δενδρῶτι πέτρα*.

333 πρὸς ἀνδρὸς δ' ἀνὴρ: i.e. in close individual fight, which can only occur after the wall has fallen. The schol. quotes Hom. *Il.* 4. 472 ἀνὴρ δ' ἀνδρ' ἐδονοπάλειεν.

* *δορὶ κλίνεται*.
βλαχαὶ δ' αἱματόεσσαι 335
τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίῳ
ἀρτιτρεφεῖς βρέμονται.
ἀρπαγαὶ δὲ διαδρομᾶν ὁμαίμονες.
ξυμβολεῖ φέρων φέροντι,
καὶ κενὸς κενὸν καλεῖ 340
ξύννομον, θέλων ἔχειν
οὔτε μείον οὔτ' ἴσον, "λελειμμένοις
τίς, ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰκάσαι, λόγος πάρα;"
παντοδαπὸς δὲ καρπὸς χαμάδις πεσὼν
ἀλγύνει κυρήσας· πικρὸν δ' 345

ἀντ. γ'.

334 sq. *πρὸς ἀνδρὸς δ' ἀνὴρ δορὶ κλίνεται* (as one verse) M. *καίνεται* m' (by superscription). This may be mere conjecture, or may be an old variant dating from uncial script (cf. Diphil. *ap. Poll.* 10. 18 *καὶ νῦν* for *κλίνην*, Soph. *Ant.* 1342 *καὶ θῶ* for *κλιθῶ* &c.). ψ . <ὑπό> *δορὶ* Robertello, <ἀμφί> *δορὶ* Hermann. We might also suggest <ἀγχι>. *δορὶ* G. C. W. Schneider, *δοῦρατι* Enger (*δόρατι* would suffice). *κατακαίνεται* Paley. 335 *βλαχῆ* Verrall. ψ . 337 *ἀρτιτρεφεῖς* Blomf., *ἀρτιβρεφεῖς* recc. 338 *διαδρομᾶν* M, corr. m'. *διαδρόμων* Schütz. ψ . 339 *ξυμβολεῖ* M. *ξυμβάλλει* (i.e. *ἀλλ* over *ολ*) m'. 340 sqq. The usual punctuation is ...*καλεῖ*, | *ξύννομον θέλων ἔχειν*, | *οὔτε μείον οὔτ' ἴσον λελειμμένοι*· | *τί κ.τ.λ.* Corr. *ed. ψ . 341 *ξύννομον* M, corr. recc.

334 *κλίνεται*: 'is laid low.' Cf. *Pers.* 933 *ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται*, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 493 *ὑπὸ δυσμενέων δούρατι κεκλιμεθα*. It is strange that anyone should prefer the colourless *καίνεται*.

335 *βλαχαὶ δ' αἱματόεσσαι κ.τ.λ.*, 'and there resound the bleatings of young mothers, dabbled in blood, for their sucklings.' This, apparently, is the most defensible interpretation of the passage. The alternative is 'and the bleatings of the new-born babes at the breast, dabbled in blood, resound.'—*βλαχαὶ* is appropriate to either the mothers or their young, the cry and the *πῶθος* being reciprocal. Thus, on the one side, [*Plat.*] *Epigr.* 24. 2 *βληχὴ πουλυμγῆς τοκάδων* (cf. *Hom. Il.* 4. 435 *οἶες...ἀζηχῆς μεμακύναι, ἀκούουσαι ὅπα ἀνῶν*) and, on the other, *Eur. Cycl.* 48 *βλαχαὶ τέκνων*, 58 *ποθοῦσι σ' ἀμερόκοιτοι | βλαχαὶ σμικρῶν τεκέων*.—*ἀρτιτρεφεῖς*, again, may of course be either active or passive in sense. But if we look at thought rather than language it should be seen that the cries will naturally come from the mothers. *ἐπιμαστιδίῳ* and *ἀρτιτρεφεῖς* are meant to make clear that the reference is to the fate of new-born babes. Older children may be useful as slaves, but these are only an embarrass-

ment to the conquerors, who incontinently despatch them (cf. *Psalm cxxxvii.* 9 *he that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones*). The babes are dead and utter no *βληχή*; the mothers, stained with the blood of their (τῶν) little ones, cry for them.

The language which says *εὐχὴ θεῶν, λόγος ἢ βάσις τινὸς* and *ποιοῦν κέκραγας ἀνδρὸς*; can readily say *βλαχαὶ τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίῳ*, especially with its general freedom of the objective genitive (Kühner-Gerth I. p. 335).

The adjectives may appear strained with *βλαχαὶ*, but see 610 (n.); cf. *Soph. Ph.* 695 *στόνον...βαρυβρῶτ' ἀποκλαύσειεν αἱματηρῶν*, where Jebb quotes *Rhes.* 260 *κακόγαμβρον... γόνον* (= *γόνον περὶ κακοῦ γαμβροῦ*). In *Herond.* 8. 74 *τὸν ἄπνον κῶρυκος πατησάντων*=the *κῶρυκος* which causes *ἄπνοια*.—With *βρέμονται* cf. *Pind. N.* 11. 8 *λύρα δὲ σφι βρέμεται καὶ αἰοδᾷ*, *Ar. Ran.* 680 *ἐπιβρέμεται...ἀηδῶν*.

338 *ἀρπαγαὶ δὲ κ.τ.λ.*: 'the *ὁμαίμονες* fall a prey to the scattering pursuit' (Verrall). But a better sense is 'and those who are of one blood are the prey of different plunderers, running this way and that,' i.e. members of the same family are carried off by chance bodies of men in chance directions and so divided from

meets man and lays him low with the spear. Bloodstained the mothers of newborn babes cry plaintively for their sucklings. Harrying bands tear kin apart from kin.

One meets another, each with his load, and he that hath nothing calls upon his like for partner, content with neither less nor equal share. 'If we be last,' he cries, 'what account is there like to be of us?'

All manner of store is shed upon the ground as it may ^{3rd anti-}strophe.

342 sq. λελημμένοι M, λελιμμένοι recc. (and schol.). τί * ἐκ M, τίν' ἐκ m'. Corr. *ed. (after rejecting "λελειμμένα | τίν'" κ.τ.λ.). ↓. λελιμμένοι Verrall. τί μ' ἐκ Schütz, τί δ' ἐκ Heimsoeth, ποί' ἐκ Kayser, τίν'...λόγον Dind. Headlam suggests τέλος for λόγος.

344 sq. παντοδαπός...πεσών | ἀλγύνει κυρήσας· πικρόν δ' κ.τ.λ. M. **345** ἀλγύνει M^a. κυρήσας del. Dind., but ↓. κυρήσας πικρόν γ' ὅμμα Hermann. For attempts to fit the metre to various conceptions of the strophe see Weckl. Appendix. If any change were necessary we might read πικρῶμα θαλαμηπόλων and ἀνὴρ δόρατι κλίνεται at v. 334 (πικρῶμα read as πικρόμμα); but πικρόν δ' ὅμμα is better. ↓. <τῶν> θαλαμηπόλων Arnald (better τᾶν).

each other.—**διαδρομᾶν** in itself is applicable to either the harriers (cf. 207 ἀστυρομονομέναν πῶλον) or the fugitives (Plut. Sull. 29. 3 βοῆς γυναικείας καὶ διαδρομῶν ὡς ἀλικομένων). Wecklein quotes for the context in general Quint. 3. 69 *profanorum sacrorumque direptio, effrentium praedas repelentiumque discursus*. Here the word is practically concrete ('harrying bands'): cf. 237 (n.) and e.g. Eur. Cycl. 189 μηκάδων ἀρνῶν τροφαί. [A rendering 'plunderings are sisters to runnings to and fro' is sometimes illustrated by e.g. 481 (q.v.), Ag. 499. Blomfield also cites Ar. Plut. 594 τῆς πτωχείας πένταν φαμέν εἶναι ἀδελφὴν. But such appropriateness as may attach to these uses of *ὡς* or *ἀδελφός* does not belong to the much more specifically coloured *ὁμαίμονες*.]

339 ξυμβολεῖ: 'meets.' The word [συμ]βολοῖ appears to occur in Bacchyl. 1. 34. The picture conjured up is that of ants. This suits *διαδρομᾶν*, and cf. [Pseudo]-Phocyl. 168 αἰεὶ δὲ φέρων φορέοντα διώκει (of ants).

340 sqq. καὶ κενός κετόν κ.τ.λ. For the punctuation and reading see crit. n. The assumption of an actual quotation greatly simplifies the meaning of v. 343, while the emendation *λελειμμένοις* accounts for the (manifestly original) τίς. The eager looters cry to each other 'if we are left behind (or are too late), what do we count for (= what allowance will be made for us), to judge from what we see?' All the loot will be seized and no provision will be made for late-comers.—

ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐκάσαι is restrictive (= ὡς ἐκάσαι κ.τ.λ., cf. Soph. O. T. 82 ἀλλ', ἐκάσαι μὲν, ἡδὺς, O. C. 16 χώρος δ' ὅδ' ἱερός, ὡς ἀπεικάσαι).

τίς λόγος λελειμμένοις πάρα; = *quae ratio relictorum habebitur?* They are οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὐτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

κενός: 'empty-handed': cf. Hdt. 7. 131 ἀπικέστο, οἱ μὲν κεινοί, οἱ δὲ φέροντες, Hom. Il. 2. 298.—οὔτε μείον οὐτ' ἴσον: sub. ἀλλὰ πλεόν. For ἴσον substantival cf. Eur. Suppl. 408 ὁ πέντης ἔχων ἴσον, Phoen. 547, Ion 1318.

344 sq. παντοδαπός δὲ καρπός κ.τ.λ. *καρπός* has here its wider sense, including all forms of produce as stores. It is the καρποὶ ὕγροι καὶ ξηροὶ of Xen. Oec. 5. 20 or τὰ ὕγρα καὶ τὰ ξηρά of CIA II. 476, i.e. not only corn, olives, and grapes, but oil, honey and wine. Cf. Ar. Thesm. 420, where the ταμεῖον contains ἔλαιον, ἀλφιτ', ὄλον and Eccl. 14 στοῦς τε καρποῦ βακχίου τε νάματος | πλήρεις (i.e. the store-rooms of the house). To the καρπός ὕγρος especially refer the lines 347—349, while the first words allude rather to the solids. The participles πεσών (= καταβληθεῖς, καταρριφθεῖς)...κυρήσας are synchronous and should be construed together. As Greek says ὁ καρπός πεσών ἐτυχε, ἐκόρησε, or (less frequently) ἐπεσε τυχών, κυρήσας (Kühner-Gerth II. p. 66), so it may say in the participial form ὁ καρπός πεσών κυρήσας in the sense 'having been thrown down as it chanced' (= ὡς ἐκόρησε). For the picture cf. Cic. de Div. 1. 69 *ex horreis direptum effusumque frumentum vias omnesque angiportus constraverat*.

ὄμμα θαλαμηπόλων·
 πολλὰ δ' ἀκριτόφυρτος
 γᾶς δόσις οὐτιδανοῖς
 ἐν ῥοθίοις φορεῖται.
 δμῳίδες δὲ καινοπήμονες νέαι,
 τλήμον' εὐνὰν αἰχμάλωτον
 ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχούντος ὡς
 δυσμενοῦς ὑπερτέρου
 ἐλπίς ἐστι νύκτερον τέλος μολεῖν,
 παγκλαύτων ἀλγέων ἐπίρροθον.

350

355

HMIX. ὁ τοι κατόπτης, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, στρατοῦ
 πευθῶ τιν' ἡμῖν, ᾧ φίλαι, νέαν φέρει
 σπουδῇ διώκων πομπίμους χνόας ποδῶν.

349 ῥοθίοισι M, corr. recc.

351 τλήμονες M, corr. Blomf. ↓. τλήμον'

346 πικρὸν δ' ὄμμα θαλαμηπόλων: 'and the eye of the thrifty housewives is angry and sad.' The θαλαμηπόλος is the γυνὴ ταμὴ of Hom. *Od.* 3. 479, who has charge of the οἶκος καὶ σῖτος in the θάλαμος: cf. *ibid.* 2. 337 (Telem. goes to the θάλαμος) ὅθι νητὸς χρυσὸς καὶ χαλκὸς ἔκειτο | ἐσθῆς τ' ἐν χηλαῖσιν ἄλις τ' εὐώδες ἔλαιον' | ἐν δὲ πίθοι οἶνοιο κ.τ.λ., 15. 99, 22. 10.—πικρὸν may be used of that which feels bitter pain or which expresses bitter feeling. Here the two senses coalesce, 'pained and angry.' For the former cf. Eur. *Or.* 952 πικρὸν θέαμα καὶ πρόσφιν ἄθλια, *Suppl.* 945; for the latter, poet. *ap.* Plut. *Mor.* 823 A στείχει πολῖταις ὄμμ' ἔχων ἰδεῖν πικρὸν, Dem. *Androt.* 599; and for the coalescence Soph. *Ani.* 423 πικρὰς δρυίδος ὀξὺν φθόγγον, Eur. *Suppl.* 762 ἣ που πικρῶς νιν θέραπες ἦγον ἐκ φόβου.

[ὄμμα might be interpreted as 'spectacle' (θέα schol.). See note on *Cho.* 237 for *ὄπ-μα=δραμα. But the gen. follows less naturally and a point is lost.]

347 ἀκριτόφυρτος: lit. 'mixed indiscriminately,' i.e. 'in wanton confusion,' cf. ἀκριτόμυθος. The ὑγρὸς καρπὸς is rightly said to be carried away in surging waves (ῥοθίοις) which no one heeds. For ἐν ῥοθίοις modal cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1682 ἐν ἀφανεί τινι μόρῳ φερόμενον and e.g. ἐν δίκῃ.—γᾶς δόσις emphasises the waste, γᾶς being personified. Earth has been generous with her gifts and they are now reckoned nothing worth. With the expression cf. *Ag.* 1001 πολλὰ τοι δόσις ἐκ

Διὸς ἀμφιλαφῆς τε καὶ | ἐξ ἀλόκων ἐπε-
 τειᾶν.—With φορεῖται cf. Plat. *Crat.* 411 C ρεῖν καὶ φέρεσθαι.

[In ῥόθια there is probably the notion of the streams of waste being driven this way and that in the turmoil. A schol. remarks 'as in a shipwreck,' which makes ἐν ῥοθίοις not modal but 'on the surges.']

350 sqq. δμῳίδες δὲ κ.τ.λ. It is very difficult to make any satisfactory restoration of this passage so that sense, metre and grammar are all rendered entirely normal. The reference is obviously to the young women, who are to become slaves and to find in the arrival of the night no boon to relieve their griefs, but a crown of sorrow to increase them. Whether the grammar ever was perfectly regular, or whether δμῳίδες is a pendent or provisional nominative, cannot be decided. The latter view is quite probable.

In considering the passage as a whole we should take into account (1) e.g. Hom. *Il.* 18. 433 καὶ ἔτλην ἀνέρος εὐνήν | πολλὰ μάλ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσα, which supports εὐνάν... ἀνδρὸς and some part of τλήναι or τλήμων, (2) e.g. *Il.* 8. 487 Ἀχαιοῖς | ἀσπασίῃ τριλλιστος ἐπήλυθε νύξ ἐρεβεννή, which strongly suggests that a natural meaning of v. 354 is 'looking forward for an end to come at night,' (3) Hes. *Opp.* 558 μακραὶ γὰρ ἐπίρροθοι εὐφρόναι εἰσὶν (βοηθαὶ schol.), which indicates the sense of 355 as 'reliever of their sorrows.' [A rendering of ἐπίρροθον as=αὐξητικόν cannot be substantiated. An alternative

chance, a sight to anguish the housewife's eye. In reckless medley rich gifts of the soil go foaming heedlessly to waste.

And the women slaves, young and new to sorrow—their prospect is the captive's unhappy bed, bed of a mate blessed but as victor o'er the foe; dues of the night to lighten their utter grief and pain!

LEADER OF FIRST HALF-CHORUS.

Ah, my friends, our spy! He brings us, as I judge, fresh tidings of the host. With haste he is urging in their hubs the legs that bear him hither.

αἰχμάλωτον εὐνὰν Blomf. τλήμονες εὐνὰν αἰχμαλώτων Scaliger. 352 εὐτυχούντος.

'insulting' has been proposed (see Leaf on *Il.* 23. 770), but in the only apposite example quoted, viz. *Soph. Ant.* 413 ἐπιρροδοὶς κακοῖσι, the word is rightly explained by Jebb as 'obstreperous.')

Putting these considerations together we may treat the last two lines as sarcastic: they must 'look forward to a captive's bed...as the end at night which relieves the utter griefs of the day,' or, in other words, 'the only end brought by night to relieve their troubles will be—the bed of the triumphant enemy.' Under this there runs the usual play upon words; viz. ἀνδρός ('man' and 'husband'), τέλος ('rite' and 'marriage consummation'), ἐλπίς (expectation good or bad). In Greek marriage an ἀνὴρ εὐτυχῶν ('well-to-do') was frankly sought. In this case the ἀνὴρ is indeed εὐτυχῶν, but only ὡς δυσμενὴς ὑπέρτερος (he happens to have got a superiority, but he is a foeman, not the φίλων ἀνὴρ of ordinary wedlock).

We may conclude therefore that any unsoundness lies in v. 351 alone.—δμῶδες may very well be left as provisional nom. to an ἐλπίζουσι which is replaced by ἐλπίς ἐστί (as ἐδοξεν αὐτῷ is apt to follow a provisional nom.; see note to *Cho.* 1057). If we read τλάμον' εὐνὰν αἰχμάλωτον the passage runs '(to them) the (only) expectation is that a wretched captive's bed—bed of a man whose well-being is but the well-being of a victorious enemy—will come as that end at night which is to relieve their bitter griefs.' The τλήμων εὐνή is thus itself the τέλος and is the subject of μολεῖν. [The metre is as sound thus as with τλάμον' αἰχμ. εὐνὰν, since such lines have the metrical privileges of catalectic trochaics. Cf. Appendix to *Cho.* 24.]

δμῶδες are not the young women

slaves of the Cadmeans, but the Cadmean young women who are made slaves. With καينوπήμονες cf. *Suppl.* 74 ἀπειρόδακρυν καρδίαν, *Eur. Alc.* 926 παρ' εὐτυχῇ σοι πόντον ἦλθεν ἀπειροκάκῳ τῷδ' | ἄλγος, where see Paley for the frequent expression of the pathos of such change of fortune. For their prospect cf. *Hom. Il.* 2. 355 πρὶν τινα παρ Τρώων ἄλῳχ' κατακοιμηθῆναι, *Eur. Tro.* 202, *Verg. Aen.* 3. 323 nec victoris eri tetigit captiva cubile.

356 sq. The κορυφαῖος (with half the Chorus) is facing towards the spectators' left, the παραστάτης (with the other half) towards their right. Hence their ability to see what they respectively describe.

ὁ τοι κατόπτης: τοι connects the remark with the fears just described. The κατόπτης is the Scout of v. 41 (see 66 sqq.).—ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ can only belong to what follows. They can see that it is the Scout, but they can only guess his news; hence στρατοῦ is to be joined with πευθῶ, not feebly with κατόπτης (v. 36 is of course different).—ὦ φίλοι is interjected in interested excitement and is appropriately brought close to νέαν (= περὶ νέου τινός), which implies both importance and alarm: cf. *Suppl.* 720 ἀπροσδοκίτους τούσδε καὶ νέους λόγους, *ibid.* 344, *Cho.* 165 νέου δὲ μύθου τούδε κοινωνήσατε, *Eur. I. T.* 237.

358 σπουδῇ: emphatic, cf. 361. The same word occurs in conjunction with νέος in *Eur. Hel.* 602 λέγ', ὡς φέρεις τι τῇδε τῇ σπουδῇ νέον, *Rhes.* 85 καὶ μὴν ὅδ' Αἰνέας καὶ μάλα σπουδῇ ποδὸς | στείχει νέον τι πρᾶγμ' ἔχων φίλοις φράσαι.

διώκων πομπίμους χνόας ποδῶν: he is racing at chariot speed, but on his legs. This strange-looking expression is justified by several considerations: (a) ποδῶν must be treated (like στρατοῦ of 64) as

ΗΜΙΧ. καὶ μὴν ἀναξ ὅδ' αὐτὸς Οἰδίπου τόκος
εἰς ἀρτίκολλον ἀγγέλου λόγον μαθεῖν.
σπουδῇ δὲ καὶ τοῦδ' οὐκ ἀπαρτίζει πόδα.

360

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.

λέγοιμ' ἂν εἰδὼς εὖ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων,
ὥς τ' ἐν πύλαις ἕκαστος εἴλληχεν πάλον.
Τυδεὺς μὲν ἤδη πρὸς πύλαισι Προϊτίσι
βρέμει, πόρον δ' Ἴσμηνὸν οὐκ ἔα περᾶν
ὁ μάντις· οὐ γὰρ σφάγια γίγνεται καλά.

365

als Butler. 360 εἰς ἀρτίκολλον M, corr. Porson. ὥστ' ἀρτίκολλον Dind. Paley suggests εἰς ἀρτίκολλος. 361 οὐ καταρτίζει recc. ↓. 363 ὅτ' M, ὥστ' M^a. There may be no significance in this (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4. 40 ὅτε (F) for ὥστε (cett.)),

gen. defining the metaphor, and to some extent a παρὰ προσδοκίαν: 'he is speeding the rapid axles—of his legs.' A similar metaph. appears in *Cho.* 672 δεῦρ' ἀπεψύγην πόδας, where the only πῶλοι are the feet (cf. Shak. *Cor.* 1. 1. 121 *Our steed the leg*); (b) the metaphor was probably proverbial. The English 'on Shanks's pony' is a vulgarism, but that is no criterion of the honour or dishonour of a corresponding Greek phrase; (c) διώκειν πομπίμους χνῶας is entirely apt for speed on the race-course, and the thought here is similar to that of Eur. *Or.* 456 καὶ μὴν γέροντι δεῦρ' ἀμιλλᾶται ποδὶ | ... Τυνδάρεως. For διώκειν cf. *Pers.* 85 Σύριον ἄρμα διώκειν, *Orac.* ap. Hdt. 7. 140, *Eum.* 406 διώκουσ' ἦλθον ἄρτυτον πόδα, Eur. *H. F.* 1040 διώκειν ἦλυσιν, *Or.* 1344: (d) a word like χνῶας would lend itself readily to metaphor, and was doubtless so applied (with limiting adj. or gen.) to any joint or socket playing the same part in locomotion as the nave or axle-pipe of a wheel: (e) ποδῶν is not 'feet,' but includes the whole leg with its joints at either end: cf. *Cho.* 980, *Luc. Alex.* 59 διασάπεις τὸν πόδα μέχρι τοῦ βουβάνου, *inf.* 776 καμψίπους. What the χνῶαι ποδῶν are at each extremity of the 'axle' is shewn in Hom. *Il.* 5. 305 ἐνθα τε μηρὸς | ἰσχυρὸν ἐνστρέφεται as compared with Soph. *Tr.* 779 μάρψας ποδὸς νιν, ἄρθρον ᾧ λυγίζεται (at the ankle). The notion is somewhat similar to that in γόνυατα ἐλαφρά; and with the whole phrase cf. Sappho's πύκνα δίνεντες πτέρω.

359 sq. καὶ μὴν: 231 (n.). Exactly like the present passage are Soph. *Aj.* 1168 καὶ μὴν ἐς αὐτὸν καιρὸν οἶδε πλησίον,

O. C. 549 καὶ μὴν ἀναξ ὅδ' ἡμῖν... | Θησεύς κ.τ.λ., Eur. *Hec.* 665, *Rhes.* 85. With ὅδ' αὐτὸς... εἰς ἀρτίκολλον cf. Soph. *Tr.* 58 ἐγγὺς δ' ὅδ' αὐτὸς ἀρτίπους θρώσκει δόμους (where schol. has ἀρτίως καὶ ἡρμοσμένως τῷ καιρῷ). In Soph. *Ant.* 386 ὅδ' ἐκ δόμων ἄσπορος εἰς δέον (al. μέσον) περᾶ the reply is ποῖα ξύμμετρος προῖσθην τύχη; (which suggests for the doubtful word either μέτρον or ἀρμόν). The construction is (πάρεστιν) εἰς ἀρτίκολλον (ὥστε) μαθεῖν.

Οἰδίπου τόκος: not a fill-gap, but the most respectful term.—ἀρτίκολλον is 'the nick' of time: cf. *Cho.* 578, *Ath.* 248 C τὸ ποτὶκολλον αἶτε ξύλον παρὰ ξύλω, ὥς ὁ Θηβαῖος ἐλρηκεν ποιητῆς. [There is obviously no room for the fut. εἶσ'.]

361 οὐκ ἀπαρτίζει πόδα: 'does not keep even pace,' i.e. prevents his steps from being normal, or such as are customary in his walk. Walking fast in the streets was looked upon as undignified: cf. Eur. *Or.* 729 θάσσον ἢ μ' ἐχρήν προβαίνων ἰκόμεν δι' ἀστεος, Dem. 37. 52 ταχέως βαδίζει (as an accusative), 45. 77, Arist. *Eth.* 4. 9 κίνησις βραδεία (as a mark of the μεγαλόψυχος). In a king such haste is marked (Eur. *Bacch.* 212, Soph. *O. C.* 890 οὐ χάριν | δεῦρ' ἦξα θάσσον ἢ καθ' ἥδονην ποδός). He is, of course, not said to run, like the messenger.—ἀπαρτίζει is intrans., as in [Pseudo-]Plut. *de metris* § 3, and so should be taken Herond. 7. 24, where shoes act ὥστ' ἀπαρτίσαι χωλοῦς ('so that the lame walk normally'). The construction of πόδα is that familiar in e.g. Ar. *Eccl.* 162 οὐκ ἂν προβαλὴν τὸν πόδα τὸν ἕτερον, Eur. *Hec.* 53 περᾶ... πόδα (πόδα being virtually a

LEADER OF SECOND HALF-CHORUS.

And see, yonder the king himself, the son of Oedipus, apt to the time to learn what the Scout has to tell. He likewise hastens with pace out of his wont.

[*The SCOUT enters hurriedly from the left; ETEOCLES (followed by the six champions and by attendants) from the right.*

The SCOUT.

Let me recount—I know them well—the doings of the enemy, how his lot in the gates hath fallen to each man.

Already at the Proetid gate Tydeus is roaring; but the seer forbids him cross the passage of Ismenus, for the victims

but, as recc. have *πάλω*, the variants may point to readings *ῥ' τ'...πάλω* or *ὄν τ'...πάλον*.
ὥς Blomf. ↓. 365 Qu. "Ἰσμηνον? ↓. 366 *γίνεται* M.

contained accus. = *ποδὸς δρεγμα*). A trans. use of *ἀπαρτίζειν* seems to have no warrant. [It would be much inferior to understand the sense as 'is irregular in pace,' *i.e.* his steps are not equal or alike. Eteocles may come in haste, but he does not come skippingly.]

362 *εὖ*: with *εἰδώς*. The position helps the emphasis. The abruptness of the Scout, who omits any salutation, is in keeping with the situation.

363 *ὥς τ' τ'* is exegetic. See crit. n.—*ἐν πύλαις*: may mean (1) 'among the gates,' *i.e.* 'in the distribution of the gates,' or (2) local 'at the gates,' the expression being condensed for *λαγχάνειν στάσιον ἐν πύλαις*. Though the latter might appear the more difficult, it is practically proved by 438 *λέγ' ἄλλον ἄλλαις ἐν πύλαις εἰληχότα*. For the manner of drawing the lots and dividing the gates see note to v. 445.

364 *Τυδεὺς μὲν*: Tydeus is mentioned first as being the leading spirit (cf. 558 sqq.). The gate which he draws happens to be the *Προτιδὲς* (Introd. § 16), but this is not otherwise the 'first' gate according to any necessary arrangement.—*μὲν* is not answered by *δ'* of the next line, but begins the enumeration, and is in contrast with what is said of the others (*δ'* of v. 410 &c.). There is no misplacement for *ἦδη μὲν βρέμει*.—*ἦδη*. Tydeus is impatient. The poet brings the champions close to the city so that the *ἀγγελοι* may see their actions and accoutrements. The delay imposed by Amphiarus is the dramatist's device for enabling him to spend time over the descriptions.

365 *πόρον δ' Ἰσμηνόν*: *Ἰσμηνόν* must be adjective, since *πόρος* apparently cannot be treated (like *ποταμός*) as in apposition. Either a gen. or an adj. is employed, as in *Διγαῖος πόρος*, *Ἀχερούσιον πόρον* (Eur. *H. F.* 838), *Σκαμάνδριον οἶδμα* (Eur. *Hel.* 368). In Eur. *Suppl.* 1 *Ἐλευσίνος χθώνος* is not gen. of *Ἐλευσίς* *χθών* but of *Ἐλευσίνος* *χθών*. [The form *Ἰσμήνιον* is itself just possible: see 115; or *Ἰσμηνον* = the Aeolic *Ἰσμηνον* (for *Ἰσμήνιον*) may be the accentuation.]—*οὐκ ἔφ' περᾶν*. If the enemy had not been prevented from attacking at once, the present delay of Eteocles would have been absurd (Introd. § 21). The (supposed) comment of Euripides (*Phoen.* 751) would be in a large measure disposed of by this consideration. The present passage shows how near the Ismenus must have been to the Proetid gate (Introd. §§ 15, 16).

366 *ὁ μάντις*: Amphiarus, between whom and Tydeus there was a special dislike (558 sqq.). An epic army necessarily contains 'the seer' (*e.g.* Chalcas and Helenus), but the reference here is definite.—*οὐ γὰρ...καλά*. This passage might have warned Cobet against his besetting sin of discerning *foeda emblemata* in *e.g.* Xen. *Cyr.* 2. 4. 18 *γίνεται τῷ Κύρῳ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἰέναι καλά* (*Nov. Lect.* p. 386), *An.* 6. 4. 9 (*Nov. Lect.* p. 477). Doubtless the article makes a difference, and doubtless *καλά* might be omitted, but there the argument ends.—*σφάγια* (see 216) were consulted for omens as well as the offerings to the supernals. [There is no reference, as Wecklein imagines, to the sacrifice called *διαβατήριον*. This was offered on crossing

Τυδεὺς δὲ μαργῶν καὶ μάχης λελιμμένος
 μεσημβριναῖς κλαγγαῖσιν ὥς δράκων βοᾷ.
 θείνει δ' ὀνείδει μάντιν Οἰκλείδην σοφὸν
 σαίνειν μόρον τε καὶ μάχην ἀψυχία. 370
 τοιαύτ' αὐτῶν τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους
 σείει, κράνους χαίτωμ', ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δ' ἔσω
 χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσιν κώδωνες φόβον.
 ἔχει δ' ὑπέρφρον σῆμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τόδε,
 φλέγονθ' ὑπ' ἄστροις οὐρανὸν τετυγμένον. 375

λε μ
367 λμένος M (λε by m, μ by m'). **368** αὐγαῖσιν Hartung. A previous suggestion αὐγαῖσιν...θοᾶ ('fidgets') is here withdrawn. ψ. **369** θένει M, corr. recc. The usual punctuation is ...σοφόν, | σαίνειν. ψ. **372** ἀσπίδος δ' ἔσω M, γρ. τῷ m', δὲ τῷ (or τοῦ)

the enemy's border; here we are concerned only with the sacrifices before a battle. It is not only Tydeus who is checked, it is all the champions. We need not therefore refer to the Roman *peremptia*.]

367 μαργῶν: i.e. δορμαργος, explained by καὶ κ.τ.λ. The chief notion in the word is of mad greed.

368 μεσημβριναῖς: the snake is most excited at the hottest part of the day: cf. Verg. *G.* 3. 434 (*anguis flammantia lumina torquens* | *saevit agris asperque siti atque exterritus aestu*, Ov. *Met.* 2. 175 *serpens...incaluit sumpsitque novas fervoribus iras*.—κλαγγαῖσιν...βοᾷ may be bad natural history, but cf. *Hymn. Apoll.* 360 (182) *θεοπεσίη δ' ἑνὸς γένετ' ἄσπετος* (of the δράκαινα at Pytho), Ap. Rhod. 4. 129, Pind. *O.* 8. 40 *εἰς* (sc. δράκων) δ' ἑσθρόνσε βοάσαις (where Gildersleeve remarks 'mythical serpents make mythical outcry', although that explanation hardly accounts for a conception on the part of Aeschylus). It would seem that the hissing of the snake was popularly exaggerated, and that Aesch. (like Pindar) is drawing upon tradition rather than upon personal observation.

369 θείνει: cf. *Suppl.* 475 *μαστικτῆρα καρδίας λόγον*, *Eum.* 136 *ἀντίκεντρα* (ὀνείδη), *Soph. Aj.* 724 *ὀνείδων ἥρασσον*, *Hor.* *O.* 3. 12. 3 *patruae verbera linguae*. It in no way follows from this that Amphiarus is within hearing (cf. 557), and the passage therefore lends no argument as to the position of the gates.—Οἰκλείδην. The name Ἀμφιάρεος or Ἀμφιάρεως is not easy to accommodate to the somewhat precise metre of Aeschylus, although *inf.* 556 we have Ἀμφιάρεω.

Nevertheless the substitution of the patronymic has another motive. Oecles was himself a famous warrior who had served with Heracles against Laomedon (Apollod. II. 6. 4), and the title is here laudatory (cf. Pind. *O.* 6. 13, Bacchyl. 8. 16).

If σοφόν is simply epithet to Οἰκλείδην it must be intended to emphasise the recklessness of Tydeus, who in his unwisdom θείνει... μάντιν... σοφόν, an expression which suggests almost a blasphemy. But it is more effective, and makes a neater construction, to join σοφὸν σαίνειν. The 'wisdom' of the seer, says Tydeus, lies in shunning battle.

370 σαίνειν. A dog fawns upon his master in order to escape punishment; hence the verb obtained a wider meaning of 'deprecating'; cf. 691 *τί οὖν ἐτ' ἂν σαίνοιμεν δλέθριον μόρον*; In *P. V.* 860 *προσηγορεύθης ἡ Διὸς κλεινὴ δάμαρ* | *μέλλουσ' ἔσεσθαι*. τῶνδε *προσσαινεῖς* τι, we should probably read *προσηγορεύθης*: "ἡ Διὸς κλεινὴ δάμαρ | μέλλουσ' ἔσεσθαι, τί τὸδ' ἔπος σαινεῖς ἐτι;" ('why do you any longer deprecate that name?').—μόρον τε καὶ μάχην: not only death, but fighting at all.

371 sq. τρεῖς: an unusual and ostentatious number, while κατασκίους implies equally ostentatious size. Aristophanes (*Ach.* 964) makes Lamachus similarly imposing (ὁ δεινός, ὁ ταλαύρμος, δὲ τὴν Γοργόνα | πάλλιν κραδαίνων τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους, *ibid.* 1109). On *Ar. Pac.* 395 *εἰ τι Πεισάνδρου βδελύττει τοὺς λόφους* καὶ τὰς ὀφρὺς the schol. remarks *ἐχρητο τριλοφία καὶ ὅπλοις ἐπισήμοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἀνδρείους εἶναι μὴ ὦν*. In *Ar.* 94 the *ἐποψ* is distinguished by his *τριλοφία*. A Greek helmet might have no crest,

refuse fair omens. But Tydeus, rampant with passion for the fight, cries with the clamours of a serpent at noonday. And he lashes with ill words the seer, Oecles' son, 'skilled to cringe in faintheartedness at death and fight.' With shouts like these he tosses three overshadowing plumes, his helmet's mane, and from beneath his shield within bells wrought of bronze give fearsome clamourings. On his shield he bears this insolent device; 'tis a sky of crafty work ablaze with stars, and in the middle a bright

recc. It is just possible that σώ is due to σό- written over φό- of φόβον in the next line (i.e. σόβον). I formerly suggested κράσπεδον δὲ τῷ ('and as a fringe thereto'), comparing the δικτυωτὸς θύσας with bells in Diodor. 18. 26; but I now prefer the text. ↓.

either one or two upright crests, a falling crest or mane, a falling crest flanked by two uprights, but seldom three falling crests. The motive of the λόφοι was *in terrorem*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8. 620 *terribilem cristis galeam*, Hom. *Il.* 11. 42 δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν, Tyrt. 9 (7). 26 κελίτω δὲ λόφον δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, Luc. *Dial. Deor.* 19. 1, Theoc. 23. 186, Lucr. 2. 632 *terrificas capitum quatientes numine cristas*, Shak. *Cor.* 3. 3. 126 *Your enemies, with nodding of their plumes, | Fan you into despair*. While speaking as above, Tydeus σείει τοὺς λόφους and jingles his bells.

372 κράνους χαίτωμ': not a merely rhetorical addition, but conveying two notions, (1) in describing the crests as falling and not upright, (2) in intimating that they were (as a 'mane') made of horse-hair: cf. *Il.* 19. 382 ἵππουρις τρυφάλεια, περισσεύοντο δ' ἔθειραι, and also ἵπποδάσεια and the *hirsuta iuba* of Propert. 4. 11. 19.

ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δ' ἔσω: 'within, under the shield.' ἔσωθεν is not required; the bells ἔσω κλάσουσι although the sound may come ἔσωθεν. For the bells cf. Soph. *fr.* 775 σὺν σάκει κωδωνοκρότω. That they were underneath appears also from [Eur.] *Rhes.* 384 κλύε μὲν κόμπους κωδωνοκρότους | παρὰ πορπάκων κελαδοῦντας. Their use is partly for mere effect (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 672 A κώδωνες δὲ πολλοὶ κατακρέμανται τῆς ἐσθῆτος ὑποκομποῦντες ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν), partly for driving away evil influences (Luc. *Philops.* 15). [For the reading see crit. n.]

373 κλάσουσι...φόβον: cf. 116 κινύρονται φόβον, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 306 πολλοῖσι μὲν κώδωνιν ἐκτίπει φόβον. The sense of φόβον is that of 'an attempt at frightening', 'scare.' The Scout does not acknowledge actual 'fear' as the result. Cf. Hor. *Od.* 3. 4. 49 *magnum illa*

terrorem intulerat Iovi | fidens iuventus horrida brachiis (which should surely be understood in this sense).

374 sqq. ἔχει...ἐπ' ἀσπίδος. For devices on shields see *Introd.* p. lii. This shield, like the rest on the Argive side, was evidently round, otherwise the οὐρανὸς would be inappropriate. A black ground would have stars and a moon wrought upon it in metal, presumably gold (421, 631). Euripides (*El.* 464) imitates this emblem with less truth to nature (ἐν δὲ μέσῳ κατέλαμπε σάκει φαέθων | κύκλος ἀελίοιο | ...ἀστρων τ' αἰθέριοι χοροί).

ὑπέρφρον. The arrogance consists in representing himself as making the other warriors hide their diminished heads. Cf. Sappho 3 ἀστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάναν | ἀψ' ἀποκρύπτουσι φάεννον εἶδος, | ὅπποτα πλήθουσα μάλιστα λάμπη, Bacchyl. 9. 27, Bion 10 (16). 3, *Anth. Pal.* 5. 110 ἀλλά μοι Εὐφράντη μία πρὸς δέκα· καὶ γὰρ ἀπέλους | ἀστέρας ἐν μῆνης φέγγος ὑπερτίθεται (where Mackail quotes Wotton's *You common people of the skies, | What are you, when the moon shall rise?*), Hor. *Od.* 1. 12. 45 *micat inter omnes | Iulium sidus, velut inter ignes | luna minores, Carm. popul.* 50 (Hiller). 11. This insolence is emphasised by the insistence in λαμπρά, πανσέληνος, μέσῳ, πρέσβιστον, ὀφθαλμός, πρέπει. For the repetition of the word ἀσπίδος see 43 sq., 261 sq., and ἀστρον...ἀστρων next.

375 φλέγονθ' ὑπ' ἀστροῖς: lit. 'blazing under the heavenly bodies,' but this use of the dat. (often simply of accompaniment) comes to be practically indistinguishable from that of the genitive. Cf. Bacchyl. 3. 17 λάμπει δ' ὑπὸ μαρμαρυγαῖς ὁ χρυσός, Pind. *fr.* 48 αἰθομένα δᾶς ὑπὸ ξανθαῖσι πεύκαις, Soph. *O.* 7. 202 ὑπὸ σφ' φθίσον κεραυνῷ, *Cho.* 28 (n.).

τετυγμένον: i.e. 'wrought,' 'worked,'

λαμπρὰ δὲ πανσέληνος ἐν μέσῳ σάκει,
 πρέσβιστον ἄστρον, νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμὸς πρέπει.
 τοιαῦτ' ἄλλων ταῖς ὑπερκόμποις κάγαις
 βοᾷ παρ' ὄχθαις ποταμίαις, μάχης ἐρῶν,
 ἵππος χαλινῶν ὡς κατασθμαίνων μένει,
 ὅστις βοὴν σάλπιγγος ὀρμαίνει μένων.

380

ΕΤ. τὴν ἀντιτάξεις τῷδε; τίς Προίτου πυλῶν
 κλήθρων λυθέντων προστατεῖν φερέγγυος;
 κόσμον μὲν ἀνδρὸς οὐτὶν' ἂν τρέσαιμ' ἐγώ,
 οὐδ' ἔλκοποιὰ γίγνεται τὰ σήματα.
 λόφοι δὲ κώδων τ' οὐ δάκνουσ' ἄνευ δορός.
 καὶ νύκτα ταύτην ἣν λέγεις ἐπ' ἄσπίδος
 ἄστροισι μαρμαίρουσαν οὐρανοῦ κυρεῖν,
 τάχ' ἂν γένοιτο μάντις ἢ ἀνοία τινί.

385

377 ἄστρον M^a.378 ὑπερκόποις Blomf. (cf. 391). ἀγαῖς M, corr. m^a.

379 μάχης δ' ἐρῶν Brunck.

380 χαλινῶν δ' m^a. κατασθμαίνει μένων Robortello.

and not merely painted, the notion of art and care being implied as in the Homeric *τυκτός, ποιητός, πηκτός*; e.g. *Il.* 23. 718 *τρίποδος ποιητοῦ*, *ibid.* 741 *ἀργύρεον κρητῆρα τετυγμένον* (= 'with work of art upon it').

376 sq. λαμπρὰ κ.τ.λ. The moon which represents Tydeus is no less than at the full, it is brilliant, it occupies the middle of the shield (the *ὀμφαλός*).—πρέσβιστον ἄστρον is perhaps better taken predicatively with πρέπει than in simple apposition to πανσέληνος. Not only is ἄστρον technically the more probable original; it is also superior to ἄστρον as adding some point by balancing *νυκτός*; viz. 'the chief of the heavenly bodies, the very eye of the night.' The sun and moon are included among ἄστρον; cf. *Ath.* 276 D τὸ τῆς σελήνης ἄστρον, *Verg. Aen.* 9. 405 *astrorum decus* (the moon). Yet the schol. on *Arat. Phaen.* 11 calls *Pind. fr.* 107. 2 ἄστρον ὑπέρτατον (of the sun) a 'peculiar' use.—πρέσβιστον: it προσβέβηται τῶν ἄστρον; cf. *Soph. O. T.* 1365 εἰ δέ τι προσβύτερον...κακοῦ κακόν.

ὀφθαλμός: combining two thoughts: (1) without it the night would be blind: cf. *Pind. O.* 3. 20 *διχόμηις ὄλον*... | *ἐσπέρας ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντέφλεξε μήνα*. The Night is personified, as is ἡμέρα in *Soph. Ant.* 100 *ἀκτὶς ἀελίου...χρυσέας ἀμέρας βλέφαρον*: (2) it is the 'darling' or chief possession: cf. 517, *Pind. O.* 6. 16 *ποθέω στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμᾶς*.—πρέπει: 'stands

out.' See *Cho.* 12 (n.), *sup.* 117, *Suppl.* 727.

378 ἄλλων: with σάγαις as instrumental. His folly is shewn in emblem, plumes, and bells, which are all included in σάγαις.

379 sqq. βοᾷ κ.τ.λ. The construction is μάχης ἐρῶν βοᾷ, ὡς ἵππος (βοᾷ) μένει κατασθμαίνων χαλινῶν. In παρ' ὄχθαις the dat. is preferred to the accus., with the notion that he stands at the river like a horse at the barrier. The metaphor is not from a horse waiting for battle, but (as Verrall has seen) from one waiting for a chariot-race (see 383). The former notion has its place (*Ap. Rhod.* 3. 1258 ὡς δ' ὄτ' ἀρήιος ἵππος ἐελδόμενος πολέμοιο | σκαρθμῷ ἐπιχρεμέθων κρούει πέδον), but the place is not here.—μένει: with impatient temper, often shown in fierce or strong breathing: cf. *Eum.* 654 οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων μένει, *P. V.* 746 ποταμὸς ἐκφυσᾷ μένος. The word is used by Homer (*Il.* 23. 468) of the mettles shown by horses in the chariot-race. [The dat. will not follow κατασθμαίνων. We cannot therefore compare *Ag.* 248 χαλινῶν ἀναύδῳ μένει (where, it may be remarked, μένει is no synonym of σθένει).]

381 ὅστις. Paley should not say that this is 'wrongly used for ὅς.' The sense is clearly 'when (or if) he.'—βοὴν σάλπιγγος. The trumpet begins either a battle or a race: cf. *Soph. El.* 709 χαλκῆς ὑπαὶ σάλπιγγος ἤξαν (the charioteers),

full moon shows forth preeminent among the stars, the very eye of night. With his accoutrements thus madly overweening he shouts upon the river-bank in lust for fight, like a steed that pants with fierceness upon the bit, when it waits fretting for the trumpet's blare.

Against him whom wilt thou post? Who is there, safe and sure, to stand champion of Proetus' gates when the barriers are unloosed?

ET. A man's bedizenments can daunt not me. Your blazons are no wound-makers, and crest and bell have no bite without the spear. Nay, that night of which you tell, with its place upon the shield and its bright sheen of stars—perchance a man may find the folly prove prophet to him. For should night

βρέμει Schütz. †.

381 ὀρμαίνων μένει recc. ὀργαίνει Hermann. κλύων Tyrwhitt. †.

385 γίνεταί Μ.

389 ἡ ἀνοιά τινί Μ, ἡ ἀνόλα τινί m, ἡ ννοία recc. ἐννοία Blomf.,

Verg. *Aen.* 5. 113 *et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos*; and (of battle) *Pers.* 398, Eur. *Phoen.* 1378 σάλπιγγος ἡχὴ σήμα φοινίου μάχης.

382 Προίτου: the usual eponymus is found for the πύλαι Προϊτίδες. Pausanias (9. 8. 4) says he was ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, but knows nothing more of him.

383 κλήθρων λυθέντων: not 'when the bars of the gates are unloosed' (for why should the Cadmeans do this?), but the metaphor of the impatient steed at the ἀφesis of the hippodrome is maintained. The κλήθρα are those of the *carceres* (οἰκήματα) from which the chariots are let free. See *Dict. Ant.* 1. 964.

384 κόσμον μὲν: μὲν is not answered directly, but by the thought, viz. 'but it is the spear that counts.'—τρίσαυμ': 423 (n.).

385 οὐδ' ἔλκοποιά κ.τ.λ. From Alcaeus (schol.). Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 684 οὐκ ἔστ' ἐν ὄψει τραύμα, μὴ δρώσης χερρός, Plut. *Thest.* 8. 1 οὐτε πλήθη νεῶν οὐτε κόσμοι καὶ λαμπρότητες ἐπισήμων, οὐτε κραυγαὶ κομπῶδεις ἢ βάρβαροι παιᾶνες ἔχουσι τι δεινὸν κ.τ.λ., Liv. 10. 39 *non enim cristas vulnera facere*, Tac. *Agr.* 32.

—γίνεταί: not simply ἔστί, but the fact of their being σήματα does not 'make them into' workers of wounds.—τὰ is contemptuous generic. Cf. 417. The force is that of the lightly pronounced Shakespearean 'your.' [Not 'the said....']

386 λόφοι δὲ: δὲ explains rather than connects.—οὐ δάκνουσ': with the notion of an animal which may bark more than it bites or hiss more than it stings.

387 sq. καὶ νύκτα ταύτην...τάχ' ἄν γένοιτο. We should by no means call this an attraction to the case of the relative (as in *urbem quam statuo vestra est*). It is simply an instance of an accus. beginning the sentence in a manner which is not carried out according to promise. ἦν λέγεις...κυρεῖν interrupts the formally grammatical expression, and we have what is dramatically more natural in the mouth of an impatient or scornful man, viz. a virtual aposiopesis followed by a new beginning τάχ' ἄν κ.τ.λ. Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 449 τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον δὲ πάλαι ζητεῖς | ...οὗτος ἔστιν ἐνθάδε, Hdt. 2. 106 τὰς δὲ στήλας τὰς ἴστας κατὰ τὰς χώρας... αἱ μὲν πλευνες οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεοῦσαι.—κυρεῖν is more than εἶναι, and implies (like *τυγχάνειν*) a certain fitness, which is explained in the next words.—οὐρανοῦ: depends either on (1) νύκτα, 'night-sky' (more strictly of course 'sky night'), the gen. being necessary (cf. 64) to explain how a 'night' can take shape upon a shield, or less well (2) on ἀστροῖσι: 'with the stars of a sky' (and not merely bright spots called ἀστρα).

389 τάχ' ἄν γένοιτο μάντις ἡ ἀνοία τινί. If the reading is correct we must emphasise μάντις: 'the folly of it may perhaps prove prophetic.' Without such emphasis we should require an epithet, e.g. 'an evil prophet.' Suspicion has attached to the quantity ἀνοία, but the doublet forms clearly existed. Cf. 672 εὐκλείαν, Soph. *fr.* 524 τερπνῶς γὰρ αἰεὶ πάντας ἡ ἀνοία τρέφει, 748 παλιρροία βίου, Ph. 129 ὥς ἂν ἀγνοία προσῇ, Tr. 350 ἀγνοία μ' ἔχει, Eur. *Andr.* 520 ἀνοία

εἰ γὰρ θανόντι νῦξ ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πέσοι, 390
 τῷ τοι φέροντι σῆμ' ὑπέροκμον τόδε
 γένοιτ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ἐνδίκως τ' ἐπώνυμον,
 καὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ τήνδ' ὕβριν μαντεύεται.
 ἐγὼ δὲ Τυδεῖ κεδνὸν Ἀστακοῦ τόκον
 τόνδ' ἀντιτάξω προστάτην πυλωμάτων, 395
 μάλ' εὐγενῇ τε καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύνης θρόνον
 τιμῶντα καὶ στυγοῦνθ' ὑπέρφρονας λόγους·
 αἰσχροῶν γὰρ ἀργός, μὴ κακὸς δ' εἶναι φιλεῖ.
 σπαρτῶν δ' ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν, ὧν Ἄρης ἐφείσατο,
 ρίζωμ' ἀνείται, κάρτα δ' ἔστ' ἐγχώριος, 400
 Μελάνιππος. ἔργον δ' ἐν κύβοις Ἄρης κρινεῖ.
 Δίκη δ' ὁμαίμων κάρτα νιν προστέλλεται
 εἴργειν τεκούσῃ μητρὶ πολέμιον δόρυ.

ἀγνοία Schwenk. Perhaps *ἀλλοία (which I now prefer to *ἀντία). 391 ὑπέροκμον recc. 392 ὀρθῶς γ rec. ὀρθῶς τ' H. Voss. 393 μαντεύεται M and recc.,

(anapaests), Eustath. p. 1579. 30 καὶ ἡ ἀναίελα δέ φησι (sc. Ael. Dionys.) καὶ ἡ προνοία, ὧν πάντων ἐκτείνεται μὲν ἡ τελευταία ἡ δὲ πρὸ αὐτῆς ἐξύνεται. Ἀριστοφάνης Δαιταλεῦσιν. ὦ προνοία (read παρανοία) καὶ ἀναίελα, Choerobosc. (Bekk. Anecd. p. 1314) ἀλήθεια κοινῶς καὶ ἀληθεία Ἀττικῶς, Chandler² § 103, and Ionic ἀνολή &c.

In sense ἡ ἀνοία is explained by ἀλύνω and context (378). It consists in the madness of the boasting and its inevitable φθόνος. With τινί in oblique reference to a definite person cf. Soph. Aj. 1138 τοῦτ' εἰς ἀνίαν τοῦπος ἐρχεται τινι, Ant. 751, Ar. Ran. 552, Eur. Ion 1311, H. F. 748, Theoc. 5. 120 &c. With the thought cf. Shak. Henry V. 3. 7 RAM. *The armour that I saw in your tent to-night, are those stars or suns upon it?* CON. *Stars, my lord. DAU. Some of them will fall to-morrow, I hope.* [The line is thus clearly defensible at every point, but, if any alteration should be made, it would perhaps be to μάντις ἀλλοία. ἀλλοῖος = 'adverse.' Cf. Hdt. 5. 40 ἵνα μὴ τι ἀλλοῖον περὶ σεῦ βουλευσῶνται, Dem. 1442. 11, Ar. Rhod. 2. 1020. So ἕτερος, ἀλλότριος.]

390 θανόντι: synchronous with πέσοι. See Cho. 124 (n.) and add Ag. 957 φυλλὰς ἵκετ' ἐς δόμους | σκιὰν ὑπερτείνουσα.

391 sq. τῷ τοι φέροντι: φέροντι is emphatic.—ὀρθῶς = 'with true interpretation'; ἐνδίκως = 'with just interpretation.' For the former cf. Soph. Ant. 99 ἀνους μὲν ἐρχη τοῖς φίλοις δ' ὀρθῶς φίλη (i.e. φίλη in the true sense), Eur. H. F. 56 οἱ δ' ὄντες ὀρθῶς (sc. φίλοι), I. A. 560.

393 καὐτὸς...μαντεύεται: 'and so it is against himself that he is boding thus.' The alteration to the fut. has been due to a misunderstanding of καί.—τήνδ' ὕβριν: contained acc. = τήνδε τὴν ὑβριστικὴν μαντείαν.

394 ἐγὼ δὲ: 'and now for my part.' The use of Τυδεῖ instead of e.g. αὐτῷ has its purpose. 'Against a Tydeus I will set a Melanippus' (one quite as noble, being Ἀστακοῦ τόκον, and otherwise superior).

396 sq. εὐγενῇ τε καὶ κ.τ.λ. For the connection between εὐγένεια and αἰδώς (here αἰσχύνῃ) see Paley's note.—θρόνον is applicable to either a teacher (= καθέδραν in Plat. Prot. 315 c) or a divinity (Eum. 514 ὦ Δίκα, | ὦ θρόνοι τ' Ἐρινύων, ibid. 163 Δίκας θρόνος, Soph. Ant. 854 Δίκας βάθρον). In either case it is the seat of authority: The art. τὸν particularises: 'among authorities he honours that of Modesty.'—καὶ στυγοῦνθ': 'and (consequently) showing (221) hatred of...':

fall upon his eyes in death, 'tis to the bearer that this arrogant device might answer to its name with truth and justice, and so his insolent presaging is against himself. For my part, against a Tydeus I will post this doughty son of Astacus for champion of the portals. Right noble is he, and one who reveres the throne of Modesty and abhors presumptuous speech. His rule is to be slow to deeds unseemly, and yet no weakling. A young shoot sprung from the Sown men whom Ares spared, and son of our soil indeed, is Melanippus.

For the achievement, Ares will decide it with his dice; but of a surety the Justice of kindred blood sends him with charge to fend off the foeman's spear from the mother who gave him birth.

[MELANIPPUS *departs (to left)*].

μαντεύεται m. ↓.

394 M has a paragraphus before the line.

401 "Αρεως

schol. (q.v.).

402 δμαίων M. m' has written δ nearly over the first μ (i.e. ὁ δαίμων, whence δίκη δ' Turneb.).

cf. Pind. *P.* 4. 284 ἐμαθε δ' ὑβρίζοντα μαιεῖν.

398 αἰσχροῦν γάρ κ.τ.λ.: 'yes, it is his mind to be slow to deeds of shame, but (yet) no coward.' It should perhaps hardly be necessary to point out that the construction is φιλεῖ αἰσχροῦν (μὲν) ἀργὸς εἶναι, μὴ κακὸς δέ, otherwise οὐ would be required for μὴ.—κακὸς with the sense of *e.g.* Eur. *I. A.* 1012 κακὸς γάρ ἐστι καὶ λαὸν ταρβεί.

399 σπαρτῶν... ἐφέστατο. Of the Sparti, sprung from the serpent's teeth sown by Cadmus (Apollodor. 3. 4. 1, Eur. *Phoen.* 657), there were five survivors, who assisted Cadmus in founding Thebes and became the ancestors of the Theban nobility. Cf. Eur. *H. F.* 4 ἐνθ' ὁ γηγενὴς | σπαρτῶν στάχυσ ἐβλασταν, ὧν γένους Ἄρης | ἔσωσ' ἀριθμὸν ὀλίγον, οἱ Κάδμου πόλιν | τεκνοῦσι παίδων παισίν, 794, &c. See Intro. § 7.

400 ῥίζωμ': cf. ἔρνος, ὄζος, θάλος.—κάρτα δ' ἐστ' ἐγχώριος: 'he is in very truth a man of the soil (χώρα),' being earthborn. This use of κάρτα in playing upon words, i.e. where a novel interpretation is emphasised, is frequent (cf. 402, 923 κάρτα δ' εἰς' δμαίμοι). Two of the five Sparti bore the appropriate names Χθόνιος and Οὐδαίος.

401 ἔργον δ' ἐν κύβοις κ.τ.λ. At no time will Eteocles boast or assume victory (even in v. 389 he will only say τάχ' ἂν γένοιτο). See note to 549. It is in this respect that he differs from the enemy

and therefore has an advantage over them. He will send Melanippus, and with Mel. will go Right at least; but, as for the actual result, he will assert nothing. With the thought cf. Soph. *Ant.* 328 τοῦτο γὰρ τύχη κρινεῖ, Pind. *I.* 4. 11 κρίνεται δ' ἀλλὰ διὰ δαίμονας ἀνδρῶν, Bacchyl. 17. 45 πρόσθε χειρῶν βίαν | δέξομεν· τὰ δ' ἐπίοντα δαίμων κρινεῖ, Shak. *K. L.* 3. 7. 80 Come on, and take the chance of anger. There is emphasis upon ἐν κύβοις as well as on Ἄρης, since (Bacchyl. 5. 129) οὐ γὰρ | ... Ἄρης | κρίνει φίλον ἐν πολέμῳ, | τυφλὰ δ' ἐκ χειρῶν βέλη | ψυχὰς ἐπι δυσμενέων φοιτᾷ θάνατον τε φέρε | τοῖσιν ἂν δαίμων θέλη. Ares is ἀλλοπρόσαλλος and τυφλός. For the dice of war cf. [Eur.] *Rhes.* 183 ψυχὴν προβάλλοντ' ἐν κύβοις δαίμονος, 446 ῥίπτεις κυβέων τὸν πρὸς Ἀργείους Ἄρη.—ἔργον is the fight and its result. According to Pausanias Mel. slew Tydeus and was himself slain by Amphiarus.

402 δμαίων κάρτα: cf. 400: 'the Justice of blood-connection indeed' (explained by τεκούση μητρὶ). He is a child of the land in no merely metaphorical sense.—Δίκη is the embodiment of the fitness of things and Δίκη... δμαίων corresponds to *e.g.* Zeus Ὀμόνιος, Φίλιος &c.—νιν προστέλλεται: he bears her commission. [κάρτα might otherwise be taken with the whole clause as signifying, 'there can be no doubt that Δίκη goes with him, whatever Ares may do.']

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. τὸν ἄμόν νυν ἀντίπαλον εὐτυχεῖν
θεοὶ δοῖεν, ὥς δικαίως πόλεως
πρόμαχος ὄρνυται· τρέμω δ' αἵματη-
φόρους μόρους ὑπὲρ φίλων
ὀλομένων ἰδέσθαι.

405

ΑΓ. τούτῳ μὲν οὕτως εὐτυχεῖν δοῖεν θεοί·
Καπανεὺς δ' ἐπ' Ἠλέκτραισιν εἵληχεν πύλαις,
γίγας ὃδ' ἄλλος τοῦ πάρος λελεγμένου
μείζων, ὃ κόμπος δ' οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονεῖ,
πύργους δ' ἀπειλεῖ δειν', ἃ μὴ κραίνοι τύχη·

410

404 ἄμόν M, ἄμόν M^a. ψ. νῦν M.
Heimsoeth is not required for metre.

405 δίκαιος Porson. διὰ δίκας of
406 πρόμαχος M, corr. m'. M divides

404 sqq. It should be noted, in each of the lyrical comments of the Chorus, that it takes up the words or thought of the last speaker (e.g. in *δικαίως* after *Δίκη κ.τ.λ.*). Hence *νυν*. Eteocles has said that Ares will decide with dice: 'it lies with the Gods.' The Chorus responds 'Well, may the Gods grant that it be *our* champion who wins.'—*εὐτυχεῖν δοῖεν* refers to the expression in v. 401.—*τὸν ἄμόν* bears more emphasis than *ἄμόν* alone ('ours, not theirs').—*ἀντίπαλον* is not strictly=*πρόμαχον*, but describes him relatively to the contest itself, 'the opponent on our side.'—[*ἄμόν* is originally more correct than *ἄμόν*, since the spiritus asper only comes into *ἡμεῖς*, *ἡμέτερος* from *ὑμεῖς*, *ὑμέτερος*. Brugmann *Gk. Gr.* § 291. But *ἄμόν* appears to have been universally established before the date of tragedy. Kühner-Blass³ I. p. 602.]

405 *ὡς=οὕτως ὡς*: '(in the same way) as he sets forth with right on his side.' We might also treat *ὡς* as=*ὅτι οὕτως* (cf. 83), but should not regard it as=*ἐπεὶ*.

406 sq. *τρέμω κ.τ.λ.* The construction is *τρέμω ἰδέσθαι μόρους ὀλομένων ὑπὲρ φίλων* ('perishing on behalf of their dear ones'). The order is rather awkward through this juxtaposition of two genitives not in agreement. For a similar disregard of possible ambiguity cf. 424 *καὶ τῷδε κέρδει κέρδος ἄλλο τίκτεται*, 1016 (n.). But the phrase *ὀλέσθαι ὑπὲρ φίλων* was so well recognised that a Greek hearer could hardly be misled. It is scarcely correct to say that *ὀλομένων* stands for *τῶν ὀλο-*

μένων. It is rather *τινῶν* (= *ἦν τινες ὀλωνται*). Cf. *Cho.* 360 (n.) and add *Ag.* 39 *μαθοῦσιν αὐτῷ κοῦ μαθοῦσι λήθομαι*, *fr. adesp.* 414. 2 *καὶ πρὸς παθόντων κὰν κακοῖσι κειμένων | σοφὴ κέκλημαι*.—*τρέμω ... ἰδέσθαι*: not 'I shudder at seeing,' but 'with fear to see.' See note to 707 *πέφρικα τὰν...θεὸν...τελέσαι*.—*αἵματηφόρους*: active; 'bringing blood.' The Chorus of females shrinks from the sight or thought of blood. *μόροι* have various forms, not necessarily including bloodshed, and the adj. defines *μόρους* with a visualisation.

409 *οὕτως*: 'as you say.' Their own words *εὐτυχεῖν δοῖεν θεοί* are repeated with solemn emphasis.

410 *Καπανεὺς*: cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 180 sqq., 1129 sqq. and contrast the character given in Eur. *Suppl.* 862 sqq. The name was readily associated in the Greek mind with *καπνὸς* in the sense of 'boaster' (so Paley *Introd. Eur.* p. xxxii.). A play upon the words occurs in Eur. *Suppl.* 496 *Καπανεὺς κεραῦνιον | δέμας καπνοῦται*. See further the note on 427 sqq. From the present and similar passages (taken from the epic) the name Capaneus became proverbial for a climber on a ladder. See the passage (from Aristoph.) in Ath. 238 c (where for *ἀναβῆναι τι πρὸς | κλιμάκιον Καπανεὺς* we should perhaps read *ἀναβῆναι τι πρὸς | <ὕψος> ἐν κλιμακίδι*).

ἐπ' Ἠλέκτραισιν: *Introd.* § 16. There is no intended implication that these gates are next to the *Πρωιτίδες*; but Capaneus comes second in the lots, and,

CHO. May the gods grant that ours be the man who wins, ^{1st} for 'tis with justice he sets forth to champion the land! Yet ^{strophe.} I shudder from fear to see the bloody deaths of men slain for their kin.

SCOUT. For him, e'en so! May the gods grant he win!

At the Electrae gates Capaneus hath his lot; another Giant this, greater than he last reckoned. His boast is proud, too proud for man, and at the walls he hurls dread threats, which may the event not crown. For, 'with the will of Heaven or

with τρέμω | δ' αἵματηφόρους μόρους | ὑπὲρ κ.τ.λ.
δοίεν M, with B'A' over the two words respectively (m).
κράνοι m'.

409 τούτων M^a. θεοί

413 κραίνου M,

when he is named, his gate is named also. For the condensed expression (=εἰληχεν ὥστε ἐπ' ἥλ. στήναι) see 363 (n.).

411 γίγας ὅδ' ἄλλος κ.τ.λ.: commonly taken as 'a giant, in this case...' according to the common idiom of ἄλλος seen in e.g. Eur. *Ion* 161 ὅδε πρὸς θυμέλας ἄλλος ἐρέσσει | κύκνος (after mention of an eagle), *Cho.* 187 (n.), Xen. *An.* 1. 5. 5 οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον. This rendering is due to a false interpretation of γίγας as denoting size. It appears to have been mentioned in the original *Thebais* that Tydeus was short of stature (so Hom. *Il.* 5. 801 Τυδεύς τοι μικρὸς μὲν ἔην δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητής). Sturdy strength in short men is remarked upon also in Pind. *I.* 3. 67 sqq. οὐ γὰρ φύσιν Ὀαριωνέαν ἔλαχεν (sc. Melissus) | ...καίτοι πότ' Ἀνταλον δόμου | Θηβῶν ἀπὸ Καδμειᾶν μορφῶν βραχύς, ψυχὰν δ' ἄκαμπτos κ.τ.λ. (viz. Heracles). Doubtless therefore Capaneus was μείζων even in this sense, which may very well be glanced at. But the true meaning of γίγας is that of a blustering opponent of the Olympians. So here 'another Gigas, greater than the one already counted.' μείζων γίγας is to be understood exactly as in the English, i.e. 'a greater Giant'='a' more pronounced Giant.' Capaneus is worse than Tydeus in his wild conduct and disregard of the gods, particularly in disputing the supremacy of Ζεὺς Γιγαντολέτωρ (Luc. *Tim.* 4). Such a sense of μέγας deserves a more frank recognition. Cf. *inf.* 560 μέγιστον...διδάσκαλον, 598 μέγας προφήτης, Ath. 352 A πρὸς τὸν ἐπαυοῦντα, ἵνα λάβῃ τι, αὐτὸς ἔφη μείζων εἶναι πτωχός, Soph. *Ph.* 586 φίλος μέγιστος, *Aj.* 1331, *El.* 46 μέγιστος δορυξένων, Aeschin. *Tim.* 22 (68), Eur. *fr.* 692 τοῖς μὲν δίκαιοις

ἐνδίκος, τοῖς δ' αὖτε κακοῖς | πάντων μέγιστος πολέμιος. It is a mistake to alter Eur. *H. F.* 341 σὺ δ' ἥσθ' ἄρ' ἥσσαν ἢ δόκει εἶναι φίλος το ἥσσαν. Similarly *Andr.* 86 Ἐρμιόνη γὰρ οὐ σμικρὰ φύλαξ.

The salient characteristic of the Γιγάντες was ὕβρις or ἀτασθαλία: cf. Bacchyl. 15. 62 κείνα (sc. ὕβρις) καὶ ὑπερφιάλους | γὰς παῖδας ὤλεσσαν Γιγάντας, Hom. *Od.* 7. 206 ἀγρία φύλα Γιγάντων (with mention of the Cyclopes, of whom it is said in 9. 275 οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰγιόχου ἀλέγουσιν, | οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων), Eur. *Bacch.* 541 ἀγριωπὸν τέρας, οὐ φῶτα βρότειον, | φόνιον δ' ὥστε γίγαντ' ἀντίπαλον θεοῖς (with reference to the impiety of Pentheus and his descent from the serpent's teeth), *ibid.* 995 τὸν ἄθεον ἀνομον...γόνον γηγενή, Shak. *Hamlet* 4. 5. 99 *What is the cause, Laertes, | That thy rebellion looks so giant-like?* The association of Capaneus with the Giants in this sense was apparently in the epic: cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1130 ἀσπίδος τύποις ἐπὶν | γίγας ἐπ' ὤμοις γηγενῆς ὄλην πόλιν | φέρον, Pseud.-Hom. *Batrachom.* 282 ὦ ποτε καὶ Καπανηῖα κατέκτανες ὄβριμον ἄνδρα | καὶ μέγαν Ἐγκέλαδον καὶ ἀγρία φύλα Γιγάντων.—λελεγμένου: not simply=εἰρημένου, but 'told' (=reckoned, counted).

412 ὁ κόμπος: 'the vaunt (in this case),' the article implying that some vaunting emblem is presupposed.—οὐ κατ' ἀνθρώπων: Tydeus had been arrogant, but not, like Capaneus, flatly impious.

413 πύργους...ἀπειλεῖ: he literally addresses the defences. The emphatic word is δαίν', 'monstrous.'—τύχη may be either 'the event' (or 'success,' τὸ τυχεῖν) or the personified *Fortuna*.

θεοῦ τε γὰρ θέλοντος ἐκπέρσειν πόλιν
καὶ μὴ θέλοντος φησίν, οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς
ἔριν πέδῳ σκήψασαν ἐμποδὼν σχέθειν.
τὰς δ' ἀστραπὰς τε καὶ κεραυνίους βολὰς
μεσημβρινοῖσιν θάλπεσιν προσήκασεν.
ἔχει δὲ σῆμα γυμνὸν ἄνδρα πυρφόρον,
φλέγει δὲ λαμπὰς διὰ χερῶν ὥπλισμένη·
χρυσοῖς δὲ φωνεῖ γράμμασιν “πρήσω πόλιν.”
τοιῷδε φωτὶ πέμπε—τίς ξυστήσεται;
τίς ἄνδρα κομπάσαντα μὴ τρέσας μενεῖ;

415

420

415 sq. The text is sound, but has been vitiated by ‘emendation’ to *σχεθεῖν* (cf. 75 c.n.), whence *οὐδ’ ἂν τὴν* Hirschig, *οὐδέ τᾶν* Meineke, *οὐδ’ ἔτ’ ἂν* (*ed. previously). Other changes have been more violent. *ἔριν* <*ἂν*> is not Aeschylean metre. ↓.

414 θεοῦ τε γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The epic contained this: cf. Eur. *Supp.* 498 ὤμοσεν πόλιν | πέρσειν θεοῦ θέλοντος ἣν τε μὴ θέλῃ. The expression as in *Cycl.* 331 *κᾶν θέλῃ κᾶν μὴ θέλῃ*. The stress on θεοῦ must not be overlooked.

415 sq. οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς...σχεθεῖν. The common reading is *σχεθεῖν*: cf. 75 (n.). It is this substitution of the aor. which has caused all the trouble of the passage. Capaneus, using the generic, or anticipatory vivid, present, would say οὐδ’ ἡ Διὸς ἔρις με ἴσχει (ἐπέχει): ‘the opposition of Zeus is no hindrance to me.’ Such a use of the pres. is favoured by Aesch. (cf. *P. V.* 183, 793, *Cho.* 548 n.).—Διὸς is emphatic, and the word *ἔριν* places Zeus in the position of a baffled antagonist. It would be too strong, even for Capaneus, to say τὸν Δία εἰς ἔριν πέδῳ σκήψαντα, but the text differs from that sense only in so far as it keeps in the background an actual appearance of Zeus in person. The shape which his *ἔρις* would take is naturally that of the thunderbolt, and Aesch. is thinking of e.g. Hom. *Il.* 8. 133 βροντήσας δ’ ἄρα δεινὸν ἀφήκ’ ἀργήτα κεραυνόν, | καὶ δὲ πρόσθ’ ἵππων Διομήδεος ἦκε χαμάζε. That this particular form of vaunt also appeared in the epic is seen from the almost identical Καπανεύς...ἐκόμπασε | μηδ’ ἂν τὸ σεμνὸν πῦρ νιν εἰργαθεῖν Διὸς of Eur. *Phoen.* 1175.—πέδῳ for the needlessness of πέδοι see *Cho.* 47 (n.). In Soph. *El.* 747 πῖπτοντος πέδῳ should also be retained.

[The grammar is indefensible if *σχεθεῖν* is read. Though it is easy to suggest οὐδ’ ἔτ’ ἂν or (with Meineke) οὐδέ τᾶν (τᾶν

becoming τὴν for obvious reasons) there is no probability in such conjectures. The article is effective and necessary: ‘not even the (great) opposition of Zeus (itself)’; cf. Shak. *K. L.* 3. 7. 67 *the winged vengeance*. Nor can we read *ἔριν* <*ἂν*> πέδῳ κ.τ.λ. since Aesch. does not break in this way an anapaestic first foot. Such a severance occurs once or twice in Euripides, but is obviously more natural where the anapaest is formed by a prepos. and its case, or by e.g. *ἵνα μὴ* (Eur. *fr.* 953. 21). In Eur. *fr.* 112. 2 λάλος ἐστὶν οὗτος· οὐκ ἐρωτῶνιν λέγει the true reading is perhaps λάλος τις οὗτος κ.τ.λ., and in Soph. *fr.* 356 ταχὺ δ’ αὐτὸ δείξει τοῦργον it is better to read τάχ’ αὐτὸ κ.τ.λ. For *σχεθεῖν* without *ἂν* we shall not find a true parallel among any of the certain instances quoted (e.g. Goodwin *M. & T.* § 127) for a *verbum declarandi* followed by an aor. as a quasi-future. In most of the uncertain instances we have either the common corruption -σασθαι, -σαι for -σασθαι, -σειν, or else an obvious ground for suspecting loss of *ἂν*. Manifestly by no means parallel are (a) the cases in which εἰπεῖν, λέγω, or φημί may mean ‘bid’ (see *Cho.* 143 n.), among which should be included oracular utterances, which order rather than announce, e.g. Eur. *Ion* 534—536, *P. V.* 694 βάξας ἤλθεν Ἰνάχῃ... | κεῖ μὴ θέλοι, πυρῶν ἐκ Διὸς μολεῖν | κεραυνόν (where the ingenious πυρῶν’ ἂν of Sikes and Willson is not needed), (b) the cases of gnomic aor. (as in Soph. *Aj.* 1082, Goodwin *M. & T.* § 159), (c) the cases in which φημί = κατὰ-φημι (αἰνῶ), ‘consent,’ e.g. Theoc. 27. 59 φῆς μοι πάντα δόμεν after ἄλλην ἀμπε-

without,' he vows, 'I will lay waste the town; nor doth it stay me, though Zeus cast on the ground his hindrance in my path.' Lightning-flashes and the strikings of thunderbolts he likened to sun-heat at midday. For device he carries a firebearer, armourless, in whose grip for weapon is a blazing torch, and in letters of gold he speaks: 'I will fire the town.' Against such a champion send—Who will stand to meet him? Who will abide a man, undaunted by all his boasts?

416 πέδοι Dind. ↓. ἐκ ποδῶν rec. (in the form ἐκ ποδῶν).

Herwerden. ↓. 422 In πέμπε the final ε is made by m'.
σαντα M, with ζον over σαν (m'). ↓

420 ὤπλισμένω

423 κομπά-

χόνην τῆς σῆς τοι μείζονα δώσω, or in which δμννμι (a word to the same purpose) is used (Hom. *Od.* 4. 253). In Soph. *Ph.* 1329 ἰσθι...ἐντυχεῖν was emended by Porson (ἀν τυχεῖν). See also Jebb on Soph. *El.* 442 (Append.). Two instances are left, viz. Eur. *Or.* 1527 μῶρος, εἰ δοκεῖς με τλῆναι σὴν καθαιμάξαι δέρην, where δοκεῖς = προσδοκᾷς, and Hom. *Il.* 13. 666 πολλὰκι γάρ οἱ εἶπε γέρων ἀγαθὸς Πολύιδος | νοῦσ' ὅπ' ἀργαλὴ φθίσθαι οἷς ἐν μεγάροισιν | ἦ μετ' Ἀχαιῶν νησὶν ὑπὸ Τρώεσσι δαμῆναι, where εἶπε is virtually a verb of bidding to make a choice.]

417 sq. τὰς δ' ἀστραπάς: the article is contemptuous generic, as in 385 (n).—μυσημβρινοῖσιν κ.τ.λ.: i.e. he declared that they were no worse than the sun at his hottest. The notion is made the easier to the Greek from the use of βολὰς of the sun also: cf. Ap. Rhod. 1. 607 ἡελίοιο βολαί. That ἀκτινοβολία itself is a weapon of the gods appears from e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 780 F νεμεσᾷ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀπομιμουμένοις βροντὰς καὶ κεραυνοὺς καὶ ἀκτινοβολίας. Aeschylus would almost certainly derive this matter from the epic.—προσηκασεν: the tense refers to the time when he was heard to make the assertion of 414 sqq.

419 γυμνόν: 'without armour' (in contempt of the enemy).—πυρφόρον can hardly be simply identical with πῦρ φέροντα, but is a title of an occupation, e.g. of the official πυρφόρος of an army (Hdt. 8. 6, Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 13. 2). The combination ἀνδρα πυρφόρον is like that of ἀνδρα ἱατρόν, αἰοιδόν &c. For the reply to this device see 431. In Eur. *Phoen.* 1121 it is Tydeus who has upon his shield Prometheus bearing a torch ὡς πρήσων πόδιω.

420 διὰ χερῶν: i.e. in the emblem; you will see it in his hands. The sense

is virtually 'and what he bears (as weapon) in his hands is a torch.' The plural χερῶν should signify that the heavy torch requires a use of both hands. It can scarcely mean (with the sing. λαμπάς and without more help) that he has a torch in each hand, although torch-bearers are sometimes so represented. In Eur. *Bacch.* 732 θύρσοις διὰ χερῶν ὤπλισμένοι the plur. naturally refers to the several persons. When Zeus holds his thunderbolt (500) it is διὰ χερῶς.

421 χρυσοῖς...γράμμασιν: the letters are seen issuing from the mouth, as in mediaeval and Renaissance pictures: so 633. For the work on shields see *Introd.* p. lii. The riches of the Achaeans of Argos (cf. πολύχρυσοι of Mycenae) may have been dwelt upon in the epic: cf. Soph. *Ant.* 130 χρυσοῦ καναχῆς ὑπεροπλίας.

423 κομπάσαντα: synchronous with τρέσας: 'having felt no fear on hearing him boast...' ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκόμπασεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτρεσεν ἐκείνους would become τὸν ἀνδρα κομπάσαντα οὐκ ἔτρεσεν. Not 'the man who has (now) made this boast,' a meaning for which the Greek is too curt and which is less vigorous in the picture. The use of μὴ calls for note. οὐ could not be substituted, since τίς...οὐ τρέσας μενεῖ; would suggest the customary use of τίς οὐ as = πᾶς τις, i.e. the sense would naturally be 'who will await him and not turn coward?' (with implied answer οὐδεὶς), otherwise expressed by πᾶς τις τρέσειεν ἂν μένων. On the other hand μὴ cannot be the same as in generic expressions with the article (τίς ὁ μὴ τρέσας); it is due to the sense, which is that of a wish, εἴθε τις μένοι, or an injunction, μενέτω τις. This would have been more obvious if τίς ἂν μένοι; had been substituted for its equivalent τίς μενεῖ; Cf. Hdt. 3. 127 τίς ἂν μοι τοῦτο

ΕΤ. καὶ τῷδε κέρδει κέρδος ἄλλο τίκτεται.

τῶν τοι ματαίων ἀνδράσιν φρονημάτων

425

ἢ γλῶσσε' ἀληθῆς γίγνεται κατήγορος.

Καπανεὺς δ' ἀπειλεῖ δρᾶν παρεσκευασμένος

θεοὺς ἀτίζων, κάπογυμνάζων στόμα

χαρᾷ ματαία θνητὸς ὦν ἐς οὐρανὸν

430

πέμπει γεγωνὰ Ζηνὶ κυμαίνοντ' ἔπη.

πέποιθα δ' αὐτῷ ξὺν δίκῃ τὸν πυρφόρον

ἥξειν κεραυνόν, οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένον

μεσημβρινοῖσιν θάλπεσιν τοῖς ἡλίου.

424 The person-sign comes from *m'*. *κάν* τῷδε Hartung, καὶ τῷδε κόμπω Keck. †.

425 ἀνδράσι *M.* 426 γλῶτ' *M.* γλῶττ' *m.* γίνεται *M.* 427 παρεσκευασμένος *M*^a

ἐπιτελέσειε σοφίῃ καὶ μὴ βίῃ τε καὶ ὀμλῃ;
(=ἐπιτελεσάτω τις), Xen. *Mem.* 3. 1. 10
τί οὖν οὐ σκοποῦμεν πῶς ἂν αὐτῶν μὴ
διαμαρτάνοιμεν; (=μὴ διαμαρτάνωμεν put
indirectly). Briefly put, since *τίς* *μενεῖ*;
is one form of bidding (=μενέτω τις), we
may substitute *τίς* *μενεῖ* μὴ *τρέσας*; for
μενέτω *τίς* μὴ *τρέσας*.

τρέσας: 'turning coward,' still retained
some of its Homeric sense of running
away (*Il.* 11. 744 αὐτὰρ μεγάλθυμοι Ἐπειοὶ |
ἔτρεσαν ἄλλυδις ἄλλος). Cf. *Plut. Mor.*
191 C μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην,
πάντας τοὺς τρέσαντας κ.τ.λ. With *μενεῖ*
cf. 34, Eur. *H. F.* 163 δὲ μένων βλέπει τε
κάντιδέκεται, and *μενεδῆμος*, *μενεπτόλεμος*,
μεναίχμης &c.

424 καὶ τῷδε: 'in his case, again,'
quod ad hunc attinet (Blomfield). The
separation of this dat. of reference from
the juxtaposed *κέρδει* (cf. 407 (n.), 1016
(n.)) is made the easier by the frequency
of such a combination as *κέρδει κέρδος*.
Cf. *Soph. El.* 235 μὴ τίκτειν σ' ἅπαν
ἄταις, Eur. *Or.* 1257 πῆματα πῆμασιν
ἐξεύρη, with Aesch. *Ag.* 1338, *Sympl.*
452 sqq., *Soph. O. T.* 175 ἄλλον δ' ἂν
ἄλλω προσίδοις... ὀρμενον.—*ἄλλο*: 'further.'
The previous impious conduct of Tydeus
was one *κέρδος*: here 'further' is a gain
added to that gain.—*τίκτεται*: with the
notion of *τόκος* 'interest.' Our advantage
grows the greater, like money at interest,
as we proceed from Tydeus to Capaneus.

425 sq. τῶν τοι κ.τ.λ. The gnomic
character of these lines appears from *τοι*,
from the use of the articles, and from
the addition of *ἀνδράσιν*, which often
marks such utterances (cf. *Cho.* 532 οὗτοι
μάταιον ἀνδρὸς ὕψανον πέλει). The sense
is determined by that emphasis on

ματαίων which is indicated by its peculiar
position: 'when a man is frenzied,
his tongue can be trusted to accuse his
thoughts,' i.e. the use of language to 'con-
ceal thought' occurs only when there is
sanity enough for caution. When men
are reckless the tongue betrays their
moods and proud thoughts (*φρονημάτων*);
it is then that out of the fulness of the
heart the mouth speaketh. *μάταιος* (like
μάτην) is used of the absence of (1) truth,
(2) wisdom, (3) effect, although these senses
are not always separable in the Greek
consciousness. See note on *Cho.* 845.
In the meaning of mad folly, cf. *inf.* 429,
Cho. 287, *Ag.* 1148, *Ar. Pac.* 95 τί *μάτην*
οὐχ ὑγιαίνεις; *Soph. Aj.* 635 ὁ νοσῶν
μάταν. In *Soph. Ant.* 1339 ἄγοιτ' ἂν
μάταιον ἄνδρ' ἐκποδὸν the notion is of
'rash folly' (Jebb), Eur. *I. T.* 275 ἄλλος
δὲ *τις* *μάταιος*, ἀνομία θρασύς, | ἐγέλασεν
εὐχαῖς.

427 sqq. Καπανεὺς δ' κ.τ.λ. The
thought continues 'and Capaneus is
frenzied, and means what he professes.
He is prepared to act, when he flouts the
gods.'—*δρᾶν* is emphatic, and implies the
usual antithesis of *λόγος* and *ἔργον*. Ca-
paneus is not a *καπνός* in this instance.
In further illustration of *καπνός* cf. schol.
on *Ar. Av.* 823 ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Καπνός, ὅτι
πολλὰ ὑπισχνούμενος οὐδὲν ἐτέλει, *Ar.*
Vesp. 323 ἀλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ, Ζεῦ, μέγα βροντή-
σας | ἦ με πόησον καπνὸν ἐξαίφνης, | ἦ
Προξενίδην, while the *Proxenides* in ques-
tion is called (*Av.* 1126) ὁ Κομπασεύς.
That the phrase was not below tragic
regard appears from Eur. *Hipp.* 954 πολ-
λῶν γραμμάτων τιμῶν καπνός.

θεοὺς is stressed, defining the particular
nature of his wild folly (*ματαίων*). In

ΕΤ. Here too is gain on gain with interest. When madness swells men's thoughts, the tongue proves true accuser. When Capaneus speaks threats, he is prepared for deeds in setting the Gods at naught. It is with a madman's glee that he tries his mouth's full strength and sends to heaven—mortal though he is—his message of swelling words to reach the ear of Zeus. To him, I trow, will come fit answer—that firebearer the thunderbolt, shaped to no likeness with the midday hotness of the sun.

(with ε superscr.). Alterations of the line (e.g. Dindorf's ἀπειλεῖ πᾶν παρεσκευασμένος | δρᾶν, θεοὺς) are due to failure to interpret. †. 430 γεγωνῶ M, γεγωνῶ m. Corr. Brunck. 431 πυρφόρων M, corr. rec. πυρπνόν (Blomfield) spoils a point. †.

construction θεοὺς ἀτίζων should be joined to the preceding words, while a new clause begins with κάπογυμνάζων.

428 sqq. κάπογυμνάζων κ.τ.λ., lit. 'and, trying the full strength of his mouth with infatuated glee, he, though a mortal, sends to heaven, reaching to the ear of Zeus, swelling words.'—χαρὰ ματαῖα is a powerful expression for the well-known joy and self-approval of the madman in an insane and disastrous act, like that of Herakles in *Hercules Furens*. On the whole the words go best with ἀπογυμνάζων στόμα.—ἀπογυμνάζων: putting it to the fullest test as to what it can do in the way of blasphemy. Cf. *Cho.* 716 στομάτων...ισχύς.—στόμα is sarcastic; usually it is σῶμα that ἀπογυμνάζεται. Capaneus is ready to act, but, after all, he is only as yet trying what his mouth can do; what he will actually do ἐν ἔργῳ remains to be seen (431).

429 sq. ἐς οὐρανὸν πέμπει. The notion is of a challenge or ultimatum, πέμπειν being the term used when sovereign sends to sovereign. Hence the point of the antithesis in θνητὸς ὦν ἐς οὐρανόν: he 'treats with heaven' in this style. There is of course present also the sense of Capaneus shouting his loudest (οὐράνιον). Nor must we forget the use of πέμπειν in connection with thanks, prayers and offerings (Terpander *fr.* 1. 3 Ζεῦ, σοὶ πέμπω ταῦτα θυμῷ ἀρχάν). Instead of prayers Capaneus 'sends' insults. Cf. *Patrocles fr.* 1. 3 τί δῆτα θνητοὶ πόλλ' ἀπειλοῦμεν μάτην | δεινούς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι πέμποντες λόγους;

γεγωνῶ Ζηνί: to be joined. γέγωνα and its adj. express distinctness of a far-carrying voice. Cf. *Ath.* 632 Ε γεγωνότερον δ' ἐφέγγερον, ὡς πάντας ἀκούει, *ibid.* 450 F (from Antiphanes) βοῇν ἰσθῆσι γεγωνῶν | καὶ διὰ πόρτιον οἶμα καὶ ἡπείρου

διὰ πάσης, *Hom. Od.* 9.473 ὅσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας, *Eur. Or.* 1220.—κυμαίνοντ': a metaphor from a swelling sea, used of passion and pride: cf. *Plut. Mor.* 713 Ε κυμαίνοντι καὶ κορυσσομένῳ πρὸς ἔριω ἢ φιλονικίαν, 754 C μόλις...τὸ φρύαγμα καὶ τὴν ὕβριν ἀφίησι, ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ κυμαίνει.

431 πέποιθα: 37 (n.).—ξύν δίκη: not merely 'justly', but 'aptly', 'fitly', i.e. since he has adopted his vaunting device of a πυρφόρος, he may look for the great (τόν) πυρφόρον. The sense in δίκη is logical rather than ethical. So πρὸς δίκην (*Cho.* 883). See note *inf.* 584 (δικαιον). Less well ξὺν Δίκη (like ξὺν θεοῖς). The punishment of the boaster will be by the thunderbolt, as in the case of Salmeoneus and in *Hes. Th.* 514 ὕβριστήν δὲ Μενoitιον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς | εἰς Ἐρεβος κατέπεμψε βαλὼν ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ | εἵνεκ' ἀτασθαλῆς τε καὶ ἡγορέης ὑπερόπλου. But in this instance there is a special appropriateness. With lightning (the original 'fire-bearer') the epithet πυρφόρος had a special connection: cf. *Pind. N.* 10. 71 πυρφόρον...ψολόεντα κεραυνόν, *Soph. O.T.* 200 τᾶν πυρφόρων ἀστραπᾶν κράτη, *Ph.* 1198 πυρφόρος ἀστεροπητής. The fate of Capaneus is described in *Soph. Ant.* 131, when Zeus παλτῷ ῥίπτει πυρὶ βαλβίδων | ἐπ' ἀκρων ἤδη | νίκην ὀρμῶντ' ἀλαλάξαι· | ἀντιτύπα δ' ἐπὶ γῆ πέσε τανταλωθεῖς | πυρφόρος.—κεραυνός is of course personified.

432 sq. οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένον κ.τ.λ.: 'in no wise changed (from its nature) to resemble the midday heat of the sun.' Capaneus τὰς κεραυνούς βολὰς προσήκασεν μεσ. θάλλεσιν. Eteocles replies that κεραυνός will not alter its usual character so as to fit his comparison. For the use of ἐξ: cf. *Cho.* 547 ἐκδρακοντωθεῖς, *Eur. Bacch.* 1330 δάμαρ τε σὴ | ἐκθρημωθεῖς ὄφεος ἀλλάξει τύπον, *Syrph.* 703 λόχος δ' ὀδόντων ὄφεος ἐξηνδρωμένους. [The notion

ἀνὴρ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ, κεῖ στόμ' ἀργός ἐστ' ἄγαν,
 αἰθων τέτακται λῆμα, Πολυφόντου βία,
 φερέγγυον φρούρημα προστατηρίας
 Ἀρτέμιδος εὐνοίαισι σύν τ' ἄλλοις θεοῖς.
 λέγ' ἄλλον ἄλλαις ἐν πύλαις εἰληχότα.

435

ἀντ. α'. ΧΟ. ὅλοιθ' ὅς πόλει μεγάλ' ἐπεύχεται,
 κεραυνοῦ δέ μιν βέλος ἐπισχέθαι,
 πρὶν ἐμὸν ἐσθορεῖν δόμον πωλικῶν θ'
 ἐδωλίων ὑπερκόπῃ
 δορί ποτ' ἐκλαπάξαι.

440

434 στόμαργός M. Corr. * ed. ↓. 435 αἰθων recc. 436 φερέγγυον M, corr. m.
 437 σύν τ' ἄλλων θεῶν Heimsoeth (after rec.) with much probability. The schol.
 (q.v.) had this reading. False grammatical adaptation is frequent in MSS (cf. Ath.
 462 A ὁ ἐν Ἰλλυρίοις τόποις for τόπος, Xen. An. I. 9. 14 καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις ἐτίμα (vulg.)
 for καὶ ἄλλῃ δώροις). 438 ἐν πύλαισι ληχότα M, corr. m. Plato's τὸ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου

of 'thoroughly' is not excluded in such examples.] It is true that in *Ag.* 1243 κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα the sense is 'in no way feigned, wrought up by art,' and hence some editors accept that meaning here and eject the next verse. But all that the Greek explicitly says in the word is 'worked out into a resemblance,' the rest being determined by the context and added in the translation. It is, moreover, a mistake to call the next verse poor or flat. It is, on the contrary, a sarcastic retort to v. 418, and τοῖς ἡλίου, so far from being a lame addition, is emphatic: 'It will be no case of mere sun-heat.' The article is also necessary: 'those of which he spoke' (or 'his'). [It is possible also to render 'in no way adequately represented (as he declares) by the midday heat.']

434 ἀνὴρ δ': i.e. and apart from the help of Zeus, we will post as human champion &c.

κεῖ *στόμ' ἀργός ἐστ': our champion is στόμα μὲν ἀργός, λῆμα δὲ αἰθων. Cf. Soph. Ph. 97 γλώσσαν μὲν ἀργόν, χεῖρα δ' εἶχον ἐργάτιν, inf. 541 ἀνὴρ ἄκομπος, χεῖρ δ' ὄρε' τὸ δράσιμον, sup. 398, Pind. N. 8. 24 ἀγλωσσον μὲν, ἦτορ δ' ἄλκιμον.—στόμαργος of M would of course refer to Capaneus. The word is formed by haplology from *στομό-μαργος (cf. μελανθής), whereas γλώσσαργος is by dissimilation from *γλώσσαλγος (the two words are combined in Eur. Med. 525 τὴν σὴν στόμαργον, ὦ γύναι, γλώσσαλγίαν). But 'even if he is a furious talker' is without

point. We do not pick a champion against a foeman 'even if' the foeman be a loud talker, but we do select one who is gallant of spirit, 'even if' he is no talker. —ἄγαν intends no disparagement. The word either (1) = 'exceedingly' (i.e. 'very'), as in *Eum.* 340 θανὼν δ' οὐκ ἄγαν ἐλεύθερος, or (2) gently deprecates such extreme taciturnity. The trait would be taken from the epic: a silent man, even an over-silent man, but a great fighter.

435 τέτακται: i.e. I have already decided to appoint him; a more spirited way of saying ταχθήσεται or τετάξεται.—Πολυφόντου βία is perhaps not a mere periphrasis or epic borrowing, but deliberately a more complimentary manner of presenting Πολυφόντης, as a power rather than a person.

436 φρούρημα: either (1) in simple apposition for further description, or (2) predicative 'as a trusty defence.' For such verbal neuters used of persons cf. *Cho.* 1000 ξένων ἀπαιδῆμα, *ibid.* 15 (n.), Soph. Ant. 320 λάλημα...ἐκ-πεφυκὸς εἶ.—φερέγγυον: he is such for two reasons (according to the text of M); (a) Ἀρτέμιδος εὐνοίαισι (causal or instrumental), (b) σύν ἄλλοις θεοῖς ('by grace of other gods'), the two causes being connected by τ'.

προστατηρίας. The epic would doubtless explain the special reason why Polyphontes is under the care of Artemis. A schol. states that he was her priest, but we do not know whether this is anything more than a guess. It is perhaps

Against him we have set a man, though passing slow of mouth, fiery of courage, strong Polyphontes, sure guard and safe by grace of protecting Artemis and of other Gods withal. Proceed! Another! and the gate that he hath drawn.

[Exit POLYPHONTES.

CHO. May the loud boaster o'er the land be brought to naught, and may lightning aim the bolt that stops his way, ere he burst into my home and with outrageous spear make waste its maiden bowers!

λέγωμεν ἄλλον ἄλλη πρὸς πόλει τεταγμένον (*Rep.* 550 C) is only 'a playful adaptation' (Adam). Yet Wecklein would force πύλῃ upon Plato. 440 μιν M. The substitution of νιν (Brunck) is unwarranted in lyrics. ↓. Brunck may have more justification in the dialogue trimeter of Soph. *Trach.* 388. 441 sqq. M divides with δδμον | πωλικῶν θ' ἐδωλίων |. 441 πωλικῶν τ' M, corr. rec. 442 ὑπερκόμπω

natural to suppose (with Weil) that the Ἠλεκτραι πύλαι were sacred to her, and that a statue or temple of Artemis stood before it. This is supported by a name Ἠλεκτρῆς given to Selene in *Orphic Hymn* 8. 6 (Weckl.). The notion of connecting Ἠλέκτρα with λέκτρον (for a virgin goddess) was old. Aelian (*V. H.* 4. 26) gives this derivation (= ἄλεκτρος) as from Xanthus, a writer before the time of Stesichorus. The title προστατήριος may, however, be used without such local reference. It is true that θεοὶ προστατήριοι or προστάται are commonly said to be those in front of doors and gateways, and in Soph. *El.* 637 Φοῖβε προστατήριε may be the same deity who would be called Ἀγυεὺ relatively to the street. In Eur. *Hipp.* 70 sqq. Artemis is one of the προθύραιοι θεοὶ of the palace of Theseus, and she is προθυραία in *Orph. Hymn.* 1. 4. But it is plain that the word passed to a wider sense = 'protector' (akin to ἀλεξητήριος, ἀποτρόπαιος), cf. *Corp. Ins. Gr.* 1. 464 (on an altar) ἀγαθὴ τύχη. Ἀπόλλωνι Προστατηρίῳ Ἀποτροπαίῳ Ἀγυεὺ, *Onasl. ap. Dem. Mid.* 52 περὶ ὕμνιας θύει καὶ εὐχεσθαι Διὶ ὑπάτω, Ἡρακλεῖ, Ἀπόλλωνι προστατηρίῳ. At Megara there was a temple of Apollo προστατήριος (Paus. 1. 44. 2). In Attic inscriptions Artemis, when associated with Apollo προστ., is Artemis βουλαία. If we accept the word in this derived sense the plural εὐνοῖαισι would suggest 'favours' displayed on several occasions, or in general. Polyphontes would thus be a favourite of Artemis, and may have dedicated himself to her service, like Hippolytus, though not necessarily for the same reasons. With the plur. cf.

Suppl. 498 τοῖς ἥσσοσιν γὰρ πᾶς τις εὐνοίας φέρει, *Isocr.* 4. 174.

σύν τ' ἄλλοις θεοῖς. The alternative reading σύν τ' ἄλλων θεῶν is very attractive. Cf. 259 (n.) for the natural corruption of the case.

439 ὅς: not generic (ὅστις), but referring definitely to Capaneus.

ἐπεύχεται: 'vaunts over' (while *inf.* 468 the word means 'pray'): cf. Hom. *Il.* 11. 431 δοιοῖσιν ἐπεύξεαι Ἰππασίδην. The same ambiguity exists in the simple εὐχεσθαι: cf. εὐχομαι εἶναι and see *Cho.* 211 (n.).

440 κεραυνού: with stress, i.e. let the weapon which checks him be (not one hurled by man, but) that of the thunderbolt.—μιν. The practice of editors in habitually substituting νιν is arbitrary and indefensible. Cf. *Cho.* 620 (c. n.), 787. A writer like Herondas can use both (Nairn on 3. 31), and there is no reason why tragedians should not.—ἐπισχέθαι looks back to v. 416.

441 sqq. ἐσθροεῖν: with the sense of rude insult (*insultare*) found also in εἰσάλλεσθαι.—πωλικῶν θ' κ.τ.λ. The difficulty of the construction with the ordinary interpretation of ἐκλαπάξαι as 'sack' has caused Hermann to read μ' ὑπερκόμπω and Verrall to take the gen. as depending on the sense of ὑπερ-. But the first meaning of λαπάξαι is 'empty' (cf. 47 n. and Ath. 362 F λαπάξεν τὸ ἐκκενοῦν κ.τ.λ.), connoting destructive violence, and the compound is but the stronger form. In Hom. *Il.* 5. 642 Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ' ἀγυιάς the second clause is an amplification of the first. There is consequently no more awkwardness in δδμον ἐδωλίων ἐκλαπάξαι

ΑΓ. καὶ μὴν τὸν ἐντεῦθεν λαχόντα πρὸς πύλαις
 λέξω. τρίτῳ γὰρ Ἑτεόκλῳ τρίτος πάλος 445
 ἐξ ὑπτίου ᾗδησεν εὐχάλκου κράνους,
 πύλαισι Νηϊστήσιν προσβαλεῖν λόχον.
 ἵππους δ' ἐν ἀμπυκτῆρσιν ἐμβριμωμένας
 δινεῖ θελούσας πρὸς πύλαις πεπτωκέναι·
 φιμοὶ δὲ συρίζουσι βάρβαρον τρόπον 450

M, corr. anon. ὑπερκότῳ Pauw.
 necessary line. ↓.

444

Some editors (after H. Wolf) reject this

446 ᾗδησεν M.

447 πύλαισι νηϊστήσιν M, νηϊτήσιν π. ↓.

than with ἐκκενῶσαι or χηρῶσαι. The sense is 'violently empty the house of its maiden bowers.' A maiden is πῶλος (Eur. *Hipp.* 546) as she is πόρτις, μύσχος or δάμαλις, and ἐδῶλια has something of the sense of *sedes secretae*, as in *Cho.* 69 νυμφικῶν ἐδωλίων. To these chambers αἰδώς is due, but the foe-man's spear is ὑπέροκον and overrides all such respect. When such ἐδῶλια are violated and the maidens torn and ravished from them, the house is said to contain those bowers no longer: it is 'emptied of' them. Even to the translation 'sacked of' there is little more objection than to ἐρημοῦν, ἀμέρδειν, βλάπτειν τινός. For the expression cf. Milton *Sonnet* 3. 9 *Lift not thy spear against the Muses' bower.*

444 καὶ μὴν τὸν ἐντεῦθεν κ.τ.λ. Some editors suspect this line as an interpolation due to a reader who did not understand λέξω. It has been condemned as (1) weak in itself, (2) caesuraless. The latter argument, however, will not hold. See *Cho.* 150 ὑμᾶς δὲ κωνυτοῖς ἐπανθίζειν νόμος (Append., where a score of examples are quoted from Aesch. and fifteen from Soph.). It is not even necessary to assume stress upon ἐντεῦθεν ('next'), although such emphasis is one obvious justification for an unusual but effective rhythm. On the ground of grammar the line is as free from objection as 410, 438; with ἐντεῦθεν λαχόντα cf. Hom. *Il.* 23. 354 μετὰ τὸν δὲ λάχε κρείων Εὐμηλος. For λέξω it should be observed that the Messenger would answer the last speakers, the Chorus (as in 409, 513); he would not ignore their speech and reply to λέγ' of 438, a word which the audience might scarcely remember. The line is therefore necessary, and is no more weak than any other way of saying 'Well, to resume with the next...'

445 sq. τρίτῳ...Ἑτεόκλῳ τρίτος

κ.τ.λ. The separation of τρίτῳ...τρίτος shews that we have not here the same pleonastic formula as in μόνῳ μόνος and the like. The notion is 'Eteoclus is the third to be named (by me), for he was the third to receive his lot, which proved to be the Neistae gates' (cf. 513 sqq.). The lots were placed in a bronze helmet (Hom. *Il.* 3. 316 κλήρους ἐν κυνέῃ χαλκῆρεϊ πάλλον ἐλόντες), which was shaken till one sprang out ('ᾗδησεν'). So *Il.* 23. 353 πᾶλλ' Ἀχιλεὺς, ἐκ δὲ κλήρος θόρε Νέστοριδᾶο, 3. 324 πᾶλλον δ'...Ἐκτωρ | ἄψ' ὀρόων, Πάριος δὲ θοῶς ἐκ κλήρος ὀρουσεν, 7. 182, Verg. *Aen.* 5. 490 convenere viri, delectamque aerea sortem | accepit galea; et primus clamore secundo | Hyrtacidae ante omnes exit locus Hippocoontis. There are three possible ways of managing the matter. (1) Each chieftain might own a κλήρος (e.g. a βῶλος, stone, or potsherd). This would be marked as his (*Il.* 7. 175 κλήρον ἐσημῆραντο ἕκαστος). The seven gates having been previously arranged by numbers, the first κλήρος would take the first gate. (2) The chieftains might advance one at a time and, the lots being marked with the names of the gates, each would receive his gate as it chanced. But it would have been necessary first to decide the order of their coming forward. (3) One helmet may have contained the κλήροι of the men and another the κλήροι of the gates, and, the two being shaken simultaneously, the third man would take the third gate. The last arrangement would suit best with τρίτῳ...τρίτος and would be most in keeping with the extreme caution of Greek *sortitio*.

εὐχάλκου: not strictly 'of goodly bronze' but 'goodly with bronze' (cf. εὐχρυσος). The description would suit a helmet of leather cased with the metal. The passages cited show that a bronze helmet was regularly used for this pur-

SCOUT. Well, I will go on to the next that drew his gate. Third Eteoclus. For him there leaped third from the upturned casque, goodly with bronze, the lot to hurl his troop against the Neistae portal. His mares, fuming and chafing in their forehead-straps, all eager to be dashing against the gate, he turns and turns about, while their muzzles are piping in

Probably *πύλῃσι* also should be restored. 450 M has ζτ in marg., but its reference is not clear. *συνρίζουσι* M^a. *βρόμον* Schütz, *νόμον* Prien, but such changes are

pose, partly because bronze was the ritual metal (see *Cho.* 289 n., Ridgeway *Early Age of Greece* p. 626, Harrison *Prol. Gk. Rel.* 140 sq., Soph. *fr.* 491, Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 19. 9), and partly because the metal receptacle was less liable to tampering while handled. In Soph. *Aj.* 1285 sq. οὐ δραπέτην τὸν κλῆρον ἐς μέσον καθείς, | ... ἀλλ' ὅς εὐλόφον | κυνῆς ἐμελλε πρῶτος ἄλμα κουφιεῖν the epithet is merely picturesque.

For Eteoclus cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 872 sqq.

447 *πύλαισι* *Νηίστησι*. See *Introd.* § 16. The meaning of the name is apparently 'lowest' (Thebes standing on a slope). Cf. *νείατος*, *νήτη* and Hesych. *νήστα* κατώτατα, ἐσχατα. It is very probable that Aesch. wrote *πύλῃσι* *Νηίστησι*. The former word would naturally be altered to a more familiar form, while the latter would be left, inasmuch as the editor or copyist would not be made so fully conscious that it was a first declension dative. See 590 *ναύτησι*, and *Introd.* to *Cho.* pp. ci sq. [M preserves forms in -*ῃσι* at *P. V.* 6, 753, *Pers.* 192, *Eum.* 706. In *Ag.* 659 (where M fails) f gives ἀλλήλῃσι, Soph. *fr.* 598 (as quoted by Aelian *A. A.* 11. 18) αἰσχύνουσιν, and *fr.* 511. 4 (Stob. *Flor.* 59. 3) ἐπὶ ῥοπήσιν. In Aesch. *fr.* 127 (Eustath.) ναύτησιν, Eur. *fr.* 752. 2 (*Et. M.*) πεύκῃσι, *fr. trag. adesp.* 142 (*ap. Dionys. de Comp. Verb.* 17) ἀπὸ νῆσι, 286 (Dion. Laert. and Sex. Emp.) Πριαμίδῃσιν. In Ar. *Ran.* 1212 (quoting tragedy) πεύκῃσι (or πεύκῃσι) is well supported for the vulg. πεύκασι. It should be clear from instances like these that the tragedians used the forms in -*ῃσι* freely. Down to B.C. 420 epigraphy fully supports them. Whether we should write -*ῃσι* or -*ῃσι* is sometimes doubtful, but epigraphical and etymological evidence is in favour of -*ῃσι* (Meisterhans² pp. 94 sq., Brugmann *Grundr.* II. p. 704).]

προσβαλῖν: the consequential infin. follows the sense, which is 'Ἐτέοκλος ἐλαχε or 'Ἐτέοκλος ἐξενέβη.

448 ἐν ἀμπυκτῆρσιν: 'in their forehead straps' (not 'bits'). The picture is of horses tossing their heads impatiently, and attention is therefore directed to the flashing frontlets rather than to the champing upon the bits. The ἀμπυκτῆρ, commonly called ἀμπυξ (*Suppl.* 438), was a band (*frontalia*), frequently adorned with precious metal (cf. Hom. *Il.* 5. 358 χρυσάμπυκας ἵππους, Soph. *O. C.* 1069 ἀμπυκτῆρια φάλαρα πώλων). In *δινεῖ* the notion is not that he drives them to and fro, but that he manages their heads. The sense of ἐμβριμωμένας is not 'snorting,' but 'chafing,' *indignant* (θυμοῦ πλήρεις schol.). The word is cited from Eurip. in *Et. Gud.* p. 183, 27 as = ἐπιτιμῶν. In Ar. *Eq.* 815 βριμῆσαι is explained by schol. as ὀργισθεῖς and βριμᾶσθαι as τὸ ὀργίζεσθαι καὶ ἀπειλεῖν. Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 4. 5. 9 ἐβριμούτο τῷ Κύρῳ ('fumed and chafed' Holden).

449 *δινεῖ*: cf. Bacchyl. 5. 1 Συνακοσίαν ἱπποδινήτων.

θελούσας: a striking instance of the stronger sense (cf. 454), unknown to good prose, which would require at least *βουλομένης* or *χρηζούσας*. Cf. *Cho.* 174, Soph. *Aj.* 811.—*πρὸς πύλαις πεπτωκέναι* = *πύλαις προσπεπτωκέναι* (the quasi-pass. of *προσβαλεῖν*). The perf. expresses their impatience to be already there: cf. Dem. 19. 223 βουλόμενος ἀγῶνι ... διωρίσθαι, Goodwin *M. & T.* § 110.

450 *φιμοὶ δὲ κ.τ.λ.* A muzzle of bronze attached to the bridle was perforated with pipes, forming a series like those of the *σύριγξ* or Pan's-pipe, through which the breathing or snorting of the horses created a kind of tuneless music *in terrorem*. Cf. *fr.* 326 ὅς εἶχε πώλους τέσσαρας ζυγηφόρους | φιμοῖσιν αὐλωτοῖσιν ἐστομαμένας. Of these Pollux (10. 56) says οἱς ἐγχερεμετίζοντες οἱ ἵπποι ἤχον ἐποιοῦν προσόμοιον αὐλῷ (similarly Hesych.). The words, as always with Aeschylus, are carefully chosen. The similitude has occurred already in 115 sq.,

μυκτηροκόμποις πνεύμασιν πληρούμενοι.
 σεσημάτισται δ' ἀσπίς οὐ μικρὸν τρόπον·
 ἀνὴρ δ' ὀπλίτης κλίμακος προσαμβάσεις
 στείχει πρὸς ἐχθρῶν πύργον, ἐκτέρσαι θέλων·
 βοᾷ δὲ χούτος γραμμάτων ἐν ξυλλαβαῖς
 ὥς οὐδ' ἂν Ἄρης σφ' ἐκβάλοι πυργωμάτων.
 καὶ τῷδε φωτὶ πέμπε τὸν φερέγγυον
 πόλεως ἀπείργειν τῆσδε δούλιον ζυγόν.

455

ET. πέμποιμ' ἂν ἤδη τόνδε, σὺν τύχῃ δέ τῳ

unfortunate. ↓. 452 εἰσημάτισται M (ζτ in marg.), ἐσχημάτισται m'. Corr. Weil. ↓. συμκρον Robort., but ↓. τύπον Halm. 453 ἀνὴρ δ' M, with the compendium for γάρ (m') over δ'. See Headlam *On Ed. Aesch.* p. 119. δ' om.

189 sqq.—**φμός** (like *κημός*) is a synonym of *φορβειά* as used of horses, and *φορβειά* (like *κημός*) is also used of the muzzling-strap with which flute-players bound their cheeks and controlled the expenditure of breath (cf. Soph. *fr.* 701 *φυσὰ γὰρ οὐ συμκροῖσιν αὐλίσκοις ἔτι, | ἀλλ' ἀγρίαις φύσαισι φορβειᾶς ἄτερ*, Longin. 3. 2, Ar. *Vesp.* 582). The combination of **φμοί** ('muzzle') and **συρρίζουσι** would immediately suggest all these notions to the Greek mind.—**βάρβαρον τρόπον** is quite sound and is explained correctly, if inadequately, by the schol. as *ἀπηνή ἦχον*. The piping which comes from this strange instrument is not musical according to any Greek 'mode' (**τρόπον**, cf. Pind. *O.* 14. 17 *Λυδίῳ ἐν τρόπῳ*, Simon. *fr.* 31 *Κρήτα μὲν καλέουσι τρόπον, τὸ δ' ὄργανον Μολοσσόν*). Cf. Eubul. *ap.* Ath. 229 A *λοπὰς παφλάζει βαρβάρῳ λαλήματι*, and (of the piping of Paris) Eur. *I. A.* 577 *βάρβαρα συρίζων*. It should further be remarked that playing the flute with the nostrils is still practised by certain South Sea islanders, and may not have been unknown among *βάρβαροι* of whom Aesch. had heard. The recurrence of **τρόπον** in 452 is of no account to Greek ears.

451 **μυκτηροκόμποις πνεύμασιν**: i.e. not with the ordinary *πνεῦμα* of the mouth. There may also be a suggestion of the metaphorical *μυκτηρές*, *μυκτηρίζειν* of scorn.—**πληρούμενοι** adds the notion of loudness, the breathing not being, as with the Greek *συρικτής*, regulated.

452 **σεσημάτισται**. It is hard to decide between this and the *ἐσχημάτισται* of Weil. But on the whole the loss of χ from *ἐσχη* was less likely than

the corruption of **σείση**, and *σημα* rather than *σχήμα* is the notion for which we should look in the case (cf. 374 *σημ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος*, 419 *ἔχει δὲ σημα*, 478 *ὁ σηματουργός*, 578 *σημα δ' οὐκ ἐπὶν κύκλω*, 630). In point of formation *σηματίζειν* is manifestly as natural as *-σχηματίζειν*, and in point of rarity is more poetical. For its sense cf. *Suppl.* 969 *δεδωμάταμαι* ('am provided with a house').

οὐ μικρὸν τρόπον: cf. 270, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 598 *ἄνδρα δ' οὐ πέπυσθε σύμμαχον | Τροίαν μολόντα Ῥήσον οὐ φαίλῳ τρόπῳ*; The sense of **μικρὸν** is 'humble,' as in *μικρὸν φρονεῖν*. The absence of humility appears in v. 456.

[**μικρὸν** is apparently preferred to **συμκρὸν** in order to avoid the excessive sigmatism (*τὸ σίγμα τὸ Εὐριπίδου*) to which Athenian ears were more sensitive than to other repetitions. σ has already occurred five times in the line.]

453 sq. **ἀνὴρ δ' δ'** (in place of γάρ) answers the last words; 'its style is not humble, but....'—**προσαμβάσεις**: accus. of extent of space: cf. *P. V.* 708 *στείχ' ἀνηρότους γῆας*, Soph. *Aj.* 30 *πηδῶτα πεδία*, Eur. *Hel.* 118 *ὃς ἔδραμε ῥόθια*, *Bacch.* 748 *χωροῦσι...πεδίων ὑποτάσεις*. So with *θρόσκειν* (Eur. *Bacch.* 873).—**ἐχθρῶν**: generic, 'an enemy's walls.' The emblem would indicate this circumstance.—**θέλων**: 449 (n.).

455 sq. **χούτος**: like the man previously mentioned on the shield of Capaneus (419–421).—**γραμμάτων ἐν ξυλλαβαῖς**: 'in combinations of letters.' The phrase may include the notion that the messenger is not quoting the exact terms, but stating that there are words to 'that effect.'

outlandish tune, filled with the breath from their proud snorting nostrils.

Of no humble fashion is the blazoning of his buckler. A man in armour is mounting a ladder's steps to the rampart of the foe, eager to waste and sack; and he too shouts—so reads the lettering—that not even the Wargod can hurl him from the bulwarks. Against him also send one whom we may trust to shield this land from slavery and the yoke.

ET. For the man to send I need look but here. Yes, let

Blomfield. πρὸς ἀμβάσεις M, corr. Canter. 456 ἐκβάλλη M^a. 458 δούλειον M, corr. Blomfield. 459 σὺν τάχει rec. σὺν τύχῃ δ' ἴτω Butler. δέ τοι Burges. †.

ἐκβαλοῖ: not simply ἀμύνειε or ἀπώσσειε, but the word assumes that he will get upon, or into, the defences.

457 sq. καί: to be joined closely with τῷδε; 'to him also' (as to Capaneus, 423). Also join φερέγγυον ἀπέργαν. —τῆσδε is *patheticum*.

459 sq. πέμποιμ' ἂν ἤδη τόνδε κ.τ.λ.: ἤδη signifies that there is no need to look further. Dramatically it was desirable to break the uniform process of discussing the case and then selecting a champion at the end of the speech. For the same reason this ῥῆσις is shorter than the others. —πέμποιμ' ἂν is not strictly for πέμπω or πέμψω but expresses a momentary pondering: 'I am minded to send—looking no further....' Unfortunately the reading which follows is uncertain. See crit. n. —πέπεμπτ' οὐ (even if we read it as καὶ δὴ 'πέπεμπτ' οὐ) hardly yields a conceivable sense. For the pluperf. we should have to assume the meaning 'and indeed—by a certain happy chance—he had already been sent (before my decision was made), i.e. a special fitness had made him the inevitable choice (emphasis lying meanwhile upon οὐ κόμπων, 'no mere boast'). But no hint is given as to the nature of this happy chance or the secret of his fitness. Verrall supposes that it lay in the device on the shield of Megareus, which may have been Ares (cf. 455 sq.). This is an ingenious guess, but it is scarcely likely that an audience (which in other places requires to be told so much, cf. 499) would have grasped the point without further explanation. Even pointing would hardly have sufficed for the spectator. Nor is the dual χερσὶν appropriate, since he would carry the shield-device ἐν χερσί, not ἐν χερσίν. On the other hand with καὶ δὴ πέπεμπται the sense would be 'and let us suppose

him to have been sent.' The stress would then, instead of falling on κόμπων, fall on ἐν χερσίν: 'bearing his boast (not in his tongue, but) in his hands.' But with this it is hard to find either an adequate interpretation of σὺν τύχῃ δέ τῳ or a satisfactory explanation of the variety of reading. It seems better therefore to suppose that both πέπεμπτ' οὐ and πέπεμπται are derived from πεπεμψθω. Corruption of the -ω forms of imperat. was frequent (see crit. n.). [It is doubtless possible that οὐ in πέπεμπτ' οὐ was due to some reader who, missing the stress, thought it inappropriate for Megareus to be described as carrying a boast.] The meaning now becomes 'I am minded at once to send *this* champion; nay, let him be regarded as already sent—and may good fortune go with him—bearing his boast in his *hands* (and deeds).' δέ (not καί) is the connective (as in Ar. *Vesp.* 1324 οἳ δὲ καὶ δὴ σφαλλόμενος προσέρχεται), while καὶ δὴ has the same force as in *Eum.* 895 καὶ δὴ δέδεγμαί, *Cho.* 653 (n.), *Eur. Med.* 386, *Hel.* 1059, and (with the same perf. imperat. as here) *Luc. Merc. Cond.* 42 καὶ δὴ γεγράφθω προπύλαια. Such a phrase as σὺν τύχῃ δέ τῳ is always used either with an imperat. or in a prayer, hope, or their virtual equivalent. The sense amounts to εὐ δ' εἴη τύχῃ. Cf. *Cho.* 138 ἐλθεῖν δ' Ὀρέστην δεῦρο σὺν τύχῃ τινι | κατεύχομαι σοι, *Soph. O. T.* 80 εἰ γὰρ ἐν τύχῃ γέ τῳ | σωτήρι βαίη, *Pind. O.* 9. 26 εἰ σὺν τινι μοιριδίῳ παλάμα | ἐξάριτον χαρίτων νέμομαι κάπον. —τῳ is modest, 'some measure of...' (and implies due submission to the Divine will). As πῶς is added to adverbs (εὐτυχῶς πῶς) so is τις to nouns. [Less naturally we might make the phrase = 'with fortune of some (power or deity)': cf. *Pind. N.* 4. 7 ὃ τί κε σὺν χαρίτων τύχῃ | ... γλώσσαι

καὶ δὴ πεπέμφθω κόμπον ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων, 460
 Μεγαρεύς, Κρέοντος σπέρμα, τοῦ σπαρτοῦ γένους,
 ὃς οὔτι μάργων ἵππικῶν φρυαγμάτων
 βρόμον φοβηθεὶς ἐκ πυλῶν χωρήσεται,
 ἀλλ' ἢ θανὼν τροφεῖα πληρώσει χθονί,
 ἢ καὶ δὺ' ἀνδρε καὶ πόλισμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος 465
 ἑλὼν λαφύροις δῶμα κοσμήσει πατρός.
 κόμπαζ' ἐπ' ἄλλω, μηδὲ μοι φθόνοι λέγων.

στρ. β'. ΧΟ. ἐπεύχομαι δὴ τάδε μὲν εὐτυχεῖν, ὦ
 πρόμαχ' ἐμῶν δόμων, τοῖσι δὲ δυστυχεῖν.
 ὡς δ' ὑπέρανχα βάζουσιν ἐπὶ πτόλει 470
 μαινομένα φρενί, τῶς νιν
 Ζεὺς νεμέτωρ ἐπίδοι κοταίνων.

460 πέπεμπτ' οὐ Μ, πέπεμπται rec. Corr. *ed. ↓. Imperative forms in ω are prone to corruption: cf. Xen. *An.* 3. 2. 37 ἡγείτο (A) for ἡγείσθω (B), *ibid.* ἐπιμελοίσθην (vulg.) for -είσθων (A), Eur. *fr.* 918 παλαμάσθαι (Clem. Al.) for -άσθων (Cicero), *fr.* 275 νομίζεται (Stob.) for -έτω (Philo) &c. 461 σπαρτοῦ Μ,

ἐξέλοι, 6. 23 σὺν θεοῦ τύχα.]—τύχη= 'success' as in v. 413. For the form of the phrase cf. Soph. *Aj.* 853 ἀλλ' ἀρκτέον τὸ πρᾶγμα σὺν τάχει τινί.—ἐν χεροῖν: i.e. not ἐν στόματι. The dual expresses 'in his two hands (and what they can do),' the sense of action being contained as in v. 541 ἀνὴρ ἀκομπος, χεῖρ δ' ὁρᾷ τὸ δράσιμον, Soph. *Ph.* 97 γλῶσσαν μὲν ἀργόν, χεῖρα δ' εἶχον ἐργάτιν.

461 Κρέοντος. In Soph. *O. T.* Creon is brother of Iocasta, and in *Ant.* 1303 Megareus appears as his son. Why Megareus is identified by some editors with the Menoeceus of Eur. *Phoen.* 930 sqq. does not appear. Manifestly Aesch. does not make him perform the patriotic suicide of Menoeceus.

σπαρτοῦ: 399 (n.). The full description is intended to express confidence in him and his ἐγγένεια. There is no need to read σπαρτῶν and so prefer the ordinary expression (Pind. *I.* 1. 30, Eur. *Phoen.* 942) to the less usual. [The only argument for the plural is that it doubtless ran the risk of change to the singular.]

462 ἵππικῶν φρυαγμάτων βρόμον: all the words are contemptuous; 'mere noise of blustering neighings of horses.' The epithet thus obtains a fuller value, apart from the consideration that φρύαγμα

might be understood of human boasting: cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1 C μεγαλανυχίας ἐμπιπλάνται καὶ φρυάγματος, *ibid.* 754 C τὸ φρύαγμα καὶ τὴν ὕβριν.

464 θανὼν=τῷ θανεῖν.—τροφεῖα: cf. 16—20 (n.), Isoc. 6. 108 ἀποδῶμεν τὰ τροφεῖα τῇ πατρίδι. For its special application to the σπαρτοῖ cf. 400, 402 sqq.

465 ἢ καὶ κ.τ.λ. It is uncertain whether we are to join ἢ καὶ ('or e'en') or to relate καὶ...καὶ. The former is probably to be preferred, as conveying something of the modest tone habitual to Eteocles.—δὺ' ἀνδρε: Eteocles and his ἀνὴρ ὁπλίτης (453).—ἐπ' ἀσπίδος is necessary for explanation; without it the words might come near to being a riddle. A prose-writer would doubtless have preferred to say τὸ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος, but a verse-writer cannot simply omit τὸ with precisely the same sense. The literal rendering is 'a town upon a shield' or 'town on shield,' and the strict grammar is πόλισμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἐπὶν.

466 δῶμα κοσμήσει πατρός. There is no inconsistency between this and the vow of 263 sqq. There it is only the ἐσθήματα of the enemy which are to be offered to the gods; here the private λάφυρα in the house of Creon consist of the shield. Besides spoils dedicated on temples we have cases like the present

him be our choice—and good fortune to him—with his two hands to do his boasting. 'Tis Megareus, Creon's seed, of the Sown race. [MEGAREUS *departs*.

No noisy neighings of rampant steeds will drive him from the gates in fear, but either he will by death pay to the land the full price of his nurture, or he will e'en capture two men and a stronghold on a shield, and with the spoils will adorn his father's house.

Boast on with another, and stint me not your story.

CHO. Yea, I make prayer for good fortune to our cause, and thou champion of my home, but for ill fate to them. As with mad hearts they utter presumptuous boasts over our town, so may Requiring Zeus turn on them a wrathful eye. *strophe*.

with *ων* over *ου* (m'). ↓. 465 δ' (for δὲ) M^a (cf. Ath. 580 c δ' ἐρίφους for δὲ). 467 ἐπ' ἄλλον rec., ἐτ' ἄλλον Blomfield. λόγων Valckenaer. 468 M writes εὐτυχεῖν, | ὡς κ.τ.λ. τῷδε for τάδε rec. and for δὴ τάδε rec. ἐπεύχομαι δὴ τάδε μὲν σε τυχεῖν Weil. Editors emend according to their conception of the antistrophic line (508). ↓. 470 βάξουσ' M, corr. rec. βάξουσ' ἐπ' ἐμῇ πόλει is possible.

in Soph. *Ph.* 1428 πέρσεις τε Τροίαν, σκῦλά τ' ἐς μέλαθρα σὰ | πέμψεις... Ποιαντι πατρί, Eur. *Bacch.* 1212, 1239 λαβούσα τάριστεια, σοῖσι πρὸς δόμοις | ὡς ἂν κρεμασθῇ, *Rhes.* 620 κάλλιστον ὅκοις σκύλον, *ibid.* 159 πατὴρ δὲ καὶ πρὶν εὐκλεῖα δόμον | νῦν δις τόσως ἔθηκας εὐκλεεστέρων, *Hedul.* ar. Ath. 486 b ὡς καὶ πάντων ἀπ' ἐκείνης | σὺ τοῖχοι γλυκερῶν σκύλα φέρωσι πόθων, Verg. *Aen.* 5. 393 *spolia illa tuis pendente tectis*. In κοσμήσει the senses of 'beautifying' (concrete) and 'glorifying' (abstract) coalesce. Cf. Pind. *I.* 1. 19 τριπόδεσσιν ἐκόσμησαν δόμον.

467 κόμπαζ' ἐπ' ἄλλω: i.e. 'go on with the κόμπος in another's case' = 'go on with their κόμποι.' All the Argive champions, he takes for granted, have a κόμπος. For this condensed meaning of a verb cf. 1036 τράχυνε (n.). Strictly ἐπ' ἄλλω follows κόμπαζε as it might μέγα φρονεῖν, σεμνύνεσθαι &c.

μηδέ μοι φθόνοι λέγων lends a sort of playwright's excuse for continuing with the descriptions and replies. For the expression itself cf. *Suppl.* 324 καὶ τοῦδ' ἀνοίγει τοῦτον· ἀφθόνω λόγῳ.

468 ἐπεύχομαι δὴ κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. The metre is quite uncertain. The text makes at least the χρόνοι correspond to those of the antistrophe.

τάδε = 'our side' or 'cause' (see *inf.* 636 (n.)), not a contained acc. with εὐτυ-

χεῖν ('in this way,' i.e. 'in the way you say,' which would require ταῦτα). This rendering makes it more easy to construe τοῖσι δὲ = 'while for them I pray....' A formalist in prose would have said ἡμᾶς μὲν εὐτυχεῖν, τοῖς δὲ δυστυχεῖν, or else ἡμῶν μὲν... τοῖσι δὲ.... The poet both varies the case and also substitutes τάδε for ἡμᾶς. [We can hardly interpret τάδε as 'this proceeding of ours,' with the grammar 'I pray that this may turn out well (sc. ἡμῶν), but badly for them.' The position of μὲν (which should belong to ἡμῶν) does not permit of this. Even if we allow occasional transference of μὲν, we cannot suppose it to be transferred from a word which has been suppressed.]

470 ἐπὶ πόλει: ἐπὶ of exaltation 'over.' [The mistake should not be made of confusing or connecting βάξειν with βαδίζειν. The root and sense ('say') appear from βάγμα. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 4. 206 πεπνυμένα βάξεις, 3. 126 &c.]

472 νεμέτωρ: who gives to each his due return. Cf. *Suppl.* 407 τὰδ' ἐπισκοπεῖ | Ζεὺς ἑτερορρεπῆς, νέμων εἰκότως | ἄδικα μὲν κακοῖς, δῖα δ' ἐννόμοις. — ἐπίδοι when used alone (of a deity) commonly bears a favourable sense. Here κοταίνων plays the part of a qualifying adverb (ὀργῇ, κότῳ), and helps a special implication of νεμέτωρ ('give them their due in the shape of wrath': cf. νέμεσις 221 n.).

ΑΓ. τέταρτος ἄλλος, γείτονας πύλας ἔχων
 'Ογκας 'Αθάνας, ξὺν βοῇ παρίσταται,
 'Ιππομέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος·
 ἄλω δὲ πολλήν, ἀσπίδος κύκλον λέγω,
 ἔφριξα δινήσαντος· οὐκ ἄλλως ἐρῶ.
 ὁ σηματουργὸς δ' οὐ τις εὐτελὴς ἄρ' ἦν,
 ὅστις τόδ' ἔργον ὥπασεν πρὸς ἀσπίδι,
 Τυφῶν' ἰέντα πυρπνόον διὰ στόμα
 λιγνὺν μέλαιναν αἰόλην, πυρὸς κάσιν·

475

480

476 πολὺν Wakefield. ↓.

473 sq. γείτονας κ.τ.λ. It is at first sight doubtful whether this means (1) 'neighbouring gates (to the last named), viz. gates of Onca,' or (2) 'the gates which are neighbours of Onca.' Either is good in itself and apparently true in fact (Introd. § 16). But we shall do better to gather the sense from the reply (488), which calls Onca πύλαισι γείτω, than from any probabilities as to the relative situations of the gates. The latter meaning is therefore preferable. For 'Ογκας see 149 (n.). The gates are the 'Ογκαῖαι, although an alternative name is given by Hesych. 'Ογκας 'Αθάνας' τὰς 'Ωγυγίας πύλας λέγει (Introd. l.c.).—παρίσταται: not παρέστηκε nor simply = προσίσταται (cf. 119), but 'comes to his post' (in the line or τάξις). The force of παρα- is that in παρατάσσεται rather than in πάρεστι.

475 'Ιππομέδοντος σχῆμα κ.τ.λ. = 'the showy and huge Hippomedon.' For this hero see Eur. *Phoen.* 119 sqq., 1113 sqq., *Suppl.* 881; and for σχῆμα cf. Eur. *fr.* 688. 2 τὸ σχῆμα σεμνός, *fr.* 360. 25 μὴ σχήματ' ἄλλως, *fr.* 25. 2 γέροντες οὐδὲν ἔσμεν ἄλλο πλὴν ὄχλος | καὶ σχῆμα, Xen. *Cyr.* 5. 1. 5 ἐν ταπεινῷ σχήματι ἐστηκεν, Eur. *Alc.* 911 ὦ σχῆμα δόμων, *fr.* 476, Soph. *Ph.* 952 ὦ σχῆμα πέτρας διπυλῶν (where Jebb observes that σχῆμα, in such a periphrasis, usually denotes stateliness). The form of expression is the same as in δεσπότης στήνῃ (Cho. 766 n.), τὸ τοῦ Καλχηδονίου σθένος (Plat. *Phaedr.* 267 c), λήμα Κορωνίδος (Pind. *P.* 3. 25), φάσμα ταύρου (Soph. *Tr.* 508), Verg. *Aen.* 6. 289 *forma tricoloris umbrae*. σχῆμα is not identical with τύπος, a word expressive of 'build' or 'mould,' taken from works of art: cf. Eum. 49 οὐδ' αὐτε Γοργεῖοισιν εἰκάσω τύποις, Eur. *Phoen.* 163 μορφῆς τύπων,

Bacch. 1331 ἐκθηρωθεὶς' ὄφρος ἀλλάξῃ τύπον. Similar is Milton's *Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay | To mould me man?* Hippomedon is 'wrought on a great pattern.'

For the quantity in 'Ιππομέδοντος cf. 534 and Cho. 1047 φαίδριπες (n.), where add πολυφώνον (*Batrachom.* 210), πυργενής (Eur. *fr.* 943), μονόλυκος (Arat. 1124), 'Ενέτικός (Alcm. *fr.* 23. 51), ἀσύνετημι (Alc. *fr.* 18. 1), Θεοφύλα (Mart. 7. 69. 1). See Monro *Hom. Gr.* § 386. The lengthening here is quoted by Priscian (*de metr. Ter.* 23). Wecklein notes that in tragic senarii the instances are all at the beginning of the line.

476 ἄλω δὲ πολλήν: ἄλω is not merely a disk, nor is πολλήν, at least in tragedy, the same as μεγάλην. In Homer πολλός may = 'big' (e.g. *Il.* 7. 155), and thence in other epic e.g. Ap. Rhod. 1. 760 βούπαις οὕτω πολλός. But it is an error to quote passages like Hd. 7. 14 καὶ μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, or Eur. *Hipp.* 1 πολλὴ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι... κέκλημαι Κύπρις, where the meaning is 'of much account' (cf. 6 n.).—ἄλω is 'threshing-floor,' and the Scout says, with a touch of colloquial exaggeration, that the shield of Hippomedon would 'go far towards making a threshing-floor.' The resemblance of the ἄλως to the ἀσπίς (cf. the resemblance of ἀσπίς to φιάλη played upon by poets, Ar. *Poet.* 21, Ath. 472 c) consisted in more than the circular form. Both were raised in the centre and sloped to the rim (Varro *R. R.* 1. 51 *aream... potissimum rotundam et mediam paullo extumidam*). After using this hyperbolic metaphor the Messenger, acting in the Greek manner, explains himself: 'I mean the circle of his shield.' Obviously he cannot say ἄλω μεγάλην, but 'a great extent of ἄλως.'

SCOUT. The next and fourth, whose gate neighbours Athena Onca, comes shouting to his post—Hippomedon, showy and huge of mould. 'Twas almost a threshing-floor, the circle of his shield, and I shuddered—I deny it not—when he rolled it.

No poor craftsman must the emblazoner have been who enriched his shield with work like this—Typhon, sending from fire-breathing mouth a murky smoke, flickering, flame yet not

481 Some (e.g. Paley) punctuate λιγνὺν μέλαιναν, αἰόλην κ.τ.λ.

There may be a question as to whether ἄλως is accus. or gen., but the latter is the better: cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 2. 2 πολλήν τῆς χώρας, Ar. *Plut.* 694 τῆς ἀθάρης πολλήν, Ach. 350 τῆς μαρίνης... συγχῆν. [The scholiastic explanation of ἄλως as the ring round the sun (cf. Hesych. ἄλως· ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡ σελήνης περιφέρεια) is only a derived meaning and is here inapposite.]

477 δινήσαντος: synchronous with ἔφριξα: cf. 423 n. The word perhaps has a more special aptness in the context since δῶνος was a possible word for ἄλως: cf. Ath. 467 F Τελείσιλλα δὲ ἡ Ἀργεῖα καὶ τὴν ἄλω καλεῖ δῖνον. For δινεῖν with a shield cf. Theoc. 24. 10 ὡς φαμένα δίνασε σάκος μέγα.

478 οὐ τις εὐτέλης: Soph. *Ph.* 35 ἐκπωμα φλαουρουργοῦ τινος | τεχνήματ' ἀνδρός.

479 τόδ': scarcely 'the following' (which is prosaic), but 'in this case.'—ὤπασεν: 'added' (over and above the shaping of the shield). Cf. 242 (n.). Hence the dat. in πρὸς ἀσπίδι.

480 Τυφῶν: the declension varies between forms of Τυφῶς, Τυφωεύς, and Τυφῶν: cf. 504. Among the Giants the serpentine Typhon holds a special rank as monster-in-chief, and figures prominently in works of art. To the older Athenians he would be familiar from the great carving on the western pediment of the old Hecatompædon (see Wiegand *Archaische Poros-Architektur der Acropolis* p. 106). The description conceived by Aesch. (cf. *P. V.* 367 sqq.) follows Hes. *Theog.* 824 ἐκ δὲ οἱ ὤμων | ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ ὄφιοι, δεινοῖο δράκοντος, | γλώσσοισι δνοφερῆσι λελιχµότες, ἐκ δὲ οἱ ὄσων | θεσπεσίης κεφαλῇσιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσι πῦρ ἀµάρυνσε: | πάσων δ' ἐκ κεφαλῶν πῦρ καίετο δερκομένοιο κ.τ.λ. Nevertheless, besides the serpents' heads, he possesses for Aesch. a main head of the ordinary kind. According to Ovid (*Fast.* 3. 799) he is half-bull, half-serpent, *maître saluez terra,*

monstrum miserabile, taurus | parte sui serpens posteriore fuit. This, however, is not the Aeschylean conception. In v. 482 the πλεκτάναί are those of Typhon himself.

πυρπνύον: but *P. V.* 949 πύρπνον. For the absence of contraction cf. *fr.* 39 διπλοῖ, *fr.* 281 χειμάροον. The word is to be taken with στίγμα. Greek has no objection whatever to πυρπνύον followed by πρὸς κάσιν (cf. *Cho.* 51 n.).

481 λιγνὺν μέλαιναν κ.τ.λ. There is nothing grotesque about this expression, which is rightly understood by Verrall. The λιγνὺς is black, but αἰόλη (*i.e.* shot with red), and is therefore almost fire (πρὸς κάσις): *i.e.* it is midway between fire and smoke.—λιγνὺν differs from καπνόν. The latter, when not used in the most comprehensive sense, denotes rather the light and vapoury smoke, while λιγνὺς is 'smoky flame' (see Jebb on Soph. *Tr.* 794, *Ant.* 1126): cf. Eur. *Phaeth.* *fr.* 2. 45 καπνοῦ μέλαινα λιγνὺς, Ar. *Lys.* 319 λιγνὺν δοκῶ μοι καθορᾶν καὶ καπνόν, Ar. *Rhod.* 2. 133 λιγνύνοντι καπνῶ, *ibid.* 1009 κελαινῇ | λιγνὺ καὶ καπνῶ, Lycoph. 293.—πρὸς κάσιν is an expression easy to a language which uses ἀδελφός, ἀδελφή for 'closely akin to' (cf. Ar. *Plut.* 549 τῆς πτωχείας πενίαν φάμεν εἶναι ἀδελφῆν). In *Ag.* 499 we have μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι κάσις | πηλοῦ ζύνουρος διψία κόνις (where κόνις has the same references as σιρ. 81 (n.)). Cf. Hippocrax *fr.* 34 συκὴν μέλαιναν ἀμπέλου κασιγνήτην. The sense of αἰόλην is that the black is 'shot' with flickerings of flame (requiring the most skilful workmanship for their representation). For this colour-use of the word cf. Soph. *Ph.* 1157 ἐμᾶς σαρκοῦ αἰδῶας.

In the epic *Thebais* there must have appeared the same admiration of skill in metal-work which we meet in the *Iliad* concerning the shield of Achilles (see *Introd.* p. lii). For variety of colour in the inlaying cf. *Il.* 18. 548 ἡ δὲ (sc. the

ὄφειν δὲ πλεκτάναισι περιδρομον κύτος
 προσηδάφισται κοιλογάστορος κύκλου.
 αὐτὸς δ' ἐπηλάλαξεν, ἔνθεος δ' Ἄρει
 βακχᾶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν, Θυιᾶς ὥς, φόβον βλέπων. 485
 τοιοῦδε φῶτος πείραν εὖ φυλακτέον.
 Φόβος γὰρ ἤδη πρὸς πύλαις κομπάζεται.

ET. πρῶτον μὲν Ὅγκα Παλλὰς ἢ τ' ἀγχίπτολις

484 ἄρηι M, corr. recc.
 φόβον Canter. †.

485 βακχᾶ M, βάκχᾶ m. θυὰς M, corr. rec.
 487 φόβον recc., φόβος Blomf., φοβῶν Lowinski.

ploughed land) μελαινέτ' ὅπισθεν, ἀρηρομένη δὲ ἐψέκη | χρυσεῖη περ εἰόσα· τὸ δὲ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκτο, 561 ἐν δ' ἐτίθει σταφυλῆσι μέγα βρῖθουσιν ἀλῶν | καλὴν χρυσεῖην· μέλανες δ' ἀνὰ βότρυν ἤσαν, Plut. Nic. 28. 5 (of the shield of Nicias) χρυσοῦ καὶ πορφύρας εὖ πως πρὸς ἀλλήλα μεμειγμένων δι' ὑφῆς συγκεκροτημένην.

482 sqq. ὄφειν δὲ πλεκτάναισι κ.τ.λ. One of the most misunderstood and difficult passages in the play, and requiring much care in interpretation. The rendering depends on the exact sense of **περίδρομον κύτος** and of **προσηδάφισται**. We may ignore any suggestion that **περίδρομον** simply = 'round' (cf. Hom. Il. 23. 455 **περίτροχον** ἥτε μήνη), since Aesch. would not use such a tautology with the following **κύκλου**. It should be conceded also that the **ὄφειν πλεκτάναι** are the coils of the 'hundred' snakes which formed part of the representation of Typhon (480 n.). We should do best to determine first the meaning of **κύτος**. Inasmuch as the word stands for the 'hull' of a ship (Poll. 1. 87 τὸ μὲν ἔδαφος τῆς νεὸς κύτος καὶ γάστρα καὶ ἀμφιμήτριον λέγεται), for a receptacle (Xenarch. ap. Ath. 64 A **πίμπλησι** **λοπάδος στερεοσώματος κύτος**), and for a covering case, it is natural to suppose that here it signifies that which holds something rather than that which is held by something else; i.e. it is rather the 'case' than the inner body of the shield. At least it could not be used in *distinction* from the outer case. Putting these considerations together we may understand that a 'round hollow-bellied case' (lit. either 'the case which forms a hollow-bellied round' or 'the case of a hollow-bellied circle,' i.e. of a circular shield) is the subject of **προσηδάφισται**. This is the bronze-work overlaid upon the hide or other frame. The natural sense of

προσηδάφισται should be 'is fastened to an ἔδαφος (or foundation),' and so far we gather that 'the hollow bronze casing is fastened to its ground (of hide &c.) with coils of snakes.' From a practical point of view these should serve as clamps or holdfasts, and the picture suggested is of trailing serpents in bronze which run along the shield, over the edge, and grip it with rivets both on the upper and under side. The coils serve as, or contain, the rivets. In Hom. Il. 12. 295 we have a description of the shield of Sarpedon: **ἦν ἄρα χαλκεὺς | ἤλασεν, ἐντοσθεν δὲ βοείας ῥάψε θαμειᾶς | χρυσεῖης ῥάβδοις διτνέκεσιν περὶ κύκλου**, and though this is obscure it plainly refers to bars in some way gripping the leather to the bronze. The **πλεκτάναι** here serve the purpose of such **ῥάβδοι**. It remains to consider **περίδρομον**. This might be taken (1) more closely with **κύτος** as = 'the cover where it runs round,' i.e. the rim of the cover (cf. Eur. El. 458 sqq. **περιδρόμῳ** ἔντος ἔδρα contrasted with **ἐν δὲ μέσῳ** σάκει, and the use of **ἄκρος**, **summus** mons &c.), or (2) more closely with **πλεκτάναισι**, 'run round with serpents' coils,' i.e. with serpents' coils running round it (cf. Eur. fr. 1083 γῆ δρεσι **περίδρομος**). The latter is obviously the more satisfactory.—**πλεκτάναισι** thus belongs ἀπὸ κοινοῦ to both **περίδρομον** and **προσηδάφισται**. The total result is given in the translation above.

[It would be extremely involved to take **προσηδάφισται πλεκτάναις** as = **πλεκτάναις προσηδαφισμέναις** ἔχει, 'has serpents' coils fastened to the ground-work,' i.e. has such coils in relief. Moreover the proper construction in that sense would be with the accus. (**πλεκτάναις προσηδάφισται**; cf. Soph. Tr. 157 **παλαιὰν δέλτον ἐγγεγραμμένην | ξυνθήματα**, Xen. An. 5. 4. 32 **ἐστιγμένους ἀνθέμια** &c.).

flame. And 'tis with coils of serpents running about the rim that the casing of the hollow-bellied orb is fastened to its ground. The man has raised his war-cry, and, possessed by Ares, he is frenzied, like a Bacchant, for the revellings of fight, with an eye to strike dismay. The assault of such an one needs all best watching, for already at the gates the vaunt is of Dismay.

ET. First Onca Pallas—she whose burgh is near neighbour

488 ἦτ Μ, ἦ τ' *ed. †. ἦδ' Stanley. ἀρχέπολις Pauw. †. ἦτ' ἐφίσταται (Heimsoeth) is hardly legitimate emendation.

Nor is there any adequate value thus left for so pleonastic a phrase as περιδρομον κύτος κοιλογάστορος κύκλου. Verrall indeed takes this as 'a frame comparatively flat (περ. κύτος) enclosing a central part of high curvature (κοιλ. κύκλου).' But κύκλος can hardly be used in such a limited sense (approaching ομφαλός), its ordinary acceptation in this connection being that of the whole shield (see 476, 629, Eur. *Phoen.* 1382 ὑφίζανον κύκλους) as the equivalent of Homer's ἀσπίς πάντοσ' ἔισση. If by περιδρομον κύτος is meant only a part of the shield it would be better to understand it of the ἀντυξ of Hom. *Il.* 18. 478 ποιεῖ δὲ πρώτιστα σάκος μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε | πάντοσε δαιδάλλων, περὶ δ' ἀντυγα βάλλε φαιεῖν | τρίπλακα μαρμαρέην, and *ibid.* 606. With this would suit Eur. *Tro.* 1197 ἱνός τ' ἐν εὐτόρνοισι περιδρόμοις ἰδρώς.

We should thus get 'the casing of the hollow-bellied round shield, where it runs round (*i.e.* the ἀντυξ), is fastened to its ground 'with coils of snakes.' It is hard to choose, but the rendering already given offers a more completely intelligible picture.]

484 sq. αὐτός: turning from the shield to the man himself.—ἐνθεός... Ἄρει: *i.e.* not Βάκχῳ, but with more fell possession. So πρὸς ἄλκην again restricts βακχᾶ and Θυιάς: he revels with Thyiad-frenzy, but with a different spirit in his revelling. Cf. Eur. *H. F.* 1121 Ἄδων Βάκχος.—Θυιάς ὥς: Verg. *Aen.* 4. 400 saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem | bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris | Thyias, ubi auditio stimulant trieterica Baccho | orgia.—φόβον: cf. 114 (n.), 373. The sense of the noun answers to that of the conative φοβεῖ: he puts on looks 'to terrify.'

486 τοιοῦδε: both from his size (475) and his fury (484).—παῖραν: *sup.* 217

πολεμίων πειρωμένους, Soph. *Aj.* 2 πείραν τιν' ἐχθρῶν ἀρπάζει θηρώμενον.

487 Φόβος...κομπάζεται: for already Dread (or Rout, 45 n.) is being vaunted at the gates.' φόβος is at least half-personified. The meaning is that already one can hear him at the gates boasting that we are frightened away.—πρὸς πύλαις is not identical with ἐν πύλαις. The latter might be joined to φόβος in the sense 'it is boasted that there is fear (among our people) at the gates'; the former belongs to κομπάζεται. It is Hippomedon who stands πρὸς πύλαις and boasts. For the notion cf. Eur. *I. T.* 1308 πύλας ἀράξαι καὶ φόβον πέμψας ἔσω.

κομπάζεται: 'is the matter of high talk' (with him). An insufficiently observed sense of κόμπος is that of big, but empty, talk in depreciation of another; *e.g.* Eur. *Or.* 570 δρῖσας δ' ἐγὼ δειν', ὡς σὺ κομπεῖς, *Rhes.* 438 οὐχ ὡς σὺ κομπεῖς τὰς ἐμάς ἀμυστίδας.

488 πρῶτον μὲν Ὅγκα)(Ὑπέρβιος δὲ κ.τ.λ. (491); *i.e.* the divine)(the human antagonist.—ἦ τ' ἀρχέπολις. The usual reading is ἦτ', and this form of the rel. (frequent in anapaests) is apparently used by Aesch. in trimeters in *Eum.* 1025, *Pers.* 300, although in both instances it is quite legitimate to take τε independently. The phraseological adv. ἐξ οὗτε is found in *Pers.* 764, *Eum.* 25. In the present place τ' is best taken as exegetic (*Cho.* 94, *Ag.* 9, *Suppl.* 42 &c.): 'Onca Pallas, that is, our neighbour.' The schol. on Soph. *O. T.* 20 (Παλλάδος διπλοῖς ναοῖς) observes that there were two temples of Athena at Thebes, one of Ὅγκαλα and one of Ἰσμηρία, or one of Ἀλαλκομενία and one of Καδμεία, but that the temple of Alalcomenia was, according to some, in a village. The sanctuary and enclosure of Onca were outside the walls (see *Introd.*

πύλαισι γείτων, ἀνδρὸς ἐχθαίρουσ' ὕβριν
 εἶρξει, νεοσσῶν ὥς δράκοντα δύσχιμον. 490
 Ὑπέρβιος δὲ κεδνὸς Οἶνοπος τόκος
 ἀνὴρ κατ' ἀνδρα τοῦτον ἡρέθη θέλων
 ἐξιστορηῆσαι μοῖραν ἐν χρεῖα τύχης,
 οὗτ' εἶδος οὔτε θυμὸν οὐδ' ὄπλων σχέσιν
 μωμητός, Ἑρμῆς δ' εὐλόγως συνήγαγεν. 495
 ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ξυστήσεται,
 ξυνοίσετον δὲ πολεμίους ἐπ' ἀσπίδων
 θεούς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πυρπνόον Τυφῶν' ἔχει,
 Ὑπερβίῳ δὲ Ζεὺς πατήρ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος
 σταδαῖος ἦσται, διὰ χερὸς βέλος φλέγων. 500
 κοῦπω τις εἶδεν Ζῆνά που νικώμενον.

489 τάνδρὸς Paley. ↓.

490 μ' writes ε over ι of δύσχιμον.

494 οὐθ' ὄπλων

recc. ↓. 496 ἀνὴρ M. ἀνδρὶ om. M^a (then writes it above the verse). ξυντή-

§ 16). Hence ἀγχίπολις, which, though commonly taken as meaning 'near to the city' (a notion repeated and emphasised in πύλαισι γείτων), more probably = 'of neighbour πόλις': cf. Soph. *Ant.* 970 ἀγχίπολις Ἄρης (Ares being a Thracian divinity and so a neighbour to the scene mentioned), Bacchyl. 12. 56 σὺν ἀγχιδόμοις | θρόσκονσ' ἐταίραις ('from neighbouring houses'), Theogn. 32 γείτοσ' ἢ ἀγχιθύροις ('from next door'). So ἀγχιτέρμων ('with borders adjoining'), ἀγχίγυος. The τέμενος of Onca, which is not part of Καδμεία, is her πόλις. We must remember the very small size of many Greek πόλεις, particularly in epic times, and how a συνοικισμός was often formed (as at Athens, Sparta and Rome) out of once independent settlements as close to each other as this. The word is thus defined, not merely expanded, by πύλαισι γείτων.

Though outside the walls, Onca has a special interest in these gates (Ὀγκαῖαι). There may also be an apt point (as Verrall thinks) in the opposition of Pallas to Typhos. Cf. Hor. *Od.* 3. 4. 53 *sed quid Typhoeus...* | *contra sonantem Palladis aegida...*?

489 sq. ἀνδρὸς ἐχθαίρουσ' ὕβριν: ἀνδρὸς is not τοῦ ἀνδρός (Hippomedon), but generic. The maiden goddess detests ὕβρις.—ἀνδρὸς (though it may possibly glance at the sense ἀρσενος)=ἀνθρώπου or τινος, and the phrase=ἀνδρα ὕβρι-

ζοντα.—ὕβριν is felt as the object of εἶρξει as well as of ἐχθαίρουσα.

νεοσσῶν ὥς κ.τ.λ.: 'as it were (keeping off) a cold serpent from young birds.' We should not suppose an ellipsis for 'as it were (a bird) keeping off a snake from her young ones.' The bird does not succeed in keeping off the snake, nor is Pallas regarded as a mother.—δύσχιμον: the *frigidus anguis* of Vergil, with a picture of the cold serpent creeping into the warm bed (cf. 278 sqq.), and perhaps also of the paralysing or blood-freezing terror of the nestlings.

491 Ὑπέρβιος δὲ κ.τ.λ. The repeated sound (-os) in this line was readily tolerated by Greek ears. Cf. *Cho.* 42 (n.), *ibid.* 761 οἶκων, θέλων δὲ τῶνδε πεύσεται λόγων, and add Soph. *O. T.* 567 πῶς δ' οὐχί; κοῦκ ἠκούσαμεν, Eur. *fr.* 819. 7 Κίλιξ ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Κιλικία κικλήσκειται, Ion 1543 οὗ γ' ἐγὼ γάμους, Or. 238 ἔως ἐώσι σ'.

492 sq. ἀνὴρ κατ' ἀνδρα: 'as our man to match man' (in distinction from divine action). Cf. 434.—ἡρέθη θέλων ἐξιστορηῆσαι κ.τ.λ. Though it would be easy to suggest e.g. ἡρήσθω the text is sound and only needs interpretation. There should be no stop at ἡρέθη, the sense being that, at the time of selecting the six Thebans, Hyperbius was among them (ἡρέθη), asking no questions as to what his task (share, μοῖραν) would be in the fighting, but quite ready (θέλων)

to the gates—in abhorrence of a wanton man will keep him off, like a chill snake from nestlings. And, for a man to match such man, there is Hyperbius, Oenops' trusty son. At the choosing he was ready to leave the hour of need to teach him his task. In naught is he to seek—in shape, in temper, or in fashion of his arms; and with reason hath Hermes brought the pair together. For the man is foe to the man whom he will meet, and hostile are the gods whom they will pit upon their shields. The one hath Typhon breathing fire, while on Hyperbius' shield Father Zeus sits waiting steady, with bolt ablaze grasped in his hand; and none, I ween, hath ever seen Zeus discomfited. Such is

σεται M, ξυστήσεται m. ξυμβήσεται of Plut. *Thes.* 1 belongs to the free quotation of antiquity. 500 φέρων recc. 501 του (for που) Elmsley.

to learn the answer to that question (ἐξιστορηῆσαι) when the turn of events needed him (ἐν χρείᾳ τύχης). μοῖρα not rarely = 'function' or 'office': cf. *Cho.* 237 n., *Eum.* 479 αὐται δ' ἔχουσι μοῖραν οὐκ ἐντέμπελον. There is of course no notion that Hyperbius 'was chosen' to match Hippomedon, since the Argive arrangement was not then known: ἀνὴρ κατ' ἄνδρα Ἵπέρβιος ἡρέθη θέλων κ.τ.λ. is good idiomatic Greek for ἀνὴρ (πάρεστιν ἡμῖν) Ἵπέρβιος, δὲ ἡρέθη κ.τ.λ. [So simple is this rendering when once seen, that there appears no need to discuss recondite explanations of ἐν χρείᾳ τύχης as 'consulting the oracle of fortune,' or (on the analogy of χρῆσθαι τύχῃ) as 'to find out his fate when he experiences his fortune.' These and other interpretations are due to a misunderstanding of μοῖραν.]

494 οὐτ'...οὐτ'...οὐδ'. The reading is correct. οὐτ'...οὐτ' belong to one notion, viz. that of the man's own qualities (physique and courage), while οὐδ' adds another, viz. that of equipment.—εἶδος refers to v. 475 σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος, θυμὸν to 484 sqq., ὅπλων σχῆσιν = *armorum habitum*, 'fashion of his arms.' The sense of μωμυγῆς is relative. It is as a match for Hippomedon that no 'deficiency' can be found (cf. this frequent notion in μέμφεσθαι, ἀμεμπτος, ἀμεμφής &c.: *Cho.* 508 n.).

495 Ἑρμῆς: both as ἐναγώνιος and as the god of 'lucky finds' (ἔρμαια). Cf. *Cho.* 809 παῖς ὁ Μάλας, ἐπεὶ φορώτατος | πρᾶξιν οὐρίαν θέλων. It was a species of lottery which brought the pair together (as it did regularly in the athletic contests), and Hermes is the deity presiding

over lots (οἱ κλήροι τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἱεροὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι schol. Ar. *Pac.* 365).—εὐλόγως: the emphatic word. Cf. 505 πρὸς λόγον τοῦ σήματος.—συνήγαγεν: the tense answers to ἡρέθη (492).

496 ἀνὴρ)(θεός (498): 'the men are enemies and so are the gods....' More must be implied than that the men are matched as πολέμιοι. There must have been some special feud already between them, which would be stated more expressly in the epic.—τῷ is relative.

498 sq. πυρπνόν. The thought is that, while Typhon breathes fire from his mouth, Zeus wields a fire more terrible in his hand. In πατήρ the god is considered as benign and protecting. Note again ἐπ' ἀσπίδος so soon after ἐπ' ἀσπίδων.

500 σταδαῖος ἦσται: he sits, but firm and ready, quietly waiting for the opponent. Both words contrast his tranquillity with the fury of Typhon.—φλέγων: 'causing to blaze.'—διὰ χερὸς: the bolt (familiar in works of art) passes through the clasped hand and projects on either side. The words are opposed to διὰ στόμα of 480. (A 6th cent. black-vase illustration of a contest between Zeus and Typhon may be seen in Hill's *Illustrations of School Classics* p. 7.)

501 που: not of place, but sarcastic: 'I believe.'—νικώμενον = περικυμένον by the usual idiom of νικᾶν. For the thought cf. Eur. *Herac.* 349 sqq. τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἡρᾶ προστατεῖ Διὸς δαμαρ, | ἡμῶν δ' Ἀθάνᾳ· φημὶ δ' εἰς εὐπραξίαν | καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπάρχειν, θεῶν ἀμεινόνων τυχεῖν' | νικωμένη γὰρ Παλλὰς οὐκ ἀνέζεται.

τοιάδε μὲν τοι προσφίλεια δαιμόνων·
 πρὸς τῶν κρατούντων δ' ἐσμέν, οἱ δ' ἡσσωμένων,
 εἰ Ζεὺς γε Τυφῶ καρτερώτερος μάχῃ·
 Ὑπερβίῳ τ', εἰ πρὸς λόγον τοῦ σήματος 505
 εἰκὸς γε πράξειν ἄνδρας ᾧδ' ἀντιστάτας,
 Σωτήρ γένοιτ' ἂν Ζεὺς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τυχόν.

ἀντ. β. ΧΟ. πέποιθα τὸν Διὸς ἀντίτυπον ἔχοντά <γ' >
 ἄφιλον ἐν σάκει τοῦ χθονίου δέμας,
 δαίμοσιν ἐχθρὸν εἰκασμα βροτοῖς τέ καὶ 510
 δαροβίοισι θεοῖσι,

502 μέντοι M. Qu. *τοιάδε μὲν τοῖν...?

before these lines. Two late MSS transpose 505, 506 (with εἰκὸς δέ..., whence Pauw εἰκὸς δὲ πράξειν κἀνδρας). There are no variants affecting the construction, except that in 506, for εἰκόσγε πράξιν (sic) of M, m' not only emends with πράξειν (i.e. εἰν superscr.) but also writes δέ over γε. The order is preserved with the

504—507 m' writes β γ α δ

502 μέν τοι: perhaps μέν *τοῖν (=τούτων) should be read.—προσφίλεια δαιμόνων: i.e. respectively. The expression is for the concrete τοιαῖδε προσφιλεῖς δαίμονες: cf. 237 ξυντέλεια (n.).

504—507 m' writes β γ α δ before these lines respectively. If this is anything more than an attempt at emendation we might suppose that the line beginning with εἰκὸς was accidentally omitted through the eye of the copyist catching εἰ of the next, and that it was subsequently written in the margin and thence inserted at the wrong place. But if this alteration were made it would be difficult to give a satisfactory rendering of εἰκὸς γε πράξειν ἄνδρας ᾧδ' ἀντιστάτας. To join ᾧδ' with πράξειν is scarcely natural for the position or the rhythm, while, on the other hand, there would be no sense in πράξειν standing alone. 'Men opposed in this way' (i.e. with these particular devices) is the almost inevitable sense. Meanwhile the line εἰ Ζεὺς γε Τυφῶ κ.τ.λ. follows aptly upon 503: 'we are on the winning side...since Zeus is mightier than Typhon.'

The order of M is therefore in all probability correct. We might construe εἰ with all that follows, viz. εἰ Ζεὺς γε Τ. καρ. μάχῃ Ὑπερβίῳ τε...γένοιτ' ἂν Ζεὺς, with v. 506 parenthetical. The combination of εἰ...γένοιτ' ἂν is open to no objection, the construction being that of Ag. 921 εἰ πάντα δ' ὥς πρᾶσσοιμ' ἂν, εὐθαρσῆς ἐγώ (where the clause with ἂν represents an apodosis to a suppressed

hypothesis); or εἰ may = ἐπεὶ 'since Zeus would naturally prove (if occasion arose) protector.' But it must be admitted that it requires unusual effort to construe εἰ with the τε-clause after v. 504, and also that the parenthetic εἰκὸς γε κ.τ.λ. (which is still open to the objection already stated for πράξειν) is more than awkward. If (with Verrall) we make the parenthesis consist of πρὸς λόγον...ἀντιστάτας the sense of those words becomes clear and ᾧδ' falls into its proper place, but the parenthesis itself hardly appears Aeschylean. It seems best therefore to punctuate more fully at μάχῃ, and to make the slight correction *τ', εἰ for τε.

Ὑπερβίῳ τ' then begins a statement, not an hypothesis, and the sense is. 'and to Hyperbius—since it is only likely that men so opposed will fare according to their emblem—Zeus will naturally prove Saviour.'

τοῦ σήματος: the device in each case. —γε, though felt with εἰ, is correctly placed to emphasise εἰκὸς, 'since it is at least probable...' Eteocles, as elsewhere, does not make a positive prediction or boast (cf. 401), but in this instance he claims great likelihood. [That εἰκὸς ἐστί is found elsewhere with pres. or aor. is surely no bar to the natural use of the future. It is in fact the aor. which is the remarkable tense, and to deny a future because we find an aor. is as perverse as it would be with ἐλπίς ἐστί or ἐλπίζω. In these and similar expressions the aor. was substituted for the fut. only because

their choice of favouring powers, and ours is the prevailing side, but theirs the weaker, if Zeus is mightier in fight than Typhon. To Hyperbius—since it is like that men thus matched will fare according to their blazon—Zeus must prove Saviour, for his place upon the shield.
[HYPERBIUS *departs*.]

CHO. Sure am I that the adversary of Zeus, in that ^{2nd anti-} he bears upon his shield the friendless form of the earth-^{strophe.} born thing, the likeness loathed by higher powers, by mortals

emendation *τ', *ei* for *τε*. ↓. 505 'Τπερβίω τε πρὸς M. Corr. *ed. 'Τπερβίω τοι Blomf., δὲ Butler. 506 πρᾶξαι Sidgwick. ἀντηρέτας recc. 507 γένοιντο Zeus recc. 508 ἔχοντα | ἀφίλον M. <γ> add. *ed. ↓. πέποιθα δὴ Robortello. τὸν Ζηρὸς ἀντίπουν ἔχοντ' Dind., τὸν δὴ Διδὸς ἀντίτυπον νέμοντ' Weil (σχέθοντ' would be as likely). 510 δαίμονος Bruck and most editors (and probably schol.). ↓. βροτοῖσι τε | καὶ δαροβλοῖσι M, corr. Bruck. 511 θεοῖσιν Hermann.

the implication of futurity was often sufficiently felt in the *εἰκός* or *ἐλπίς* itself.]

507 Σωτήρ: the emphatic word. 'Zeus will prove Zeus Soter.'—ἐπ' ἀσπίδος *τυχών*: from the 'happy' fact of his being upon the shield. Cf. 388 *κυρεῖν* (n.).

508 sq. πέποιθα τὸν κ.τ.λ.: for the reading see 468 sq. (crit. n.). In ἔχοντά *γ' the particle is effective, since it aduces an argument.—ἀντίτυπον is masculine. The Chorus regards Hippomedon as himself the adversary of Zeus, inasmuch as he carries a challenge to Zeus upon his shield.—ἀφίλον: 'without a friend' among any of the three classes named immediately; cf. Eur. *H. F.* 561 ἀφίλον, ἰν' αὐθὶς σοι λέγω, τὸ δυστυχές.—χθόνιου=γγενοῦς. The omission of the noun has its purpose. Typhon is 'that thing born of earth' (not god nor man but a being unique).

510 δαίμοσιν ἔχθρον κ.τ.λ.: 'hated by δαίμονες, βροτοὶ and immortal θεοί.' The expression is not meant to be merely comprehensive, but Typhon was not recognised by any of these classes as belonging to them. Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 295 ἢ δ' ἔτεκ' ἄλλο πέλῳρον ἀμήχανον οὐδὲ εἰκός | θνητοῖσ' ἀνθρώποισ' οὐδ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, *Hymn. Apoll.* 351 οὐτε θεοῖς ἐναλκιγμον οὐτε βροτοῖσι, | δεινὸν τ' ἀργαλέον τε τυφάονα, πῆμα βροτοῖσιν. Where words like these are thus juxtaposed their meanings are duly distinguished, and 'mixed forms, half animal half human, belong to beings half way between man and god, demons rather than full-fledged divinities and demons malignant rather than benevolent. Such are Boreas,

Echidna, Typhon and the snake-tailed giants' (Harrison *Prolegomena* p. 259). The fact that in less studied language θεοί are often called δαίμονες (in the comprehensive sense of 'higher powers'), while the Titans may occasionally be called θεοί (*sup.* 498, *Hymn. Apoll.* 335, *P. V.* 443 Τῖτᾶνα...θεὸν | Ἀτλανθ') does not alter the fact that a more scrupulous distinction existed. Cf. *Soph. fr.* 511. 2 οὐτε δαίμων οὐτε τις θεῶν, Eur. *Med.* 1391, Plut. *Mor.* 415 A οἱ τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων γένος ἐν μέσῳ θέντες θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων... Ἑλλήνων δ' Ὀμηρος μὲν ἐτι φαίνεται κοινῶς ἀμφοτέροισι χρώμενος τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔστιν ὅτε δαίμονας προσαγορεύων. Ἡσίοδος δὲ καθαρῶς καὶ διωρισμένως πρῶτος ἐξέθηκε τῶν λογικῶν τέσσαρα γένη, θεοὺς εἰτα δαίμονας εἰθ' ἥρωας, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, *ibid.* 419 A (δαίμονες differ from θεοί in not being immortal), 417 F, 153 A τί ὠφελιμώτατον; θεός. τί βλαβερώτατον; δαίμων.

Though Typhon is himself a δαίμων he has no friend among his own class.—(δαίμοσιν βροτοῖς τε forms one notion, καὶ δαρ. θεοῖσι a second.)

511 δαροβλοῖσι θεοῖσι: the θεοὶ αἰὲν ὄντες of Hom. *Il.* 24. 99. In strict language δαρόβιος is simply 'long-lived' and may be used of δαίμονες no less than θεοί: cf. [Hom.] *Hymn.* 4. 260 (of the nymphs) αἱ δ' οὐτε θνητοῖς οὐτ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἔπονται | δηρὸν μὲν ζῶουσι κ.τ.λ., and *Soph. O. T.* 1099 μακραιῶνες (nymphs). While ἀθάνατοι are necessarily δαρόβιοι, not all δαρόβιοι are ἀθάνατοι. Aeschylus however is using a traditional epithet of deity ('lasting-lived') without the same consciousness of limitation in *δαρο-* which

πρόσθε πυλᾶν κεφαλὰν ἰάψειν.

ΑΓ. οὕτως γένοιτο. τὸν δὲ πέμπτον αὖ λέγω,
πέμπταισι προσταχθέντα Βορραΐαις πύλαις,
τύμβον κατ' αὐτὸν Διογενοῦς Ἀμφίονος· 515
ὄμνυσι δ' αἰχμὴν ἣν ἔχει, μᾶλλον θεοῦ
σέβειν πεποιθὼς ὀμμάτων θ' ὑπέρτερον,
ἣ μὴν λαπάξειν ἄστρῳ Καδμείων βία
Διός. τόδ' αὐδ' ἄ μῆτρὸς ἐξ ὄρεσκόου
βλάστημα καλλίπρῳρον, ἀνδρόπαις ἀνὴρ· 520
στείχει δ' ἰούλος ἄρτι διὰ παρηίδων

514 βορραΐαις M, corr. Porson. 516 sq. ἣν ἔχων...σέβει Pauw. ↓. 519 δορός
for Διός recc., Hermann &c. ↓. ματρὸς M, μητρὸς recc. It is just possible that

he would feel in *μακρο-*; the 'lasting' may be for ever, and he manifestly means 'immortal.'

A hatred mixed with a shrinking, half of fear, may be felt even by the immortals. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 20. 64 οἰκία... | σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τὰ τε στυγέουσι θεοὶ περ, Theoc. 24. 29 τόβι φάρμακα λυγρὰ κέκρυνται | οὐλομένους ὀφίεσιν, ἃ καὶ θεοὶ ἐχθαίρουσι.

512 κεφαλὰν ἰάψειν = 'fall headlong.' Cf. lyr. incert. *ap.* Plut. *Mor.* 417 C ῥιψ-αὔχην σὺν κλόνῳ. But κεφαλὴ may = 'life' (Hom. *Il.* 17. 242 ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ περιδείδια, *Od.* 2. 237 παρθέμενοι κεφαλὰς, Bacchyl. 5. 91).

514 sq. Βορραΐαις: see *Introd.* § 16. For Parthenopaeus cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 145 sqq., 1104 sqq.—τύμβον κατ' αὐτόν: cf. *fr.* 30 κατ' αὐτὸν τύμβον ἀθλίου Λίχα. Eur. *Suppl.* 660 κρήνην παρ' αὐτὴν Ἀρεος. Here, however, there is probably in αὐτόν the point that the tomb of the builder of their walls, Amphion, is a place held in chief respect, and the vision of the enemy boastfully challenging there is particularly enraging. To such a point Διογενοῦς adds a suggestion of impiety. Amphion was son of Zeus and Antiope. The tomb bears the same name in Eur. *Suppl.* 662 (σειμώνων μνημάτων Ἀμφίονος), Paus. 9. 17. 7. In Eur. *Phoen.* 145 Parthenopaeus stands ἀμφὶ μνήμα τὸ Ζήθων and the schol. there states that it was common to the two brothers. So Paus. 9. 17. 4 Ζήθῳ δὲ μνήμα καὶ Ἀμφίονι ἐν κοινῷ γῆς χῶμά ἐστιν οὐ μέγα. The tomb doubtless figured in the epic. (According to another account the tomb of Amphion was at Tithorea: Steph. Byz. *in voc.*)

516 sq. ὄμνυσι δ' αἰχμὴν κ.τ.λ. The swearing by a spear seems to have been a custom (it is at least a tradition) of epic or pre-epic times. Cf. *Hymn. Herm.* 460 (Apollo loq.) ναὶ μὰ τόδε κρανέιον ἀκόντιον. Very similar to the present place is Ap. Rhod. 1. 466 (Idas loq.) ἴστω νῦν δόρυ θεῶνρον, ὅτῳ περιώσιον ἄλλων | κῦδος ἐνὶ πτολέμοισιν αἰεῖρομαι, οὐδέ μ' ὀφέλλει | Ζεὺς τόσον, ὅσσάτιον περ' ἐμὸν δόρυ, where the speaker is reproved by Idmon (480) σὺ δ' ἀτάσθαλα πάμπαν ξειπας, the impiety consisting, as here, not in the oath itself but in the depreciation of a god (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10. 773 *dextra mihi deus et telum, quod missile libro, | nunc ad-sint*). It is not that a special sanctity attached to a spear more than to another weapon or old possession, since Achilles swears ναὶ μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον (*Il.* 1. 234), and cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1677 ἴστω σίδηρος ὄρκιον τέ μοι ξίφος. The sanctity probably lay in the venerable character of the article as a *κειμήλιον*, which from its record of successful exploits had come to be regarded—like an axe among the older Zulus or the swords Durandal and Excalibur—as possessing supernatural virtues. For such a spear cf. Eur. *I. T.* 823 Πέλοπος παλαιὰν ἐν δόμοις λόγχην πατρός.

This consideration lends the necessary point to the otherwise weak-looking ἣν ἔχει, 'a (special) spear of his.' It is hardly satisfactory to render simply 'the spear which he holds,' still less to regard the phrase as meaning no more than in e.g. Chaucer, *Prolog.* 676 *By ounces henge his lokkes that he hadde*.

The trusting of course includes trust in one's own might in wielding the weapon.

and by long-lived gods, will be dashed headlong before the gates.

SCOUT. So be it. Next for the fifth, posted at the Northern gates, right by the tomb of Amphion, son of Zeus. He swears by a spear he holds—in his assurance honouring it beyond a God and more dearly than his eyes—‘Verily I will lay waste the town of the Cadmeans in spite of Zeus.’ So doth he give tongue, the fair-visaged scion of a dam laired in the hills, a boy-man warrior, whose young crop of hair in the thick fast growth

the local sound may have been retained sarcastically, but an accidental *ā*-form sometimes occurs in dialogue (cf. *P. V.* 518 *σίδαρον*). **520** *καλλιπρωρον* M.

μᾶλλον θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. *i.e.* *πεποιθώς αὐτῇ*, ὥστε μᾶλλον θεοῦ σέβειν αὐτήν, the infin. being consequential. With the boldness of his expression cf. *Cho.* 57 τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν, | τὸδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεὸς τε καὶ θεοῦ πλεον, *Dicaerg. fr.* 5 θεὸς μέγιστος τοῖς φρονοῦσιν οἱ γονῆς.

ὀμμάτων θ' ὑπέρτερον: the eyes being the most precious possession (377 n., *Catull.* 3. 5 *quem plus illa oculis suis amabat*) and therefore often sworn by (*Herond.* 6. 23 μὰ τούτους τοὺς γλυκέας, *Theoc.* 6. 22, *Petron.* 133). There is no Zeugma in σέβειν applied to the eyes as well as to a god, since σέβειν = τιμᾶν ('set store by') in various contexts.

[To join *ἔχει πεποιθώς σέβειν* (as = πέποιθε σέβειν) is extremely improbable and awkward: (a) πέποιθε is itself a perf. and cannot be resolved into *ἔχει πεποιθώς*, (b) there should be no separation of the words, and the order should be *πεποιθώς ἔχει*, as in *Soph. O. T.* 710 οἶά μοι βεβουλευκώς ἔχει. (With aor. *ἔχω* may precede or follow the participle, but it is at least juxtaposed.) The only apparent exception is *Soph. Ph.* 601 ὃν γ' εἶχον ἥδη χρόνιον ἐκβεβληκότες, where the reading is doubtful. Other passages, in which *ἔχω* has a separate force (*e.g.* *Xen. An.* 1. 3. 14 πολλά χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνθρωπάκοτες), manifestly have nothing to do with the matter.]

518 λαπάξιν: 47 (n.). The exact words of the oath are formally quoted. In *βία Διός* the gen. bears a strong emphasis, assisted by the position: 'in spite of (even) Zeus.'

519 sq. τὸδ' αὐδᾷ κ.τ.λ.: sarcastically. 'This is the sort of way the man-boy—son of a wild woman of the hills—talks.'—*αὐδᾷ*: 'gives voice' (to things ἀρρητα).—*μητρὸς ἐξ ὀρεσκόου*: Atalanta, the father being uncertain (Ares or Milaion). Here the poet would naturally

not choose Ares and so put Parthenop. under his protection. Atalanta's haunts were upon Mt Maenalus in Arcadia (*Eur. Phoen.* 1162 Μανάλου κόρη), where she had been suckled by a bear. She housed in caves (ὄρεσκόου). The point made in this description is that she was a type of the fierce and uncivilized (ἄγριος), and that her son exhibits these qualities (see 534 sq. n.). She may have been one avatar of Artemis (*Farnell Cults of the Greek States* II. p. 448).—*καλλιπρωρον* and *ἀνδρόπαις* both convey a shade of sarcasm: it is a youth of this sort who talks so big.—*καλλιπρωρον*: so of Iphigenia (*Ag.* 245). *καλλιπρωρον* εὐπρόσωπον (*Hesych.*). The original sense of *πρῶρα* itself was 'face.' In *Eur. Suppl.* 889 Parth. is εἶδος ἐξοχάτατος.—*ἀνδρόπαις*: between boy and man, here with the implication that it is but a boy who is 'playing the man' (*i.e.* the warrior, the 'brave'). According to that version of the story which includes the Epigoni he is old enough to leave a son.

521 sq. στείχει δ' κ.τ.λ.: δὲ (almost = γάρ) carries on the notion of *ἀνδρόπαις ἀνὴρ*: 'yes, the young beard is only just growing.' He is of the age described in *Hom. Il.* 24. 348 πρῶτον ὑπνήτη, τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἦβη. That this description was included in the epic would appear from *Eur. Phoen.* 1160 (ἄρτι δ' οἶνωπὸν γένων). His youthfulness among the heroes became proverbial: cf. *Mart.* 6. 77. 2 *tam iuvenis quam nec Parthenopaeus erat*. For the expression which follows cf. *Eur. Bacch.* 1184 νέος δ' μόσχος ἄρτι γένων ὑπὸ κόρυθ' ἀπαλότριχα | κατὰκομον βάλλει (of Pentheus).

στείχει... διὰ παρηίδων: not 'coming through (the skin of) his cheeks' but 'marching gradually along (*i.e.* down) his cheeks.' Cf. *Xen. Symp.* 4. 23. 1 *τοῦτω... παρὰ τὰ ὦτα ἄρτι ἱούλος καθέρπει*. It is usual to punctuate so that *ταρφὺς* is

ὦρας φνούσης ταρφύς, ἀντέλλουσα θρίξ.
 ὁ δ' ὦμόν, οὔτι παρθένων ἐπώνυμον,
 φρόνημα, γοργόν δ' ὅμμ' ἔχων, προσίσταται.
 οὐ μὴν ἀκόμπαστός γ' ἐφίσταται πύλαις.
 τὸ γὰρ πόλεως ὄνειδος ἐν χαλκηλάτῳ
 σάκει, κυκλωτῶ σώματος προβλήματι,
 Σφίγγ' ὠμόσιτον προσμεμηχανημένην
 γόμφοις ἐνώμα, λαμπρὸν ἔκκρουστον δέμας·
 φέρει δ' ὑφ' αὐτῇ φῶτα, Καδμείων ἓνα,

525

530

522 The usual punctuation is ...φνούσης, ταρφύς ἀντέλλουσα.... ↓.

524 γοργόν

joined to **θρίξ**. Such a fem. is sufficiently common in epic and its imitators (e.g. *Il.* 10. 27 *πυλὸν ἐφ' ὑγρήν*, *Od.* 5. 467 *θῆλυς ἔερεση*, 12. 236 *ἡδὺς ἀντμή*, Theoc. 20. 8 *ἀδέα χαίταν*, *epigr.* 18 (23). 3 *χάρην ἀδύν*): see the remark in Pseudo-Plut. *Vit. et poes. Hom.* § 42. In tragedy it seems to occur only in *Thyrs.* (Soph. *Tr.* 1062), where femininity is sufficiently expressed. But, apart from any objection to the form, this arrangement leaves ὦρας φνούσης rather weak. The punctuation in the text makes ταρφύς (by position) emphatic and part of the predicate, while the gen. abs. is inserted in the necessary place to explain this quick growth: 'the crop grows fast, for it is the growing season.' For the predic. cf. *Il.* 22. 142 *ταρφέ' ἐπάσσει*, Hes. *Th.* 690 *κεραυνοὶ...ποτέοντο...ταρφέες*. The notion of ταρφύς is of that which comes thick and fast (e.g. a shower of missiles, *ταρφέες τοι* of *Od.* 22. 246, and see *Ath.* 15 c): cf. Callim. *Hymn. Iov.* 56 *ταχνοὶ δέ τοι ἦλθον λουλοὶ*. It should be noted further that, if *λουλος* had meant simply 'down' or 'young hair', the words ἀντέλλουσα θρίξ would never have been added. As usual, we have a metaphorical expression defined by the literal. *λουλος* stands for 'crop' (of corn), as in the popular song *πλείστον λουλον ἔει, λουλον ἔει*. Cf. *Ath.* 618 D for *οὔλοι* and *λουλοὶ* as sheaves, and the title *Ἰουλῶ* of Demeter. ταρφύς itself is a word connected with crops (*ταρφέα δράγματα*), and ὦρας also obtains manifest point from this rendering. The derived sense of *λουλος* appears already in *Hom. Od.* 11. 319 *πρὶν σφῶν ὑπὸ κροτάφοισιν λούλους | ἀνθήσαι πυκάσαι τε γένυς εὐανθέι λάχνη*. Herondas (1. 52) has *τοὺς λουλον ἀνθεύοντας*.—ἀντέλλουσα carries on

the idea of the crop: cf. *fr.* 300. 6 *Αἴγυπτος ... Δῆμητρος ἀντέλλει σταχύν* (where the verb is trans., as in *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 43 *χροάοντας λούλους | ἀντέλλων*).

523 sq. οὔτι παρθένων ἐπώνυμον. Although the name *Παρθενοπαῖος* has not been mentioned, it has been suggested in v. 519. It should be remembered that Eteocles would already know the names of the Argive chiefs; he is only being informed which are the seven and what posts they have received. The plur. *παρθένων* is generic. In *γοργόν δ'* the *δέ* is not simply connective, but is antithetic to the last statement='his proud temper' (which shows best in the eyes) 'is not maidenlike, but fierce.' In *γοργόν* (as in *γοργωπὸν* of *P. V.* 372) the Greek mind naturally thinks of *Γοργών* (cf. *Hom. Il.* 8. 349 *Γοργοὺς ὅμματ' ἔχων ἢ βροτολογιγὸν Ἄρηος*, of Hector), but the epithet is one often applied to warriors (*Eur. H. F.* 130, *Andr.* 1123, *Rhes.* 8), and is not uncomplimentary (*Xen. Cyr.* 4. 4. 3 *μείζους φαίνεσθε καὶ καλλίους καὶ γοργότεροι*). The word seems to have been applied to Parth. in the epic: cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 146 *ὅμμασι γοργὸς εἰσιδεῖν νεανίας*.

525 οὐ μὴν ἀκόμπαστός γε: not 'yet he does not...' (which is unsuited to the context), but 'I must not forget his boastful blazon.' As *καὶ μὴν...γε*='and the more by token' or introduces a new topic (*sup.* 231, *Cho.* 204) so *οὐ μὴν...γε* with the neg. *ἀκόμπαστος*=(καὶ) *μὴν σὺν κόμπῳ γε*.

526 τὸ...ὄνειδος: 'that (great, notorious) reproach,' which lay in the subjection of Thebes to the Sphinx: cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 1731 *Σφίγγος ἀναφέρειν ὄνειδος*.—*χαλκηλάτῳ σάκει*: a shield of hide plated with bronze. In *κυκλωτῶ* ('shaped into

of spring is but now spreading o'er his cheeks. With savage pride—in no wise maidenlike, as fits his name—and with fierce eye, doth he advance. Nor is it without his boast that he takes stand at the gates; for on his bronze-plated shield, rounded to screen his body, he bandied our country's shame, a raw-ravaging Sphinx laid on with cunning rivets, a shining form high in relief. Beneath her she bears a human being, one

τ' rec. ↓.

527 κύκλωται M, κύκλωι τῷ m.

529 γόμποισι νωμῇ Wakefield.

a circle') the round shield is again emphasised in contrast with the Theban oblong kind (cf. 629 n.). The words **σώματος προβλήματι** cannot be treated in Aesch. as an idle addition for quasi-ornamental purposes. They denote size; the shield is a complete covering for his body: cf. Hom. *Il.* 11. 32 ἀμφιβρότην (ἀσπίδα) and the precept in Tyr. 9 (7). 23 **μηρούς τε κνήμας τε** κάτω καὶ στέρνα καὶ ὦμους | ἀσπίδος εὐρείης γαστρί καλυπνύμενος. The round shield had in any case the superiority in breadth. For the mere expression cf. Hybrias *fr.* 2 τὸ καλὸν λαισθήιον, πρόβλημα χρωτός.

528 sqq. **Σφίγγ'** ὠμόσιτον κ.τ.λ. Eustathius (p. 1160. 49) explains that the figure of the Sphinx was movable and could be worked about on the face of the shield, so as to possess the appearance of life (ἵσως δὲ καὶ μηχανῇ τινι ἐκινούντο, ἐκκρουστα ὄντα καὶ οὐ διόλου προσηλωμένα τῷ σάκει· καὶ οὕτω ἐφάνταζον τοῖς ὁρώσι τὸ αὐτοκίνητον, ὁποῖον δὴ τι πλάττει καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν τοῖς Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας). It is not absolutely necessary to assume this for **ἐνώμα**, since **ἐνώμα ἐν σάκει τὴν Σφίγγα** might simply mean 'he handled a shield with the Sphinx upon it' (cf. 477 *διήσαντος*). But **προσμεμηχανημένην γόμποις** is not simply *προσκειμένην* or *προσσηδαισμένην*, and there should be some *μηχανή* implied. If we compare Eur. *Phoen.* 1124 **ποτινιάδες δ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδι | ἐπίσημα πῶλοι δρομάδες ἐσκίρτων φόβῳ, | εὖ πως στρόφινξιν ἐνδοθεν κυκλοῦμεναι | πόρπαχ' ὑπ' αὐτόν, ὥστε μαινεσθαι δοκεῖν**, we shall see that such a device was not unknown to epic tradition, and we shall naturally suspect a common source in the *Thebaica*. The exact method of achieving the motion is obscure, but is to be guessed from the nature of a Greek *στρόφινξ*, which was a pivot turning in a socket. The figure in relief is supposed to be attached to the bronze plating by such pivots, here called **γόμποι**. The

brief manner in which Aesch. states the matter probably implies (like the *πῶς* of Euripides) that he had himself no definite conception of the mechanism, the notion of which he merely borrows from the epic. In [Hes.] *Scut.* 216 sq. on the shield was Περσεύς, | οὐτ' ἄρ' ἐπιψαύων σάκεος ποσὶν οὐθ' ἐκὰς αὐτοῦ, | θαῦμα μέγα φράσασσθ', ἐπεὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐστήρικτο. The last words of this are very naive and only show how such wonders could grow. Cf. *ibid.* 164 τῶν (of the snakes) καὶ ὀδόντων μὲν καναχῇ πέλεν, εἴτε μάχοιτο | Ἀμφιτρωνιάδης.

528 **Σφίγγ'**: Introd. p. xxvi.—**ὠμόσιτον**: she is not merely the Sphinx, but the Sphinx represented in this character, to increase the savage truculence of the emblem. Eur. (*Phoen.* 1024) speaks of her **χαλαὶ ὠμόσιτοι**.

529 **ἐνώμα**: viz. when I saw him.—**λαμπρόν**: so as to be the more conspicuous to the Cadmeans against its background.

530 **φέρει δ' ὑφ' αὐτῇ**: Eur. *Phoen.* 808 Σφίγγος... | ἃ ποτε Καδμογενῇ τετραβάμοσι χαλαῖς | τείχεσι χριμπτομένα φέρειν αἰθέρος εἰς ἄβυστον φῶς | γένναν. She is a Kêr (Harrison *Prol. Gk. Rel.* pp. 208 sqq.) and therefore a creature of prey, as in [Hes.] *Scut.* 157, where the Kêr ἄλλον ζῶν ἐχουσα νεοῦτατον, ἄλλον ἄουτον, | ἄλλον τεθνηῶτα κατὰ μῦθον ἔλκε ποδοῖν. For a similar representation cf. Eur. *El.* 470 (on the helmet of Achilles) ἐπὶ δὲ χρυσοτόπῳ κράνει | Σφίγγες δυνεῖν ἀοίδιμον | ἀγραν φέρουσι, *Phoen.* 1137 (on the shield of Adrastus) ἐκ δὲ τευχέων μέσων | ὀράκοντος ἔφερον τέκνα Καδμείων γνάθοις.—**Καδμείων ἕνα**: 'one of (our) Cadmeans.' This would appear, not merely from a general assumption as to her natural prey, but from visible tokens in dress or the like. This use of **ἕνα** is as good Greek as English (Soph. *O. C.* 1592, *El.* 1342, Eur. *Hel.* 6, 83, 1207, *Bacch.* 917, *Or.* 264 &c.).

ὥς πλείστ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἰάπτεσθαι βέλη.
 ἐλθὼν δ' ἔοικεν οὐ κατηλεύσειν μάχην,
 μακρᾶς κελεύθου δ' οὐ καταισχυνεῖν πόρον,
 Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκάς· ὁ δὲ τοιόσδ' ἀνὴρ,
 μέτοικος, Ἄργει δ' ἐκτίνων καλὰς τροφάς,
 πύργοις ἀπειλεῖ τοῖσδ' ἅ μὴ κραίνοι θεός.

535

ET. εἰ γὰρ τύχοιεν ὧν φρονοῦσι πρὸς θεῶν
 αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀνοσίοις κομπάσματος·
 ἢ τὰν πανώλεις παγκάκως τ' ὀλοῖατο.
 ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τῷδ', ὃν λέγεις τὸν Ἀρκάδα,
 ἀνὴρ ἄκομπτος, χεῖρ δ' ὄρᾳ τὸ δράσιμον,
 Ἄκτωρ, ἀδελφὸς τοῦ πάρος λελεγμένου·

540

531 τῷ διαπτέσθαι Verrall.

533 καταισχύνειν M, corr. m. καταισχυνεῖ Hermann.

534—536 These verses are sometimes wrongly suspected. ↓. 534 ὁ Παρθενο-

531 ὥς πλείστ' κ.τ.λ.: 'so as to make most missiles be aimed at this man' (viz. Parthenopaeus more than another). The weapons are not actually being hurled, but this is stated as the consequence (and presumably the deliberate purpose) of such an opprobrious emblem. This attitude of Parthen. is dwelt upon in the next words: he seeks wholesale fighting (the following δ' practically = γάρ).

For the expression and the notion cf. Hom. II. 5. 618 Τρῶες δ' ἐπὶ δούρατ' ἔχευαν (on Ajax), Od. 5. 309 ἤματι τῷ δτε μοι πλείστοι χαλκήρεα δούρα | Τρῶες ἐπέριψαν.

532 sq. ἐλθὼν. The point of the word is explained by μακρᾶς κελεύθου. 'Now that he has come (all this way), he will not peddle in fighting; he will fight wholesale.' Arcadia is more remote than Argos. It should have been observed that μακρᾶς κελεύθου...πόρον is opposed to κατηλεύσειν as the travelling ἔμπορος is to the local κάπηλος. A merchant who travels far should do business worthy of his journey. Possibly in πόρον there is also a glance at 'resources.' Ennius (ap. Cic. Off. 1. 12. 38) has *nec cauponantes bellum, sed belligerantes*. In Et. Mag. p. 490. 12 it is said ὁ δὲ Αἰσχύλος τὰ δόλια πάντα καλεῖ κάπηλα· 'κάπηλα προσφέρειν τεχνήματα.'

534 sqq. Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκάς (which should not be separated from what precedes) is uttered sarcastically: 'He will deal wholesale—our Parthenopaeus from Arcadia.' There is some contempt in

'Ἀρκάς (cf. 519, 540), which is carried on by the next words.—ὁ δὲ τοιόσδ' ἀνὴρ: i.e. ὁ δὲ, τοιόσδ' ὧν ἀνὴρ (cf. Hom. Od. 16. 205 ἀλλ' ὅδ' ἐγὼ τοιοῦδε, παθὼν κακά... | ἦλθον, Cho. 479 κἀγώ, πάτερ, τοιάδε σοῦ χρεῖαν ἔχω): 'Yes, he, a man like this (of 519 sqq.), threatens our Theban (τοιόσδ') walls.' It was an outrage for the comer from uncivilized Arcadia to menace the town of Thebes.—μέτοικος (viz. at Argos) is derogatory, as any Athenian in the audience would feel. Parthen. ('Ἀρκάς, οὐκ Ἀργεῖος, Eur. Phoen. 1153) owes to Argos the debt of a breeding which Arcadia could not give.—καλὰς is ironical, but is serious in so far as it means that 'it was Argos which gave him such training as he has received towards becoming καλὸς κάγαθός.' Cf. Eur. Suppl. 890 Ἀρκὰς μὲν ἦν, ἐλθὼν δ' ἐπ' Ἰνάχου ῥοὰς | παιδεύεται κατ' Ἀργεῖος ἐκτραφεὶς δ' ἐκεῖ | ... | λόχοις δ' ἐνεστὼς ὤσπερ Ἀργεῖος γεγώς, | ἤμυνε χώρα. The epic manifestly included this matter. [To bracket these lines as spurious is surely a grievous mistake. Each champion must be named somewhere in the speech for the sake of the audience. The 'long journey' requires some specification; the sarcasm is effective; and the lines are not such as would occur to an interpolator.]

537 sq. πρὸς θεῶν: with τυχοῖεν (and stressed). As usual, the help of the gods comes first, then the mention of the human champion (540 sq.), cf. 434, 491 sq.—φρονοῦσι also bears some emphasis: 'may they meet with what they meditate.'

of the Cadmeans, to make this champion the chief aim of our missiles.

Once come, it seems, he will be no huckster of his fighting nor do discredit to the long travel he hath made—Parthenopaeus, Arcadian. Yes, such sort of a man—stranger to Argos, but paying it full price for goodly breeding—threatens the walls with this, which may Heaven not fulfil.

ET. May Heaven serve them according to their choice and all those boasts and blasphemies! Utter, for sure, would be their dire and wretched doom. But for this one too, the Arcadian of your tale, we have a man who makes no boast, but whose hand looks for the thing to do—Actor, brother to him last

παῖος rec. (attempting to emend the metre, for which see 475 n.). ↓. **535** "Αργεῖτ' recc. **538** *ἀνοστίας* M, corr. m (οἰς superscript). There may have been a reading *ἀνοστίας* ('of their wickedness'). **541** *χείρ δὲ δρᾶ* Winckelmann. I no longer propose *χείρ δ'*

The full sense is virtually *εἰ γὰρ τούτων τύχοιεν πρὸς θεῶν, ἃ (eis θεοὺς) φρονούσι*. *φρονούσι* doubtless includes pride (the plur. *δ φρονούσι* being used for the several instances of *μέγα φρονεῖν*), but primarily the use is that of *φρονεῖν τὰ τινας, φρονεῖν εὖ (κακῶς) τινί*: 'as they are opposed to the gods (in their pride), so may the gods pay them in kind.'

αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις κ.τ.λ.: 'with those impious boastings (or *κομπάσμοισιν* = blatant emblems) and all' (e.g. 414, 456, 518). In tragedy this comitative dat. is used only in the plural.

539 *πανώλεις* = *perditi*, relating here the material to the moral sense. 'As they are mad and reckless (*πανώλεις*) in their *φρονήματα*, so would they perish in utter destruction (*πανώλεις*). As they are *πάγκαλοι* ('utterly wicked'), so would they perish *παγκάκως* ('in utter misery').' Greek rather prefers than dislikes such combinations as *πανώλεις ὀλέσθαι* (= *παντελῆ θάλαρον ὀλέσθαι*).

540 *καὶ τῷδ'*: to meet this boaster we have, as in the previous cases, an unboasting opponent.—*ὃν λέγεις τὸν Ἀρκάδα*: 'whom you describe for your Arcadian.' The contempt implied in *τὸν Ἀρκάδα* is somewhat strengthened by placing the expression in the rel. clause, instead of giving the expected *τῷ Ἀρκάδι*. Metrically the accus. is of course more easily handled, but the difficulty of the dat. could have been surmounted. Apart from such considerations, however, a mere attraction of case to the rel. is not rare: cf. Hom. *Od.* i. 69 *Κύκλωπος κεχόλωται*,

ὃν ὀφθαλμοῦ ἀλάωσεν, | ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον, Soph. *El.* 160 *δλβιος, ὃν γὰ ποτε ...δέξεται...μολόντα Ὀρέσταν*, Ar. *Lys.* 61 *οὐδ' ἄς προσεδόκων... | πρώτας παρέσσεσθαι δεῦρο τὰς Ἀχαρνέων | γυναῖκας, οὐχ ἤκουσιν*, Eur. *Hec.* 771, *Herac.* 67 &c. The reputation of the Arcadians (*προσέληνοι*) for rudeness appears from schol. to Ar. *Nub.* 397 (*μῶροι*), Philostr. *Apoll.* 8. 7. 43 *Ἀρκάδες...ἀγροικώτατοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσι καὶ συνώδεις*. According to schol. on *P. V.* 554 they were *ὕβρισται*.

541 *ἀνὴρ ἄκομπος κ.τ.λ.*: with the familiar antithesis of *λόγος* and *ἔργον*, as in 434 sq., 460. The sense of *δρᾶ* may be either (1) 'looks out for' or (2) 'wears the look of.' The former answers to e.g. Hom. *Od.* 8. 443 *αὐτὸς νῦν ἰδε πῶμα*, Soph. *Aj.* 1165 *σπεύσον κοίλην κάπετόν τιν' ἰδεῖν*, Pind. *P.* 2. 34 *χρῆ...αἰεὶ παντὸς ὀρᾶν μέτρον*, Theoc. 15. 2 *ὅρη δῖφρον, Εὐνόα, αὐτᾶ, εἰρίγν.* 12. 4 *ἐκτῆσατο νίκην | ...καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ προσήκον ὀρᾶν*, Eur. *Hec.* 901 *πλοῦν ὀρῶντες ἥσυχον*, Herond. 6. 32 *χῆτέρνην τιν' ἀνθ' ἡμέων | φίλην ἀθρεῖτω*, and (with infin.) Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 21 *μόνον ὀρᾶν τὸ παῖον τὸν ἀλίσκόμενον*, Epier. *fr.* 2. 6 *ὀρῶσα πίνειν κάσθειν μόνον*. The other sense 'wears the look of action' (cf. *ἄρη δεδορκέναι, φόβον βλέπειν*) is less to the point, although the use is common: cf. Pind. *O.* 9. 119 *ἀνέρα...ὀρῶντ' ἀλκάν*, Theoc. 13. 45 *ἔαρ ὀρῶσα*.

There is of course some emphasis on *χείρ*, which here does the seeing, and on *τὸ δράσιμον* as the only object in view. Cf. Eur. *fr.* 376 *εἶδέναι τὸ δραστήον*.

ὅς οὐκ ἑάσει γλῶσσαν ἐργμάτων ἄτερ
 ἔσω πυλῶν ρέουσιν ἀλδαίνειν κακά,
 οὐδ' εἰσαμεῖψαι θηρὸς ἐχθίστου δάκους
 εἰκὼ φέροντα πολεμίας ἐπ' ἀσπίδος.
 ἔξωθεν εἴσω τῷ φέροντι μέμψεται
 πυκνοῦ κροτησμοῦ τυγχάνουσ' ὑπὸ πτόλιν.
 θεῶν θελόντων πᾶν ἀληθεύσαιμ' ἐγώ.

545

στρ. γ'. ΧΟ. ἰκνεῖται λόγος διὰ στηθέων,
 τριχὸς δ' ὀρθίας πλόκαμος ἴσταται,

550

ἐρεῖ (*Class. Rev.* III. 104). ↓. **544** εἴσω Blomfield. **545** τείχος (for θηρὸς) Francken, Σφιγγὸς Schütz. Such changes are weakenings. ↓. **547** ἔξωθεν δ' εἴσω G. C. W. Schneider, ἔξωθεν οὔσα Donner, ἔξω μένουσα Wecklein. ἡ ἔωθεν Porson. ↓. The sense might perhaps be clearer if vv. 547, 548 were transposed. **548** κροτισμοῦ M, κροτησμοῦ M^a. **549** θεῶν θελόντων δ' ἂν M. δ' om. recce., κἂν rec. Corr. *ed.

543 sq. ὅς οὐκ ἑάσει κ.τ.λ. The sense of this passage is not easy to crystallise, depending as it does upon whether ἔσω expresses motion into or action inside.—**ρέουσιν** is also ambiguous, since it suits either a stream 'flowing' into the gates or a 'fluent' tongue inside. We may render either by (1) 'will not permit a (mere) tongue (viz. that of Parthenopaeus) without deeds to flow into the gates and foster trouble' or (2) 'will not let a mere flow of tongue without deeds, inside the gates, make matters worse' (i.e. on our side there will be no mere talking, but action). In either case the phrase γλῶσσα ρέουσα is primarily chosen as expressing fluency and a lack of restraint: cf. Plut. *Mor.* 509 D οὐκ ἔστι γλώσσης ρεούσης ἐπίσχεσις οὐδὲ κολασμός, Hor. *Sat.* 1. 7. 28 *salso multoque fluenti*, and e.g. Soph. *fr.* 843. 3 πολλὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκχέας μάτην. Nevertheless the literal picture of **ρέουσιν** is not yet lost in the Greek (as it is in the English 'fluent'), and the poet is led to complete its sense with **ἀλδαίνειν**, which suggests the fostering of plants by irrigation. We have therefore 'a stream of tongue which makes trouble grow.' But whose tongue? And in what way does it 'make trouble grow'? If it is the tongue of Parthenopaeus, the thought is that Actor will not permit him to force his way in with mere bragging, so as to work mischief upon us. If it is the tongue of Actor (or his Thebans), the sense is that he will not permit the answer to Parthen. to be a mere flow of tongue, safe inside the walls, which will only make matters worse. (**ρέουσιν**

would then include the notion of idle waste: cf. Soph. *O. T.* 258 τί δῆτα δόξης ἢ τί κληδόνος καλῆς | μάτην ρεούσης ὠφέλημα γίγνεται;)

The objection to the latter rendering is that **ἀλδαίνειν κακά** does not appear to be any necessary consequence of deedless talk inside the gates (unless, just conceivably, by provoking the divine *φθόνος*, which is at present earned only by the foe). Moreover, if it is Actor's own tongue that is concerned, **οὐκ ἑάσει** is hardly a natural expression. The former rendering is much the better, especially if we understand a reference in **πυλῶν** to the sluice-gates of irrigated country (such as that in the lower Cephissus valley). The gates of Thebes act as sluices to shut back a stream. When ordinary sluices are opened the water is let in and **ἀλδαίνει τὰ φυτά**. If the 'sluices' of Thebes are opened, there is a hurtful flood; it is **κακά** that the stream **ἀλδαίνει**. Hence the whole = 'he will not suffer a stream of tongue without deeds to stream through (our sluice-)gates and cause a growth of mischief.' For **ἀλδαίνειν** and water cf. Plut. *Mor.* 664 C τὰ δ' ἀστραπαῖα τῶν ὑδάτων εὐαλδῇ καλοῦσιν οἱ γεωργοί. For **γλῶσσαν** as 'mere' talk cf. Eur. *H. F.* 229 οὐδὲν ὄντα πλὴν γλώσσης ψόφον. [**γλῶσσαν ρέουσιν** might doubtless be considered as a description ('fluent tonguester') of Parthenopaeus himself.]

545 sq. **εἰσαμεῖψαι**: 'enter.'—**θηρὸς** ... **δάκους**: the first gen. depends on the second: 'the monster of a hated beast.' This construction is indicated by Eur. *Hipp.* 646 ἀφθογγα δ' αὐτοῖς συγκατοι-

chosen. He will not suffer talk without deeds to pour inside the gates and make mischief grow, nor will he yield entrance when one bears upon a foeman's shield the likeness of the worst-loathed beast and monster.

She will have quarrel with her bearer, when from without inwards she finds hammering thick and fast beneath the town. May I speak naught but truth, thanks to the Gods' goodwill.

[ACTOR *departs*.]

CHO. Through my breast the news strikes home, and my ^{3rd} strophe.

We need not find much difficulty in the corruption (δ for π): cf. Soph. *El.* 467 πᾶν (Δ) for δρᾶν (cett.), Ar. *Pax* 870 δέους (B) for πέους. δρᾶν would be possible, but is neither so near nor so satisfactory in sense. †. τᾶν Elmsley, τὰδ' ἂν Arnald, ἀλλ' Headlam (punctuating after θελόντων). θεῶν δ' ἂν θελόντων δῆτ' Butler, δ' ἂν κατορθώσαιμι' *εἶπος* Weckl. (from Weil's τὸδ' ἂν ἀληθεύσαιμι' *εἶπος*). τῶδ' ἂν ἀγρεύσαιμι' *ἐγώ* (*Class. Rev.* III. 105). 551 *δρῖος* Blomfield.

κίλειν δάκη | θηρῶν, *Cycl.* 325 θήρειον δάκος. The two words ἐχθροῦ...πολεμίας accentuate the point; the entrance of so hateful a thing is quite intolerable.—φέροντα: not=τὸν φέροντα (*i.e.* of Polyn. in particular) but τινὰ φέροντα (=ἦν τις φέρῃ). See *Cho.* 69 (n.) and add *Hom. Il.* 9. 318 ἴση μοῖρα μένοντι, *Semon. fr.* 7 (8). 98, *Carcin. fr.* 4. 2.

547 sq. *ἔξωθεν εἰσω κ.τ.λ.* There is a pause, and the asyndeton is dramatically good. The sense is not 'she from the outside of the shield shall blame the bearer who is inside it' (*i.e.* because she bears all the brunt). This is a weak point to make and lends no special value to κροτησμοῦ. Rather the Sphinx is an ἐκκρουστον δέμας (529); the repoussé work is properly hammered from within outwards. Now on the contrary her image is to be hammered inwards, with blows thick and fast (cf. 531). The usual process is reversed (cf. *Plut. Mor.* 463 Ε ἂν ἔξωθεν εἰσω τὴν λογιζομένην ἀναστρέφῃ='inside out'). The order is permitted by the emphasis in the sense, 'she shall blame him because it is "outside in" that she is hammered.' The appearance of φέροντι after φέροντα is sufficiently Greek, but is helped here by the stress: 'it is her bearer whom she will blame.' The point of ὑπὸ πτόλιν seems to be 'when (or if) she is brought close to the city.' Despite the order the words look to φέροντι. [A conjecture τυγχάνουσα τοῦμπαλιν, helping the above sense of 'reversely,' might perhaps be considered.]

549 θεῶν θελόντων *πᾶν κ.τ.λ. See *crit. n.* It is manifest that Eteocles is declaring (or praying) with the proviso

'God willing.' In the last lines he has made an assertion in a manner more bold than is usual with him (cf. 505 sqq., 401, 436 sq., 493). It needs some qualification, exactly as in 612 (q.v.).—ἀληθεύσαιμι' ἐγώ has every appearance of being genuine, and the thought required is *e.g.* 'for my part (ἐγώ, who am no braggart), I trust I am speaking what is true (in predicting this fate to his Sphinx), but it must of course be as Heaven wills.' The error therefore lies only where it lies in the metre, viz. in δ' ἂν. If we give to πᾶν the sense of 'nothing but' (as in πάντ' ἀγαθὰ πεπράγαμεν and the like), the text='may I, for my part, in all cases speak but the truth under pleasure of the Gods.'

550 ἰκνεῖται: 'comes home.' Cf. *Cho.* 374 ἀλλὰ διπλῆς γὰρ τῆσδε μαράγγης | δοῦπος ἰκνεῖται, and *ibid.* 379. The whole ἰκν. διὰ στήθεων='penetrates to the heart.' Cf. *Cho.* 54 δι' ὧτων φρενός τε... περαίνον, *Ag.* 1036 ἐσὼ φρενῶν λέγουσα.—λόγος is the story told by the ἄγγελος following upon those of the other ἀνδρῶν (553).

551 τριχὸς δ' κ.τ.λ. It should be noted that the hyperbole (which is greater with πλόκαμος than with the ordinary ὀρίξ) is saved by the pres. ἵσταται: 'it begins (or seeks) to rise.' For the expression itself cf. *Hom. Il.* 24. 359 ὀρθαὶ δὲ τριχες ἔσταν, *Soph. O. C.* 1464 ἐς δ' ἄκραν | δέιμ' ὑψηλθε κρατὸς φόβαν, *O. T.* 1624, *Cho.* 32, *Eur. Hel.* 632 κρατὶ δ' ὀρθίους ἐθείρας | ἀνεπτέρωκα (of joy), *Soph. fr.* 791 ὀρθόκερως φρίκη. The feeling here is partly dread, but partly also horror at their blasphemies, as the next words

μεγάλ' ἃ μεγαληγόρων
κλύω <τῶ>ν ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν. εἰ θεοὶ
θεοί, τούσδ' ὀλέσειαν ἐν δᾶ.

- ΑΓ. ἔκτον λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα σωφρονέστατον 555
ἀλκὴν τ' ἄριστον μάντιν, Ἀμφιάρεω βίαν.
Ὅμολωϊσιν δὲ πρὸς πύλαις τεταγμένος
κακοῖσι βάζει πολλὰ Τυδέως βίαν,
"τὸν ἀνδροφόντην, τὸν πόλεως ταρακτορα,
μέγιστον Ἀργεὶ τῶν κακῶν διδάσκαλον, 560
Ἑρινύος κλητῆρα, πρόσπολον Φόνου,

552 sq. μέγᾳλα μεγαληγόρων | κλύων ἀνοσίων M. Corr. *ed. ↓. κλύουσ' recc. κλυούσῃ Hermann, κλύουσιν Wellauer.

553 εἰ θεοὶ M^a (θεοὶ M). ↓. εἴθε γὰρ recc. εἴθε δὴ Schwenk (εἴθε μοι might be nearer, if it had been required).

shew. The adj. is proleptic. [The passage is only prosaized by the substitution of ὄρθιος.]

552 sq. *μεγάλ' ἃ μεγαληγόρων *κλύω <τῶν> κ.τ.λ. The μέγᾳλα of M was an almost inevitable error. The sense of ἃ is ὅτι ταῦτα (or τοιαῦτα): 'at the haughty boasts I hear.' Cf. *sup.* 83, *P. V.* 939 ἥ μὴν ἐτι Ζεὺς... | ἔσται ταπεινός, ὅλον ἐξαρτῆται | γάμον γαμῆν, *Plat. Phaed.* 58 E εὐδαίμων ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐφαίμετο, ὡς ἀδεῶς ἐτελεύτα, *Hdt.* 1. 31 ἐμακάριζον τὴν μητέρα, οἷον τέκνων ἐκύρησε. —μέγᾳλα...μεγαληγόρων recalls e.g. μέγας μεγαλωστί, αἰνῶθεν αἰνῶς. If the missing syllable is supplied with τῶν (which is technically easiest), μεγαληγόρων of course=μεγαλ. ὄντων, a construction favoured by tragedians: cf. *Eur. El.* 1006 μῆτερ, λάβωμαι μακαρίας τῆς σῆς χερὸς, *Cho.* 494 (n.).

553 sq. εἰ θεοὶ θεοί: if the Gods are really Gods, and possess the power of Gods, i.e. if they are mightier than mortals, let them punish such words as those of Parthenopaeus. Cf. *Soph. O. C.* 623 εἰ Ζεὺς ἐτι Ζεὺς. Probably also there is a reference to the supposed derivation from θεῖναι: 'if the Gods are what their name implies, viz. disposers' (cf. the vulgar English notion that 'God' is etymologically related to 'good').—τούσδ' practically=τοιούσδε, 'men like these.'

ἐν *δᾶ. The ἐν γᾶ of MSS (at least without τᾶδε) makes no ascertainable sense.—δᾶ would very naturally be misunderstood as the 'Doric form for γᾶ' (cf. schol. to *P. V.* 589 τὸ δὲ ἃ δᾶ ὦ γᾶ. οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν δῆν καὶ δᾶν φασιν),

and the less usual form (for δᾶ) would help confusion. For the word cf. *inf.* 909 and *Anth. Pal.* 6. 2. 3 (Simon.) πολλάκι δὴ στονόεντα κατὰ κλόνον ἐν δατ φωτῶν. For the contraction cf. κῆν νῆ (=ναί) in *Alcman fr.* 23. 95, a form quoted also from Sophocles. Similarly ἐν φῶ· ἀντὶ τοῦ φωτὶ (*Et. Mag.* 803. 45 = *Eur. fr.* 534).

555 sq. ἔκτον κ.τ.λ. Amphiarus (see *Introd.* p. xxxi and *Eur. Phoen.* 171 sqq., 1111 sqq.) has been reserved as late as possible (Polyneices must necessarily come last), not as being a man of minor importance, but as being of a different type. We may construe either (1) ἄνδρα σωφ. ἀλκὴν τ' ἄριστον with μάντιν following independently as a further description, or (2) ἄνδρα σωφ. ('wise and modest as a man') is answered by ἀλκὴν τ' ἄριστον μάντιν (i.e. 'and no less valorous for being a seer'). In the former interpretation he possesses two cardinal virtues, σωφροσύνη and ἀνδρεία; he is also a seer. But (as Verrall also holds) the latter rendering is pointed to by two passages which seem to imply a common source in the epic description, viz. *Pind. O.* 6. 15 (Adrastus loq.) ποθέω στρατιᾶς δόφθαλμόν ἐμάς, | ἀμφοτέρων μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δορί μάρνασθαι, *Soph. O. C.* 1313 Ἀμφιάρεως, τὰ πρῶτα μὲν | δόρει κρατύνων, πρῶτα δ' οἰωνῶν ὁδοῖς (=καὶ μαχητῆς καὶ μάντις=ἀλκὴν ἄριστος μάντις).—σωφρονέστατον. The kind of σωφροσύνη specially thought of is doubtless that opposed to the ὕβρις and μεγαλαυχία of the other champions, but there is a connotation of σοφία, which makes it neces-

hair would raise its locks on end, when I hear how boastful the loud boasts of those impious men. If Gods are Gods, may they bring these to naught.

SCOUT. For sixth I am to reckon a warrior right sage and seer right valorous, mighty Amphiaraus. With post at the Homoloian gates he hurls many an ill name upon the mighty Tydeus. 'Murderer, troubler of public peace, grand master to Argos in the art of wrong, Summoner of Avenging Power,

554 ἐν γὰρ M, om. rec. Corr. *ed. ↓. ἐμπας Wecklein.

556 ἀλκὴν δ' recc.

561 λητῆρα H. L. Ahrens. ↓.

sary for him to be met (*inf.* 582) by similar opponents, σοφοί τε κάγαθοί (= ἀνδρείοι).

557 Ὁμολοῖσιν: *Introd.* § 16.

558 κακοῖσι βάσει πολλά: πολλά are the many terms given immediately. Grammatically the word is contained acc. used as adverb, while κακοῖσι is modal or instrumental: 'be-talks Tydeus with....' Cf. Hes. *Opp.* 186 μέμνονται δ' ἄρα τοὺς χαλεποῖς βάζοντας ἔπεσιν. This answers to e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2. 224 αὐτὰρ ὁ μακρὰ βοῶν Ἀγαμέμνονα νείκεε μύθῳ, the κακά here used being κακοὶ λόγοι or μῦθοι. For the sense of βάζειν see 470, and for the relations of Tydeus and Amphiaraus 367—370.

559 τὸν ἀνδροφόντην κ.τ.λ. A quotation of the names actually applied by Amphiaraus. The article forms part of the language usual in such cases, the direct expression not being ὦ ἀνδροφόντα but σὲ τὸν ἀνδροφόντην...λέγω. Cf. *P. V.* 976 σὲ τὸν σοφιστὴν, τὸν πικρῶς ὑπερπικρον, | τὸν ἐξαμαρτόντ' εἰς θεοὺς... | ... τὸν πυρὸς κλέπτην λέγω, Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 4 ὁ δ' Ἀρμένιος συμπρόσπεμπε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι, ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν εὐεργέτην, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀγαθόν. The article in such instances is strictly demonstrative.

Tydeus was ἀνδροφόντης as having slain in Calydon Alcaethous and Lycauges (*schol.*), or his uncle Thoas, or his own brother Olenias (the accounts differ). That homicide was the cause of his expatriation to Argos. Cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 147 ΘΗ. ἦλθον δὲ δὴ πῶς πατρίδος ἐκλιπὼνθ' ὄρους; | ΑΔ. Τυδεὺς μὲν αἷμα συγγενὲς φεύγων χθονός. In πόλεις παράκτορα the reference is not, of course, to Thebes: neither is it specifically to Argos (a thought which belongs to the next line). Rather the expression is generic, comparing his treatment of individuals (ἀνδροφόντην) with his treat-

ment of πόλεις. He is a murderer of his fellowman and a disturbance to a community. Of this character Calydon had first had experience, now Argos. The way in which Argos suffers by him is next mentioned.

560 μέγιστον: see 412 (n.) for this use of μέγας. Tydeus is the chief prompter of the Theban campaign (*Introd.* p. xxxi). Amphiaraus had opposed the expedition, but Adrastus says (Eur. *Suppl.* 158) ἦλθον Ἀμφιάρεω γε πρὸς βίαν because of the νέων ἀνδρῶν θόρυβος. This was mainly the work of Tydeus (see Apollodor. 3. 6. 8) and was apparently described in the epic. Tydeus had married Deipyle, daughter of Adrastus.

τῶν κακῶν: generic; not 'the present troubles' with Thebes (which would require τῶνδε as in 562), but of wrong courses in general. Conduct is divided into two classes, the right course (τὰ ἀγαθά) and the wrong (τὰ κακά). Cf. *Eum.* 882 οὗτοι καμοῦμαι σοι λέγουσα τάγαθά, *Cho.* 781 (n.), *inf.* 581.

561 Ἐρινύος κλητῆρα: obviously not the Erinyes of Oedipus (with which Tydeus has nothing to do), but a general description. He is one who invokes or calls out the activities of the Erinyes, his behaviour being such as to provoke those agencies. For the quality implied in an Erinyes see 70 (n.). Tydeus is a perpetrator of unnatural acts. According to the current Greek notion such a man causes those who associate with him to share in his calamity or curse; cf. the use of ἔρρειν, φθαρῆναι πρὸς τινα, ἐξομώργυνσθαι τί τι, and e.g. Ar. *Eq.* 4. *Av.* 916 κατὰ τί δέῃρ' ἀνεφθάρης; (= 'why did you come here with a plague upon you (to our injury)?'). Tydeus thus summons an Erinyes to Argos in the present instance.—κλητῆρα can hardly here be used in the special legal sense. Rather

κακῶν τ' Ἀδράστῳ τῶνδε βουλευτήριον."
καὶ τὸν σὸν αὖθις πρὸς σποράς ἀδελφεὸν
ἐξυπτιάζων ὄμμα, Πολυνείκους βίαν,
δῖς τ' ἐν τελευτῇ τοῦνομ' ἐνδατούμενος

565

562 κακῶν δ' recc. τ' del. Wecklein. **563** πρὸςμόραν M, πρόσμορον or πρὸς μόνον recc. Corr. *ed. ↓. πρὸς μόραν Verrall. προσμολών marg. Ald. (unlikely in the fact), πρὸς μόριμον H. Voss, προσθροῶν ὁμόσπορον Francken, προυνσελῶν M. Schmidt (προσ-βῶν would be nearer). αὖθις ἐς πατρός μοῖραν κάσιν Hermann. I had previously

it simply = 'summoner' (τὸν Ἐρινῦς καλοῦντα, cf. κλητήρα τὸν καλέσαντα Hesych., quoting from Ion). In *Σικρῆ*. 630 κλητήρ = κήρυξ, corresponding to the κήρυκα καλήτορα of Hom. *Il.* 24. 577. But an attendant *calator* has no place here. It is hard to see how Tydeus could act as the summoner of other persons on behalf of an Erinyes, while it is easy to understand how he could call for the Erinyes herself. [The conjecture *λητήρα* is ingenious, but does not improve matters.]

πρόσπολον Φόνου: 'minister of Bloodshed,' i.e. Tydeus is specially devoted to the interests of Bloodshed and sees to it that that grim power receives his dues. He lets pass no opportunity of bringing about slaughter. A *πρόσπολος* is a temple-minister or priest (ιερέα schol.), as in *Eum.* 1025, Bacchyl. 14. 2 ('Ἀθῶνας πρόσπολος), who takes care that the sacrifices are provided. The thought is the same as in *Ag.* 736 *ιερεὺς τις Ἄτας δόμοις προσεθρέβθη* (read *προσετρίβθη*), *Eur. Or.* 261 *ἐνέρων ιερῆαι* (of the Furies). Cf. *Cycl.* 396 *τῷ θεοστνγεί | Αἶδον μαγειρῷ*.

562 βουλευτήριον: neuter, 'the instrument of advice': cf. *πανστήριον*, *θυτήριον* (*Eur. I. T.* 243), *εὐναστήριον* (*Or.* 590), *Eur. Andr.* 446 *Σπάρτης ἐνοικοι*, *δόδια βουλευτήρια*, *ψευδῶν ἀνακτες*. In *Tro.* 252 Cassandra is *σκότια νυμφευτήρια* of Agam.

563 καὶ τὸν σὸν αὖθις κ.τ.λ. The reading of M *πρὸςμόραν* is not intelligible. It is doubtless possible that the word *μόρα*, used of a 'division' of the Spartan army, may once have possessed a wider use ('part' or 'portion'), but, if so, it apparently lay very far back, and we can hardly receive into Attic trimeters a word which is not only absent from Attic and its cognate Ionic, but is without any literary tradition. If such a word had been possible we might perhaps have rendered 'invites to his share' (in the reproaches). The case is different with

ἀδελφεόν, which is the only Homeric form, is Ionic, and has ample literary vogue. Sophocles (*O. C.* 535) uses *ἀδελφοί* in lyrics, and, though the form does not elsewhere occur in trimeters, it may be urged (a) that *ὅμμε* (*Eum.* 623) is no less unique, *χείρεσσι* occurs in trimeters in *Eur. Alc.* 756, *μέσσοι* in *Soph. Ant.* 1223, 1236, *fr.* 5, and in principle the appearance of *ἀδελφεός* is no more strange than that of *μόνος*, *ξείνος*. Cf. also *fr.* 350 *τὰς ἐάς*, *Eur. Hipp.* 1247 *ἐκρυφθεν* (senar.), *Phoen.* 1246 *ἔσταν δὲ λαμπρῶ*, *Hel.* 532 *πεπλωκότα*, *Rhes.* 525 *δέχθαι*, *Achaeus fr.* 24 *ἐλήλυμεν*: (b) that, since the sense of 'brother by birth' (and probably 'twin': cf. 917 n.) is here emphasised, the longer-drawn and rarer form *ἀδελφεός* (cf. Skt. *sagarbhyas*) may be deliberately chosen as more effective for the purpose.

The thought is that Polyneices is brother of Eteocles from the point of view of birth, but not from that of natural feeling. He is more than kin, but less than kind. To the Messenger also the brothers are *ἀδελφοί* in blood, but there the likeness ends, since Polyn. is unpatriotic and irreligious. The word *σποράς* is emphasised, and though one might at first be tempted to suggest e.g. *πρὸς σποράς γ'* or *ὡς σπορά γ'* with that stress in view, careful examination will show that to the best Greek the *γ'* is in such instances quite unnecessary, if not enfeebling.—*τὸν σὸν* ('your own') and the like are in tragedy always stronger than *σὸν* &c., the article being a real demonstrative added to emphasise either a distinction or a point of pathos. See *Cho.* 14 (n.), 89, 478, 484 (n.). 'Amphiaraus,' says the Scout 'turns (*αὖθις* = *deinceps*) from Tydeus to your own brother—brother so far as birth goes....' A corruption of *πρὸς* (σ) *σποράς* to *πρὸς μόρας* was due to the very similar shapes of the cursive uncials for π and μ, and the further change to the accus. was

minister of Slaughter, Adrastus' counsel in this course of mischief.'

And next upon that brother of thine—begotten for such—the mighty Polyneices, he calls with upturned eye and dwelling

thought of ... αὐθις, <ὥς> πρόσω μ' ὀρᾶν, κάσιν, but this perhaps involves too much departure. 564 ὄνομα M, corr. Schütz. ↓ (cf. MSS at Soph. *O. C.* 100, *Trach.* 379, Eur. *I. A.* 354, *I. T.* 905, Ath. 303 c for similar confusion. In Hipponax fr. 83 ap. Suid. τὸ ὄνομα is glossed in one MS by τὸν ὀφθαλμόν). 565 τ' del. Blomfield.

probably made through some fancy as to the sense.]

564 ἐξυπτιάζων ὄμμα. The objection to ὄνομα is not to the repetition in τοῦνομα of the next line. Enough instances have already occurred to shew that of such repetition the Greeks of this period thought nothing. Cf. *Ag.* 14 φόβος γὰρ ἄνθ' ὅπνου παραστατεῖ | τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ. Nor does the infrequent metrical resolution affect the question (580 n.). Rather the difficulty lies in the sense. ἐξυπτιάζειν might possibly be taken of 'spreading out' (ἀναπτύσσων schol.) or 'making to sprawl,' like a man who lies ὕπτιος. By this would be meant that he utters either (1) the name 'Πολύνεικες,' or (2) the word ἀδελφεόν in a long-drawn fashion. But against (2) it may be urged that ἀδελφεόν is a word of the Messenger, not of Amphiarus, and against both (1) and (2) that τὸ ὄνομα would be needed. The sense of ἐξυπτιάζων is also rather far-fetched. Moreover, if ὄνομα means the name 'Πολύνεικες,' there is a tautology with the next line (hardly lessened by making τ' there exegetic). The confusion of ὄνομα and ὄμμα is of the most frequent: see crit. n.

The meaning of ἐξυπτιάζων ὄμμα might be (a) 'turning back his head and looking up.' This would imply an appeal to Heaven, for which Blomfield quotes Lycoph. 362 ἢ δ' εἰς τέρασμα... | γλήνας ἄνω στρέψασα χώσεται στρατῷ, Verg. *Aen.* 2. 405 (Cassandra) *ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra*: (b) 'turning up his eyes' (in the sense of Shak. *R. and J.* 2. 2. 29 *white-upturned eyes*, Ath. 529 A τὰ λευκὰ ἐπαναβαλὼν τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν). The notion of Amph. thus using his eyes in horror might seem to a modern somewhat grotesque, but in fact the Greeks made much facial demonstration of their feelings: cf. *Cho.* 284 *νωμῶντ' ὄφρ' ἴν* (n.), Bacchyl. 16. 17 *ἴδεν δὲ Θησεύς, | μέλαν δ' ὑπ' ὀφρύων | δίνασεν ὄμμα, καρδίαν δὲ φοι | σχέτλιον ἄμυξεν ἄλγος*, Plut. *Mor.*

44, *Hymn. Herm.* 278 &c. A more curious form of expression occurs in Eur. fr. 764 *πρὸς αἰθέρ' ἐξαμύλλησαι κόρας*. Paley quotes Shak. *K. Hen. VIII.* 1. 2 *mounting his eyes he did discharge a horrible oath*.

565 δὲς τ' ἐν τελευτῇ κ.τ.λ. The sense of ἐνδατούμενος is 'dwelling upon,' derived from that of separating into components, or parcelling out with slow deliverance. Cf. fr. 350 ὁ δ' ἐνδατεῖται τὰς εἰς εὐπαιδίας, Soph. *Tr.* 791 πολλὰ δ' οἰμωγῇ βοῶν, | τὸ δυσπάρεινον λέκτρον ἐνδατούμενος, Eur. *H. F.* 218 λόγους ὀνειδιστήρας ἐνδατούμενος. A cognate use of δατεῖσθαι is that of dividing by biting = 'chewing' or 'eating' (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 20. 394 ὥμὰ δάσασθαι), and the notion of 'biting apart' the syllables was perhaps that intended in the original application of the word to contexts like the present, before it became established for poetry. Hesych. explains by μεριζόμενος καὶ οἰοεὶ κακῶς λέγων σφοδρῶς. For the first word he certainly had tradition; at *Il.* 24. 121 τοῖ δὲ χθόνα ποσὶ δατεῖντο the schol. explains by ἐμέριζον βαδίζουσαι, and so schol. Aeschin. 65. 7 (from Soph.) δατούμενος ὑπομεριζόμενος. But such a passage as that in Hom. *l.c.* may again very well be related to the familiar notion of 'eating up' the way with stride after stride (ποσὶ). ἐνδατούμενος therefore differs little in (its original) sense from 'chewing over' the name.

The meaning of ἐν τελευτῇ is not at once obvious. But inasmuch as the language here used indicates only that Amph. calls upon Polyn. by name, slowly emphasising it, while the speech addressed to him (though not necessarily in the expectation that he would hear it) follows the call (καλεῖ), we can hardly take the words as 'at the end of his speech.' It is better to gather the sense from the close connection with τοῦνομα; 'he dwells twice upon the name in its ending' (which is -νεικης); i.e. he repeats the name 'Πολύνεικες, Πολύνεικες,' but

καλεῖ· λέγει δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπος διὰ στόμα·
 “ἢ τοῖον ἔργον καὶ θεοῖσι προσφιλές,
 καλὸν τ' ἀκούσαι καὶ λέγειν μεθυστέροις,
 πόλιν πατρώαν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς
 πορθεῖν, στράτευμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβεβληκότα·
 μητρός τε πηγὴν τίς κατασβέσει δίκη;
 πατρὶς δὲ γαῖα σῆς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς δορὶ
 ἀλοῦσα πῶς σοι ξύμμαχος γενήσεται;
 ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ τήνδε πιανῶ χθόνα

570

566 φλέγει δὲ Keck. ↓.
 M^a, δίκη Blomfield.

571 μητρός δὲ Grotius. ↓.
 572 τε recc. for δὲ.

πληγὴν Seidler. ↓. δίκη
 574 In the mistaken effort to avoid

makes the most of the *flatter* part (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 636 ἀληθῶς δ' ὄνομα Πολυνεΐκη πατήρ | ἔθετό σοι θεὰ προνοία νεικέων ἐπώνυμον and inf. 645, 814 sq.). [The word, as repeated, would in all probability be uttered in different tones, according to the Greek and Latin (if not universal) manner indicated in e.g. *Apes*, “*Apes* (*Il.* 5. 31), *Hylā*, *Hylā* (Verg. *Ecl.* 6. 44), *valē*, *valē* (*ibid.* 3. 79).]

566 καλεῖ: simply = ‘calls on the name of’ as in Soph. *O. T.* 1245 καλεῖ τὸν ἦδη Λάϊον πάλαι νεκρόν. All this is an outburst which Polyn. may be much too far off to hear. At the same time it is well also to recall such a use as Soph. *O. T.* 779 ἀνὴρ...μ’... | καλεῖ παρ’ οἴνῳ πλαστός ὡς εἶπν πατρί.

λέγει δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπος διὰ στόμα is a phrase less weak and commonplace in the Greek than it appears in a literal translation.—λέγει δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπος = ‘and this is the language he uses’ (after calling upon Polyn.), while διὰ στόμα (cf. 51) denotes open speech as opposed to thought. For the width of meaning of ἔπος cf. 250, *Cho.* 46 (n.), Plut. *Mor.* 863 D ἐγὼ δὲ λέγειν ὀφείλω τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὴν οὐ παντάπασι ὀφείλω, καὶ μοι τὸ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν λόγον. For λέγει...διὰ στόμα cf. *Batrachom.* 74 (77) καὶ τοῖον φάτο μῦθον ἀπὸ στόματός τ' ἀγόρευσεν, Theogn. 266 ἡ δὲ τέρεν φθέγγετ' ἀπὸ στόματος, and the *ter voce vocavit* of Latin. Headlam (*On Ed. Aesch.* p. 75) provides other instances.

567 sq. ἢ τοῖον ἔργον καὶ κ.τ.λ....: καὶ cannot be joined with ἢ as in the familiar ἢ καὶ of incredulous question,

but it may very well play its frequent part of throwing a tone upon a word or notion which follows. Here it is not upon the one word θεοῖσι but upon the whole notion θεοῖσι προσφιλές (‘god-pleasing’), i.e. θεοὶ are not contrasted with other beings, but regard for the gods is by implication contrasted with disregard of them.—καὶ does not, of course, answer to the following τ'. (See Kühner-Gerth II. pp. 251 sq.) τ' is connective of the clauses, and the notion is μὴν θεοῖσι προσφιλές ἐστί, καλὸν τ' ἀκούσαι καὶ λέγειν μεθυστέροις; ‘and is it a thing of honour (to you) for posterity to hear and tell of?’ cf. Hom. *Il.* 2. 119 ἀσχερόν γάρ τῷδε γ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυνθέσθαι. [Amphiaraus, it will be seen, does not argue the question of Polyneices' claims, but only that of his piety and reputation for patriotism.]

569 sq. πόλιν κ.τ.λ.: cf. Soph. *Ant.* 199 δς (viz. Polyn.) γῆν πατρώαν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς | φονγὰς κατελθὼν ἠθέλησε... | πρῆσαι.

στράτευμ' ἐπακτὸν: a gravamen lies in the adjective. He calls in an alien army to invade his own country. Cf. Soph. *Tr.* 259 στρατὸν...ἐπακτόν. How nearly ἐπακτός = ξένος appears from e.g. Eur. *Ion* 592, Soph. *Aj.* 1296.

571 μητρός τε πηγὴν κ.τ.λ. τε does not answer to the following δὲ (although that sometimes occurs: see Jebb on Soph. *Tr.* 143, *O. C.* 432), but introduces a new aspect or argument. After this δὲ is connective, with an antithesis: lit. ‘(yes), and what right will ever dry up the maternal fount? And (so again)...’—μητρός is defining gen. with πηγὴν (cf.

twice upon the ending of the name. And these the words he utters: 'Doubtless a deed like this is welcome in Heaven's eye, and to be heard and told hereafter to thy glory—to despoil the country of thy fathers and the Gods of thine own race, by hurling upon them an invading host. Nay, how can there be a right to make dry the maternal fount? And how can it help thy cause when, through jealousy of thine, thy fatherland is made captive of the spear? For me, I shall make fat this land, buried

the repeated word *χθόνα* | ...*χθονός* alterations have been made, e.g. *πλάκα* (Schütz), *πόλιν* (Lowinski).

545). The *πηγή μητρός* is the 'source consisting in a mother,' i.e. the source from which one takes his birth. Having used the phrase 'the source of a mother' for the 'mother who is the source of one's life,' the poet, instead of 'slay,' proceeds with a word adapted to *πηγή*, viz. *κατασβέσει*, *σβέννυμι* being suited to various forms of 'using up,' e.g. quenching fire, exhausting a well, and so destroying life. With its present application cf. *Ag.* 878 *ἔμοιγε μὲν δὴ κλανυμάτων ἐπίσσυτοι | πηγαὶ κατεσβήκασιν*, 949 *ἔστιν θάλασσα, τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει; — τίς... δίκη* = 'what plea of right?' The whole thus = *τίς ἂν σὺν δίκη κατασβέσει;*

572 sq. *πατρίς δὲ γαῖα κ.τ.λ. = πῶς δέ σοι τὸ τὴν πατρίδα δορί ἀλῶναι ξύμμαχον γενήσεται*; 'How will the enslavement of a fatherland make for your cause?' The participial expression (more familiar in Latin) is similar to that in *Cho.* 259 οὐτ' ἀρχικός σοι πᾶς ὅδ' αὐανθεὶς πυθμῆν | βῶμοις ἀρήξει, i.e. τὸ πάντα τὸν πυθμῆνα αὐανθῆναι οὐκ ἀρήξει. See note there and add *Xen. Hell.* 2. 3. 34 οὗτος σωθεὶς μὲν πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσειε... ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων ὑπότεμοι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας, *Plut. Mor.* 68 c ὁ δὲ καυρὸς ἐν παντὶ μὲν παρεθεὶς μεγάλη βλάβη κ.τ.λ. For the thought cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 571 φέρ', ἦν ἔλθῃ γῆν τήνδ', ὃ μὴ τόχοι ποτέ, | πρὸς θεῶν τροπαία πῶς ἀναστήσεις Διί;

σὴς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς: 'through a jealousy (or ambition) of thine.' This is better than a possible 'through party spirit on your account' (cf. *σὸς πόθος, σὸς ἔρως*), since the former makes the blame more individual to Polyneices.

574 sq. *ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ κ.τ.λ. : i.e.* I know very well my own fate and I am content to meet it. The *δέ*-clause, if expressed, would refer to the fate of others.—*τήνδε*: not only with the same

force as in 48 (n.) ('I shall stay where we are'), but with implied antithesis. His seership should have enriched Argos; instead it will enrich Thebes. [For the fate of Amphiaras see *Introd.* p. xxxiii (n.). Note however that nothing is said here of his chariot, as in *Eur. Phoen.* 172 and commonly in the legend.] — *πανῶ*: 'enrich.' Though it is the country of the enemy (*πολεμίας*) he will bless it with fatness (i.e. wealth), viz. by being buried in it and becoming there a *μάντις* to whom men will resort, to the material advantage of Thebes. If there is any parallel allusion to the fattening of the earth by his body, that meaning is quite secondary, and, to prevent an acceptance otherwise, the next line is added in definition. [There is evidently no room for the notion of *Hor. Od.* 2. 1. 29 *quis non Latino sanguine pinguior | campus?* since Amphiaras was swallowed up alive.] — *μάντις* explains the enriching; grammatically it is predic. with *κεκευθώς* (i.e. ὥστε μάντις εἶναι). The word *κεκευθώς* is chosen because of the peculiar manner of his disappearance. *κρύπτειν* (or its congeners) is regularly used of the circumstance: cf. *Soph. El.* 836 *Ἀμφιάρεων... κρυφθέντα...* | *καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ γαίας* ... *πάμπυχος ἀνάσσει*. The point of *πολεμίας* is that a *ἥρως* whose burial-place became a *μαντεῖον* would choose to confer its benefits on his own or a friendly country. For the dead *μάντις* in a foreign soil see *Ridgeway Early Age of Greece* pp. 507 sqq.

ἐπὶ χθονός is right. The consideration that he will be 'buried under' the earth (*ὑπὸ χθονός*) is feeble; here the thought is that his place as prophet will be 'found upon' Theban soil. Aesch. does not say where the oracle is to be. For *χθόνα... χθονός* see *Cho.* 51 (n.).

μάντις κεκευθὼς πολεμίας ἐπὶ χθονός· 575
μαχώμεθ', οὐκ ἄτιμον ἐλπίζω μόρον."
τοιαύθ' ὁ μάντις ἀσπίδ' εὐκηλον σχέθων
πάγχαλκον ἡῦδα· σῆμα δ' οὐκ ἐπὶ κύκλῳ·
οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει,
βαθείαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος, 580
ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλευμάτα.
τούτῳ σοφούς τε κάγαθούς ἀντηρέτας
πέμπειν ἐπαινῶ· δεινὸς ὃς θεοὺς σέβει.
ET. φεῦ τοῦ ξυναλλάσσοντος ὄρνιθος βροτούς,
δίκαιον ἄνδρα τοῖσι δυσσεβεστέροις. 585

575 ὑπὸ χθονός recc. ↓. Confusion of ἐπὶ and ὑπὸ is extremely frequent (see MSS at Soph. *Aj.* 27, 345, *Trach.* 931, Thuc. 8. 10. 2, Xen. *Hell.* 1. 6. 18 &c.). 577 εὐκηλον ἔχων M, γρ. εὐκυκλον νέμων m. Corr. *ed. ↓. εὐκῆλως ἔχων Donner, εὐκῆλος νέμων Prien. 578 κύτει Weckl., σάκει Dind., πῆριξ Lowinski. ↓. 579 δίκαιος is substituted for ἄριστος in many quotations of the

576 μαχώμεθ': i.e. if you must have it so.—οὐκ ἄτιμον: either (1) in the way of meeting his death—a death of honour, or (2) in his destiny after death (574 sq.). But μόρον = 'death' and not 'fate' (*Cho.* 8 n.), and this makes for the former sense as the one literally expressed, although the latter is perhaps not excluded (cf. Cic. *de Div.* 1. § 40 *Amphiarautum sic honoravit fama...dens ut haberetur*, quoted by Paley). For ἐλπίζω with simple accus. cf. *Cho.* 537 ἄκος τομαῖον ἐλπίσασα πημάτων (n.) and (also with the unfavourable sense of ἐλπίς) fr. *adesp.* 460 ἐλπίζεω κακά.

577 ἀσπίδ' εὐκηλον *σχέθων πάγχαλκον. That the sense required is 'holding his shield quietly' should appear from the contrast with the conduct of the other champions: cf. 526—529 (with ἐνώμα), 476 sq. (with δινήσαντος), 372 sq. (the jingling bells). This sense is excellently given by εὐκηλον (cf. Ap. Rhod. 2. 936 οὐδὲ τινάσσει | ῥιπήν, εὐκῆλοισιν ἐνευδιῶν περὶ γέσσω). Nor can there be any objection to the combination of the adjectives, since εὐκηλον is predicative while πάγχαλκον is epithet: 'holding at rest a shield all of bronze.' The metrical difficulty of M might be met by νέμων (crit. n.), but this contradicts the sense. It is better to suppose that ἔχων is either corruption or explanation of σχέθων, for the tense of which see 416.

578 πάγχαλκον: i.e. not merely hide with plates of bronze (σάκος κατὰ

χαλκον), or wicker-work so covered (ἰτέα κατὰχαλκος), but made wholly of bronze. Contrast ἐπίχαλκος ἀσπίς (*Hdt.* 4. 200), χαλκόνωτον ἰτέαν (*Eur. Tro.* 1193).

σῆμα δ' οὐκ ἐπὶ κύκλῳ: cf. 476. This expression both describes the shield as round, i.e. Argive (cf. 527 κυκλωτῶ, 629 εὐκυκλον), and also helps us to visualise: 'there was no emblem to be seen on (all) its orb.' The epic apparently contained this point (cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 1111) 'Ἀμφιάραος, οὐ σημεί' ἔχων | ὕβρισμέν', ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως ἄσση' ὅπλα.

579 οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν κ.τ.λ. The antithesis of seeming and being (as of λόγος and ἔργον) is a favourite in Greek. Cf. *Plat. Apol.* 36 D οὐ μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ποιεῖ εὐδαίμονας δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἐγὼ δὲ εἶναι, *Astyd. fr.* 1 οὐ τοῦ δοκεῖν μοι τῆς δ' ἀληθείας μέλει, *Plut. Mor.* 88 E κενοῦ δοκοῦντος καὶ ὄντος. So *Sall. Cat.* 54 *esse quam videri bonus malebat* (Cato). The present passage is referred to in *Plat. Rep.* 362 A τὸ δὲ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου πολὺ ἦν ἂρα ὀρθότερον λέγειν κατὰ τοῦ ἀδίκου· τῷ ὄντι γὰρ φήσουσι τὸν ἀδικόν, ἅτε ἐπιτηδεύοντα πρᾶγμα ἀληθείας ἐχόμενον καὶ οὐ πρὸς δόξαν ζῶντα, οὐ δοκεῖν ἀδικόν ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐθέλειν, βαθείαν ἄλοκα κ.τ.λ. There is of course no indication in this that Plato knew of the reading δίκαιος (crit. n.) for ἄριστος. He is led to quote Aeschylus simply for the antithesis of seeming and being. It was natural that, to suit occasions, any other epithet should be substituted for ἄριστος, so long as it was metrical. (For a full discussion of

to give my rede upon a foeman's soil. Let us fight! I fear no unhonourable death.'

So spake the seer, holding at rest his buckler of pure bronze. No blazon was on its orb, for his will is not to seem the bravest, but to be; and he reaps the produce of deep furrowing of the mind, wherefrom spring counsels trusty.

Against him I am for sending a match both wise and brave. He who honours Heaven is one to fear.

ET. Fie on the chance that brings together mortals, a righteous man with the worse and ungodly sort! In

present lines (e.g. Plut. *Aristid.* 3). See Hermann's full note, and ↓. 580 ὦκα Krebs. ↓. 581 ἀφ' ἧς Plut. *Mor.* 32 E, 186 B, *Aristid.* 3, but ἐξ ἧς *Mor.* 88 B. So Ar. *Eg.* 4 ἐξ οὗ, but Suid. quotes with ἀφ' οὗ. 582 ξυναλλάσσοντος M, corr. m (superscr.), ξυναλλάξαντος Blomfield. ↓. βροτοῖς m' and most edit. ↓. 585 δυσσεβέστεροις M, corr. m (superscr.). δυσσεβεστάτοις recc. (The confusion of compar.

the point see Hermann's note to this line.) δίκαιος obviously has no place here. Nor is it likely that Aesch. intended any allusion to Aristides, though Plutarch (*Arist.* 3) reports the tradition that all the audience looked at Aristides when the lines were uttered. It is altogether more probable that the lines were applied to Arist. by others, with the adj. so changed as to suit ὁ δίκαιος ἐπικαλούμενος.

580 sq. βαθειάν. In Plato (*Lc.*) the notion in βαθειάν is partly playful, with something of the sense of our 'deep' in the way of worldly wisdom. In the original here it denotes (1) 'rich produce' (Theog. 107 οὕτε γὰρ ἀν πόντον σπείρων βαθὺ λήιον ἀμῶς), (2) 'deep ploughing' (of which the former is a result). That both notions are included is clear from the choice of ἄλοκα with καρπούμενος, an expression which is really a condensation of βαθειάν ἄλοκα τέμνων καὶ 'βαθὺ λήιον' καρπούμενος. The mind of Amphiarus, like rich soil (cf. βαθύγεις, βαθύχθων 203), is βαθεῖα (βαθύφρων) in itself (cf. Hom. *Il.* 19. 125 φρήν βαθεῖα, Pind. *N.* 4. 7, Theogn. 1051); meanwhile his thinking (μέριμνα, βουλή) ploughs deep into that soil, and the result is βουλευματα which are of 'the trusty' sort (for τὰ cf. 560 n.). That result is intellectual, not moral, as in *Pers.* 145 φροντίδα κεδνήν καὶ βαθύβουλον. With the metaphor cf. Pind. *P.* 2. 74 Ῥαδάμανθυσ...φρενῶν | ἔλαχε καρπὸν ἀμώμητον, *N.* 10. 12 φρενῶν καρπὸν εὐθεία συνάρμοξεν δίκαι. Apparently the present place suggested to Aristoph. the line (*Lys.* 406) τοιαῦτ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν βλαστάνει βουλευματα.

[The metre of v. 580 (two tribrachs succeeding each other) is unusual for Aesch. (though cf. *Pers.* 287 ὦ πλείστον ἔχθος ὄνομα Σαλαμῖνος κλέειν), but the peculiarity is more obvious to one who is counting the feet and syllables than to one reading for the sense. To read ὦκα is surely unnecessary.]

582 sq. σοφοῦς τε κάγαθοις: 'both wise and brave,' to match his own σωφροσύνη and ἀνδρεία (555 sq.).—ἀντηρέτας is generic for singular.—ἐπαίνῳ: *censeo* (*Cho.* 579 n.).—δεινὸς δς κ.τ.λ.: whereas in the case of the blasphemers the advantage has all been on our side (424).

584 φεύκ.τ.λ.: in answer to δεινὸς κ.τ.λ. Eteocles gives reasons why even Amph. is less to be feared. His company will ruin him.—τοῦ ξυναλλάσσοντος: generic (as βροτοῦς shows); 'the chance which brings mankind into association (or dealings) with each other.' Cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 4 πόλει τ' ἀχρηστος καὶ ξυναλλάσσειν βαρὺς, Soph. *O. T.* 33 ἐν τε συμφοραῖς βλου | ...ἐν τε δαίμωνων συναλλαγαῖς, *Tr.* 845.—ὄρνιθος=τόχης, the sign (*ales, omen*) of fortune being put for the fortune itself (Soph. *O. T.* 52 ὄρνιθι γὰρ καὶ τὴν τότ' αἰσῶν τύχην | παρέσχες ἡμῶν shows the intermediate step).

585 δίκαιον ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ.: in exegetic (or perhaps partitive) apposition, i.e. narrowing the sense of βροτοῦς (ἀλλήλοισι) ξυναλλάσσοντος: 'to wit, the right-minded man with men of less piety.' This is the same construction as in Hdt. 1. 52 ἀνέθηκε αἰχμὴν στερεήν, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγῃσιν ἐὼν ὁμοίως χρύσειον.—δίκαιον: *honestum*. The word is much more comprehensive than the English

ἐν παντὶ πράγει δ' ἔσθ' ὁμιλίας κακῆς
 κάκιον οὐδέν· καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος·
 Ἄτης ἄρουρα θάνατον ἐκκαρπίζεται.
 ἢ γὰρ ξυνεισβάς πλοῖον εὐσεβῆς ἀνὴρ
 ναύτησι θερμοῖς καὶ πανουργία τινὶ
 ὀλωλεν ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει,

590

and superl. compendia is exceedingly common in all MSS.) 588 ἄτης δ' Bothe. καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος | ἄτης ἀρούρας θάνατος κ.τ.λ. Keck. Valckenaer ejects the line. ↓.

'just,' including regard for δίκη in all its forms. The original sense of δίκη is 'the indicated (or prescribed) way,' i.e. 'right and proper' behaviour, whether from a moral, legal, or social point of view. Cf. Pind. *O.* 2. 9 ὅπιν δίκαιον ξένων, *Cho.* 667 δίκαιον ὁμμάτων παρὸνσία (n.), *Eum.* 55 καὶ κόσμος οὐτε πρὸς θεῶν ἀγάλαμα | φέρειν δίκαιος οὐτ' ἐς ἀνθρώπων στέγας. Here the other champions are regardless of the 'due behaviour' in regard to the gods, while Amph. observes all such δίκη.

τοῖσι δυσσεβετέροις = τοῖς ἥσσον εὐσεβέσι, a sufficiently frequent use of the comparative. Cf. *Eur. fr.* 286. 10 πόλεις | αἱ μείζωνων κλόνουσι δυσσεβετέρων, *Ar. Ran.* 1445 ἀμαθέστερον (= ἥττον δεξιῶς) πως εἰπέ καὶ σαφέστερον, *Milton P.L.* 2. 52 *more unexpert*. Verrall quotes *Mart.* 12. 34. 7 *vincet candida turba nigriorem*.

586 sq. πράγει: *causa*, 'business' (2n.). So πρᾶγμα *Ag.* 1537, *Eum.* 491, *Cho.* 871. The sense produced by the combination κακῆς κάκιον is not the flat 'there is nothing worse than bad company' but 'than bad partnership there is nothing more bad.'

καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος is abruptly expressed, and for the same purpose as the next line, viz. to emphasise a γνώμη.—ὁμιλίας κακῆς is understood again with these words, the gen. having a different nuance. With κομιστέος cf. ὥστ' ἐχθροὺς στενάχειν πολέμου θέρος ἐκκομίσαντας in an inscriptional epigram following the list of those fallen ἐπὶ Θράκης circ. 440 B.C. (Roberts and Gardner *Ins. of Att.* p. 503), and, for the same metaphor, *Pers.* 823 ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦς ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν | ἄτης, ὅθεν πάγκλαντον ἐξαμὰ θέρος, *Eur. fr.* 419. 4 ἐπειτ' ἀμᾶσθε τῶνδε δύστηνον θέρος.

588 ἄτης ἄρουρα κ.τ.λ.: Valckenaer

suspected this to be a marginal illustration. To Dobree it was a Christian adscript. In *e.g.* *Soph. Aj.* 553 sq. ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἡδίστος βλος, | τὸ μὴ φρονεῖν γὰρ κάρτ' ἀνώδυνον κακὸν the suggestion of an interpolation is more probable than in the present place, since there is added here a new thought or helpful explanation, while in the Sophoclean passage the explanation is less manifestly useful. Yet even there, if we sufficiently notice κακὸν and render 'for not to have intelligence may be called a defect (no doubt), but it is a defect free from pain,' the case will appear less certain. Here there is not even a surface objection except to the asyndeton. This of course might be remedied by ἄτης δ'. But if the line is a γνώμη, which Eteocles delivers with appropriate intonation, the asyndeton is natural, and something more. If there is virtually a quotation, it is much as if, in a passage of Shakespeare, the speaker quoted 'The wages of sin is death.' We should not think it necessary for him to say 'The wages of sin, you know (τοι, or the like), is death.' On the other hand, if the line is Aeschylus' own (and it is his in specific gravity of style), it is delivered after a pause, and with a weight of utterance which well dispenses with the particle. Asyndeton—sometimes with broken structure—is a favourite dramatic device, as being true to impassioned speech (see *Cho.* 745 sqq.).

ἐκκαρπίζεται is middle. Ἄτης ('infatuated conduct') is either subj. or possess. gen. and is personified; 'the field ploughed by Ate (or the tilth which Ate owns) gets death for its crop' (ἄρουρα still retaining its sense of connection with ἄρω). Among monostich proverbs akin to the present are (1) κακὸν φέρουσι καρπὸν οἱ κακοὶ φίλοι, (2) ἀνδρὸς πονηροῦ φεύγε συνοδῖαν ἀεί, (3) φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρήσθ'

no dealing is there worse ill than an ill partnership. Its harvest who would garner? 'Infatuation's tilth gets death for crop.'

Perchance a godly man boards ship with a guilty crew, where villainy is toward, and perishes with men whose kind the Gods

590 ναύτησι of M is commonly altered in silence. See 447. ἐν πανουργίᾳ recd. κἀν Stanley. 591 θεοπτύστων should not be suggested. ↓.

ὀμίλῃαι κακάι. But none of these has the strength of style exhibited here.

589 ἡ γὰρ...ἡ (592): *vel...vel...* The two cases supposed are those of a pious man amid a ship's crew of knaves, and a right-minded man amid a wrong-minded nation.

ξυμβασὶς πλοίων κ.τ.λ. This thought became a commonplace: cf. Eur. *fr.* 852. 4 μή μοι γένοιτο μήτε συνθύτης θεοῖς | μήτ' ἐν θαλάσῃ κοινόπλουον στέλλοι σκάφος, *fr.* 609, *El.* 1354, *Hor. Od.* 3. 2. 26 *vetabo...sub isdem | sit trabibus fragilemve necum | solvat phaselon; saepe Diespiter | neglectus incesto addidit integrum*, and contrast the story of Jonah and also Babr. 2. 117. 1 νεὼς ποτ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν βυθισθείσης, | ἰδὼν τις ἔλεγεν ἄδικα τοὺς θεοὺς κρίνειν' | ἐνδὸς γὰρ ἀσεβοῦς ἐμβεβηκότος πλοῖω, | πολλοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μηδὲν αἰτίους θνήσκειν (and the sequel). A monostich proverb runs κακῶ σὺν ἀνδρὶ μηδ' ὅλως ὁδοιπόρει. The present place was apparently in the mind of Antiphon when he wrote (*de Herod. caed.* 139) πολλοὶ ἤδη ἄνθρωποι μὴ καθαροὶ χεῖρας ἢ ἄλλο τι μίσμα ἔχοντες συνεισβάντες εἰς τὸ πλοῖον συναπώλεσαν μετὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ψυχῆς τοὺς ὁσῶς διακειμένους τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς.

590 ναῦται: see 447 *Νηίσται*.—θερμοῖς. The excited and feverish (or inflamed) condition of men who have either committed or are about to commit a wicked deed is often thus described. Cf. *Plut. Mor.* 432 F ὅταν ἐνθερμος ἡ ψυχὴ γενομένη καὶ πυρώδης ἀπόσῃται τὴν εὐλάβειαν. The notion is of the hot blood of (1) passion (*Hor. Od.* 3. 3. 2 *ardor prava iuventutis*); (2) guilt, cf. *Eum.* 563 γελᾷ δὲ δαίμων ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θερμῷ, *Cho.* 1002 πολλοὺς ἀναιρῶν πολλὰ θερμαίνει (ἀν) φρονί, *Juv.* 3. 49 *quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius et cui fervens | aestival occultis animus semperque tacendis?*, 1. 167 *tacita sudant praecordia culpa*, and the jest in *Plut. Mor.* 632 A *Κνητοῦ...τὰς χεῖρας ἔχειν ψυχρὰς λέγοντος, Αὔφιδιος Μόδεστος 'ἀλλὰ μὴν' ἔφη 'θερμὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας κεκό-*

μικας αὐτάς'; (3) rash wickedness: cf. *Eur. fr.* 858 ὦ θερμόβουλον σπλάγχχνον, *Soph. Ph.* 927 ὦ πῦρ σὺν...καὶ πανουργίας | δεινὴς τέχνημ' ἔχθιστον, *Amphis ap. Ath.* 448 A ὁρᾷ τι καὶ νεανικὸν | καὶ θερμὸν, *Ar. Plut.* 415 ὦ θερμὸν ἔργον κἀνόσιον: (4) madness (*Eur. H. F.* 1092 πνοὰς θερμὰς πνέω). Here the second and third meanings perhaps combine, the latter being the more prominent.

καὶ πανουργία τινὶ: καὶ is explanatory of *θερμοῖς*. The *πανουργία* is an act contemplated or in progress: 'when some villainy is toward.' This is the present position of *Amph.* among the Argives. [We might also render 'with wicked sailors or some piece of villainy,' but this destroys the balance of *ναῦται*](πολλοῖς in their respective clauses. Otherwise, again, *πανουργία* is collective abstract for concrete=*πανούργοις τισί* (cf. *ξυντέλεια* 237 n.).]

591 ὀλωλεν: gnomic, with *gnom.* aor. 'δάμην following. For such variation see *Goodwin M. & T.* § 155.

ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστω γένει. It might be tempting to read *θεοπτύστων* in order to support the apparently bare word *ἀνδρῶν*. But, apart from the consideration that, where one noun dependent upon another is in the gen., Greek often attaches the epithet to that noun which seems the less natural to us (cf. 551, *Cho.* 1068 ἀνδρὸς βασιλεια πάθη, *Eum.* 292 χώρας ἐν τόποις λιβυστικοῖς, *Eur. Cycl.* 11 γένος *Τυρσηρικὸν Ἰηστών*, *Soph. Ant.* 793 νεῖκος ἀνδρῶν ξύναμιον), there is the more important fact that the epithet belongs distinctly to γένει. Though the man himself is *εὐσεβής* (and therefore *θεοφιλής*), he is treated, not as belonging to the *θεοφιλὲς γένος ἀνδρῶν*, but to the *θεόπτυστον γένος*. (How neutral the word *ἀνὴρ* is in itself, and how indifferent Greek is to the repetition of a word, could hardly be better shown than in the lines 589—592.)

ἢ ξὺν πολίταις ἀνδράσιν δίκαιος ὦν
 ἐχθροξένοις τε καὶ θεῶν ἀμνήμοσιν
 ταυτοῦ κυρήσας ἐκδίκως ἀγρεύματος,
 πληγαῖς θεοῦ μάστιγι παγκοίνῳ δάμη.
 οὕτως δ' ὁ μάντις, υἱὸν Οἰκλέους λέγω,
 σῶφρων δίκαιος ἀγαθὸς εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ,
 μέγας προφήτης, ἀνοσίοισι συμμιγείς
 θρασυστόμοισιν ἀνδράσιν βία φρενῶν
 τείνουσι πομπὴν τὴν μακρὰν πάλιν μολεῖν,

595

600

592 ξυμπολίταις recc.

594 ἐνδίκως recc. ἐκδίκους Prien. ἐκ Δίκης Blomfield. †.

595 δάμη M, corr. G.

596 οὕτως μ'. οὕτως ὁ Brunck. οἰκλέους M. 599 ἀν-

592 sqq. ξὺν κ.τ.λ.: join ξὺν πολίταις κυρήσας.... In this instance the crew of a state takes the place of the crew of a ship. πολίταις ἀνδράσιν differs somewhat from the simple πολίταις, by meaning 'men in their capacity as citizens.' For δίκαιος ὦν (ἀνὴρ being carried on from 589) cf. note to 585 (where ὅπιν δίκαιον ξένων shows the special application) and Hom. *Od.* 8. 575 ἡμὲν ὅσοι χαλεποὶ τε καὶ ἄγριοι ἡδὲ δίκαιοι, | οἳ τε φιλόξενοι. Here he respects the δίκη relating to strangers.

If any passage in the play refers to Aristides (ὁ δίκαιος), it is more probably this than v. 579. It is reasonable to suppose that there is some reference to contemporary events; otherwise the choice of ἐχθροξένοις is very strange. Why should this aspect of unrighteousness, with its antithetical δίκαιος, be the one specially contemplated? We may perhaps guess that it had some reference to the spirit which Athens was showing towards the states in the Delian Confederation. Aristides was the upholder of justice in this matter. It was apparently in B.C. 467 that the first revolt occurred.

A state might show wickedness (α) in its internal relations (unnatural στάσις), (β) towards foreigners and foreign states (ἐχθροξενία), (γ) towards the gods (ἀσεβεία). It is not clear whether ἐχθροξένοις τε καὶ θεῶν ἀμνήμοσιν refers to both the last two sins, or is an amplified expression of the second only (i.e. unjust to strangers and therein forgetful of the gods, who respect the rights of ξενία). All depends on the sense of ἀμνήμοσιν. It might be (1) 'forgetting that the gods are watching their deeds and observing their pledges' (as ὄρκοι θεοὶ &c.), or (2) 'forgetting to

pay the gods their due honours,' i.e. simply neglecting their service. But the whole context suggests specific wrongdoing in some corporate act as a πόλις, and the former interpretation is therefore the better. (This is also the sense in Hor. *Od.* 3. 2. 29 *Diespiter neglectus*.) The single word δίκαιος answers better to the one notion 'behaving wrongfully to strangers and forgetting that the gods are witnesses.'

594 ἐκδίκως: not = ἀδίκως, but (logically) 'out of place.' The punishment is 'not according to δίκη' as regards the character of the sufferer (cf. παίδος δίκην and ἡ γὰρ δίκη ἐστὶ γερόντων). Eteocles does not venture to call such treatment on the part of the Gods an 'unjust' act, he only says that it is contrary to 'kind.' Cf. *Cho.* 808, 894 τόλμης ἑκατὶ κἀνδίκου φρονήματος ('temper of her kind'). So *propter* in Shak. *K. L.* 4. 260. See *Cho.* 329 (n.), 883 (n.), and Verrall's note here. — ἀγρεύματος: here apparently verbal. The sense 'net' does not suit κυρήσας nor the following metaphor.

595 πληγαῖς θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. An unruly animal is captured and tamed; destruction is not in point. In Hom. *Il.* 12. 32 ('Ἀργεῖοι δὲ Διὸς μάστιγι δαμέντες... ἰσχανύοντο) the similitude is from a horse beneath the whip or goad. So *ibid.* 13. 812 ἀλλὰ Διὸς μάστιγι κακῇ ἐδάμημεν Ἀχαιοί. In Hes. *Theog.* 857 ἐπεὶ δὴ μιν δάμασε πληγῇσιν ἱμάσας Typhoeus is 'tamed' (not 'slain') by the thunderbolt. The 'blow from Zeus' occurs in *Ag.* 379 Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν, where it is both a punishment and a lesson. (With the phrase itself cf. Plut. *Mor.* 168 c where calamities are called πληγαὶ θεοῦ.) In the present passage the sense is the same.

abhor. Perchance with fellow-citizens—a righteous man, while they wrong the stranger and forget that there are Gods—he is caught without his due in the same mesh, and is lashed and tamed by Heaven's impartial whip.

So is it with the seer, Oecles' son, a sober man and just, valiant, God-fearing, a mighty mouthpiece of Heaven's mind. Against his better thought he joined himself with impious bold-mouthed men, when their long train set forth on that road

δράσι M. φρενῶν βία recc.

600 πόλιν (for πάλιν) recc. Schol. recognises both readings. τὴν μακρὰν ὁδὸν Oberdick prosaically. †. καμπήν for πομπήν Heimsoeth.

A μάστιξ is not an instrument of slaughter. Whereas ὄλωλεν (591) is the proper word of the εὐσεβὴς ἄνθρωπος who sinks with the ship, ἐδάμην is applied to a member of a punished community. μάστιγι is doubtless to be conceived (as by Verrall; cf. Leaf on *Il.* 23. 387) as a goad. In Hom. (*Il.*) μάστιξ = κέντρον and in *Ag.* 647 διπλὴ μάστιγι, τὴν Ἀρης φιλεῖ is closely connected (though not, when the passage is rightly construed, identical) with δῖλον γόμον ἄτην. In *Suῖρρ.* 475 μαστικτήρα καρδίας λόγον points to a penetrating instrument. In *Soph. El.* 716 (where horses are being driven) φείδοντο κέντρων οὐδέν, while in *Aj.* 1653 μέγας δὲ πλευρὰ βοῦς ὑπὸ σμικρὰς ὁμῶς | μάστιγιος ὀρθὸς εἰς ὁδὸν πορεύεται (though a κέντρον is of course the instrument). Such a μάστιξ or κέντρον might have one point or two. That this is the instrument here is also indicated by other passages referring to a recalcitrant animal, e.g. *P. V.* 322 οὐκ οἶνον... πρὸς κέντρα κῶλον ἐκτενεῖς, *Ag.* 1624, Eur. *Bacch.* 795 πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζοιμι (ἂν) θνητὸς ὦν θεῶν. With the notion cf. the sense of μεταρρυθμίζειν. [Though μάστιξ was thus used of a goad, it was, of course, also used of a whip (ἱμάσθλη).]

παγκόλῳ: proleptic; it makes no discrimination in this case. The term is not a universal description of the μάστιξ of Zeus.

596 οὕτως δ' ὅ...: 'and in the same way (thus described) will Amphiaras....' Cf. *Soph. Ant.* 426 οὕτω δὲ χαῖτη (after a comparison), *Trach.* 116.—ὕδιν Οἰκλέους λέγω = 'yes, even the son of great Oecles.' There was no need merely to define ὁ μάστιξ, but Eteocles dwells upon his rank and distinction, which will not save him. For this form of expression and its uses see *Cho.* 251 (n.). Note also that ὕδιν Οἰκλέους is something more than Οἰ-

κλείδην. Distinction on the father's part (probably well known in epic story) is reflected on the son. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 15. 243 Ἀντιφάτης μὲν ἔτικτεν Ὀικλήα μεγάθυμον κ.τ.λ.

597 σῶφρων δίκαιος κ.τ.λ. The line is almost an anticipation of the list of the four cardinal virtues, viz. σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία (ἀγαθὸς = 'brave,' 556, 582), φρόνησις. But εὐσέβεια is substituted for the last, as is indeed necessary, since it is in φρόνησις that Amph. here fails, acting βία φρενῶν (599).

598 sq. μέγας: 'of great rank': cf. 412 (n.). The word ἀνοσίοισι is brought close to the last notions εὐσεβής, προφήτης: 'the man of piety, the mouthpiece of the divine, with an impious crew!' So far as there is a slight peculiarity in the order of the words, it is due to this antithetical emphasis: 'joined, despite their impiety, with bold-mouthed men.' θρασυστόμοισιν ἀνδράσιν forms one term = 'blasphemers,' and to this ἀνοσίοισι is epithet. With the proper intonation of the passage there is no real awkwardness in the position of βία φρενῶν, which belongs, of course, to συμμυγείς.

600 τείνουσι πομπήν κ.τ.λ.: 'when they were forming (long) procession on the way which is far to return.' The tense of τείνουσι is imperf. after συμμυγείς, i.e. συνεμύγη αὐτοῖς ὅτε ἔτεινον. The expression is condensed, but perfectly Greek, both in thought and grammar. The only question lies in the exact interpretation of τείνουσι. An army on the march is compared to a πομπή (such as that at the Panathenaea or to Eleusis). If such a procession is a large and long one—as an army would be—those who form it may be said τείνειν πομπήν, 'to lengthen out a procession.' Or again, if the procession continues for

Διὸς θέλοντος συγκαθελκυσθήσεται.
 δοκῶ μὲν οὖν σφε μῆδὲ προσβαλεῖν πύλαις,
 οὐχ ὡς ἄθυμος, οὐδὲ λήματος κάκη,
 ἀλλ' οἶδεν ὥς σφε χρὴ τελευτῆσαι μάχῃ,
 εἰ καρπὸς ἔσται θεσφάτοισι Λοξίου.
 φιλεῖ δὲ σιγᾶν ἢ λέγειν τὰ καίρια.
 ὅμως δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ φῶτα, Λασθένους βίαν,
 ἐχθρόξενον πυλωρὸν ἀντιτάξομεν
 γέροντα τὸν νοῦν, σάρκα δ' ἡβῶσαν φύει,

605

603 ἄθυμον Turnebus. ↓.
 σφι χρὴ τελευτῆσαι μάχην? ↓.

604 ὡς σφε M, corr. m'. (ol is possible.) Qu. *ὥς
 605 κύρος Burges. ↓. ἔστι recc. 607 ὅμως δὲ

a long time on the march (instead of for the few hours required in the religious and local πομπᾷ) its members may be said *τείνειν* 'to prolong' it. Both meanings may perhaps be regarded as coalescing here. For the rest it has been customary to join *τὴν μακράν* with *πομπήν* (as a 'mission' or 'journey') = 'that mission which is a long one to return' (lit. 'for the returning'). It is better, however, to understand *ὁδόν* and to relate the expression to e.g. Hdt. 1. 67 *ἔπεμπον αὖτις τὴν ἐς θεὸν* and the phrase *τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. τείνουσι πομπήν* is treated as a verb of motion (= *πομπέουσι*) and the separation of *τὴν* from *πομπήν* is made by the intonation and was easily appreciated by the Greek hearer, who was accustomed (*Cho.* 1037 n.) to such phrases with *τὴν* (*ὁδόν*) and also recognised in *τὴν μακράν* πάλιν *μολεῖν* a proverbial expression. Cf. Eur. *I. A.* 420 *ὡς μακράν ἔτεινον*, *ibid.* 664 *μακράν γ' ἀπαίρεις*, *Or.* 125 *τῆς πάλιν μέμνησ' ὁδοῦ*. For separation of words apparently in agreement cf. 424 (n.).

There is perhaps a grim allusion to marching to death, or making the journey to Hades. After extreme unctio Rabelais remarked that they had 'greased his boots for the long journey.' But it is not necessary to assume more than a reference to the proverbial difficulties and dangers of war. A *στρατεία* is a 'far road to travel' in that one is never sure when and how the return will be made. Cf. *Soph. O. C.* 662 (where the Thebans have threatened to fetch Oedipus from Attica and Theseus replies in metaphor) *τῆς σῆς ἀγωγῆς, οἶδ' ἐγώ, φανήσεται | μακρὸν τὸ δεῦρο πέλαγος οὐδὲ πλώσιμον*. For *πάλιν μολεῖν* in a similar connection cf. Eur. *fr.* 353 *οὐδεὶς στρατεύσας ἄδικα ὥς ἦλθεν πάλιν*. There is such *ἀδικία* in the present case.

601 Διὸς θέλοντος: again Eteocles will not make assertion without this proviso. See 549 (n.).—*συγκαθελκυσθήσεται*: from their high vaults. The metaphor seems to be from wrestling (*Hom. Od.* 3. 237 *ὁπότε κεν δῇ | μοῖρ' ὀλοή καθέλῃσι*, *Herond.* 1. 15 *τὸ γὰρ γῆρας | ἡμέας καθέλκει*, explained by *Hesych.* α *καταβάλλει*).

602 δοκῶ μὲν... (ὅμως δ' (607).—*οὖν* sums up or closes the topic. [Less well *μὲν οὖν* might be corrective of the implied thought: 'so far from his being dangerous, I believe....']—*μῆδὲ* rather than *οὐδὲ* since *δοκῶ* = *πέποιθα* or *προσδοκῶ*.

603 οὐχ ὡς ἄθυμος. If this, and not *ἄθυμον*, is correct (and there is no obvious reason for the corruption), we may interpret by (1) *οὐχ ὡς ἄθυμὸς ἐστίν* (*non quo ignavus sit*), i.e. 'it is not because he is spiritless, nor from any weakness of his courage, that I think he will not attack,' or (2) *οὐχ ὡς ἄθυμὸς τις*, 'not as a spiritless man (would act),' i.e. 'I think he will refrain from attacking—not as a spiritless man (might refrain, οὐκ ἂν προσβάλῃ), nor from failure of courage.' The omission of *ἐστίν* makes the former rather abrupt. For the latter it may be observed that the absence of *τις* (or *ἀνὴρ*) is easily paralleled (cf. *Plat. Tim.* 29 *εἰ ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐγγίγνεται φόβος*, *Arist. Poet.* 25. 18 *ὁ ἂν φόβημιος ὑποθῇται*), and that the clause of *ὡς* with nom. and suppressed verb is of a common class (*Soph. Aj.* 525 *ἔχειν σ' ἂν οἰκτον ὡς καγὼ φρενὶ | θέλωμι' ἄν*, *Ar. Ran.* 303, *Lucr.* 3. 455 *ergo dissolvi quoque convenit omnem animam | naturam, seu fimum*).

οὐδὲ λήματος κάκη might be an interpretation or reiteration of the previous words (as in the positive form we might

so far to travel back; and, if Zeus will, with them shall he be dragged to ground.

Nay, not even, methinks, will he assail the gates; not through faint heart nor craven spirit, but he knows what end awaits his fighting, if fruit must come of the rede of Loxias, whose wont is to say no word, or say it to the mark.

Yet against him, man to man, we will post mighty Lasthenes, a warder to drive strangers from the gate. Old is he in his wisdom, but lusty his thews with manhood, and swift his eye to

καὶ τῷ? Headlam.

609 φύσει M, φέρει m' (superscr.). Corr. Wellauer. †. τρέφει Brunck, φορεῖ Herwerden.

have ἄθυμος καὶ τὸ λῆμα κακός). But more probably θυμός and λῆμα are distinguished, the former being 'zeal' for fight, the latter the physical 'courage' when engaged.

604 οἶδεν ᾧς σφε κ.τ.λ. χρη = 'is fated': cf. *Cho.* 202 εἰ δὲ χρη τυχεῖν σπηρίας, | μικροῦ γένουι' ἂν σπέρματος μέγας πυθμήν, *P.V.* 229 &c. The sense is not 'that he is to die in this battle' (requiring τῇδε) nor 'what death he is to meet in fighting' (since this knowledge could not prevent Amph. from attacking the gates), but (as Verrall also indicates) 'what end his fighting is to bring' (viz. no success). Amph. would say 'It is useless for me to attack the gates; the city will not fall.' There is no likelihood that σφε is plur. (so soon after the sing. of 602); Amph. is supposed to be regarding his own actions from his own point of view. [It must be acknowledged, however, that the expression is somewhat peculiar in respect of τελευτήσαι μάχην 'to reach an issue by fighting,' and we may perhaps conjecture ἄλλ' οἶδεν ᾧς σφι χρη τελευτήσαι μάχην. Though σφι (= αὐτοῖς) is commonly denied (like μιν, and for no better reason) to the poetry of tragedy, it is the form actually given by the best MSS in *Soph. O. C.* 431 (cf. *Eur. Suppl.* 769, *Med.* 398). A poet who can use θυμί in trimeters may be permitted to use the σφι of Homer and Herodotus; see *Suppl.* 958 (n.).] Eteocles had evidently heard of the adverse oracle of Apollo which Amphiaras disobeyed when he joined the expedition βία φρενῶν.

605 εἰ καρπὸς ἔσται κ.τ.λ. With καρπὸς cf. *Eucl.* 716 (Apollo loq.) κἀγωγε χρησμοὺς τοῖς ἐμοῖς τε καὶ Διὸς | ταρβέειν κελεύω μηδ' ἀκαρπύτους κτῆσαι, *Pind. I.* 7. 50 ἐπέων δὲ καρπὸς | οὐ κατέφθνε (of Themis).—θεσφάτοισι: generic

(not of the deliverance in this particular case): 'if oracles of Loxias are to bear fruit (as we know they do).'

606 φιλεῖ δὲ σιγᾶν κ.τ.λ. It is surprising that some should take these words as referring to Amphiaras. His utterances are not here in question. When Eteocles has said 'the end of the fighting will be against him, if oracles of Loxias are to bear fruit,' he continues 'and Loxias would not utter oracles, if they were not intended to bear such fruit.' The god has no motive for speaking μάτην or ἀκαιρα; he speaks only when and what the occasion demands (τὰ καίρια: cf. 1 (n.), *Cho.* 580 σιγᾶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγειν τὰ καίρια).

607 ὅμως δ': answering to v. 602.—ἐπ' αὐτῷ: 'to meet him' (cf. 434).—φῶτα is added with the same notion of 'man to man' (in distinction from divine agencies) as ἀνὴρ in 434, 492.—Δασθένης. In the epic the opponent was called Periclymenus (cf. *Pind. N.* 9. 26), but that word is unmanageable in iambs.

608 ἐχθρόξενον: not in the sense of v. 593 but proleptic, 'to be a πωλωρός hostile to strangers.' Eteocles is thinking of the θυρωρός of a Greek house and of the jealous watchfulness of some of this notorious class. Lasthenes has instructions to act the character as the public θυρωρός.

609 γέροντα τὸν νοῦν. Some editors punctuate at ἀντιτάξομεν and make this the beginning of a new sentence. There would of course be no difficulty in making γέροντα belong to νοῦν (*Eur. Or.* 529 γέροντ' ὀφθαλμόν, *Hom. Od.* 22. 184 σάκος γέρον); but (apart from other considerations) the single particle δ' is more than strange in φύει γέροντα τὸν νοῦν, σάρκα δ' ἠβῶσαν, ποδῶκες ὄμμα. Moreover, if the construction were φύει τὸν

ποδῶκες ὄμμα, χεῖρα δ' οὐ βραδύνεται
παρ' ἀσπίδος γυμνωθὲν ἀρπάσαι δόρυ.
θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς.

610

ἀντ. γ'. ΧΟ. κλύνοντες θεοὶ δικαίας λιτὰς
ἀμετέρας τελεῖθ', ὡς πόλις εὐτυχῇ,
δορίπωνα κάκ' ἐκτρέπον-
τες <ἐς> γᾶς ἐπιμόλους· πύργων δ' ἔκτοθεν
βαλὼν Ζεὺς σφε κάνοι κεραυνῶ.

615

610 ὄμμα Weil. ↓. χειρὶ Hartung.
ἡμετέρας m' (superscr.).

611 δορί Romahn.
ἡμετέρας M, ἀμετέρας Dindorf.

613 δικαίους λόγους
616 sq. ἐκτρέ-

νοῦν γέροντα, τὴν δὲ σάρκα ἡβῶσαν the single article would be less acceptable. On the other hand, if γέροντα belongs to φῶτα, 'an old man in respect of his mind,' the article helps to separate γέροντα from νοῦν, and, with the beginning of a separate (though antithetic) clause (φύει δ'...), no answering article is required. The change of structure to φύει δ' in place of φέροντα δ' is too common to need illustration.

τόν = 'his,' or (less well) 'the necessary...'—σάρκα = 'muscle': cf. *Ag.* 72. —φύει: i.e. the thews are still growing, as being youthful. No better emendation of the φύσει of M and φέρει of later copies is likely to be made. For the sense cf. 12 (n.), *Soph. Aj.* 1077 ἀνδρα... κἂν σῶμα γεννήσῃ μέγα; and for the quantity 523 ὥρας φουούσης. [φέρει in itself is not out of the question: cf. *Cho.* 559 φωνῇ ὁλοομεν Παρηγησίδα, 579 γλῶσσαν εὐφημον φέρειν, *fr. adesr.* 182 μὲ εὐγένεια τὸν τρόπον χρηστὸν φέρειν, *Soph. fr.* 844 κἂν καλὸν φέρῃ στόμα; but it does not account for φύσει and has all the appearance of being a conjecture. The probable explanation of the reading in M is that φύει was miswritten as φή, which was then read as φηῇ and glossed by φύσει.]

610 ποδῶκες ὄμμα. If this meant simply a 'swift' eye (=ὠκύ, ταχύ) it would deserve the name of grotesque. But in reality it = 'an eye to which the foot answers swiftly' or 'accompanied by swiftness of foot.' The eye is alert for attack and defence, and the foot acts in accordance with its warnings. It should be remembered also that ὄμμα often practically = 'vision,' and that the physical organ is by no means always present

to the writer's consciousness. Swiftness of foot is a virtue in a warrior (as with πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς) and is best manifested in fight (*Verg. Aen.* 5. 430 *ille pedum melior motu fretusque iuventa*, of a boxer). Greek is liberal in concessions to the adjective, and, though 'vision with swift foot' is absurd for 'swift vision,' the combination is quite Greek in the sense here claimed. The expression is no harder than in νόστον βάρβαρον (*Eur. I. T.* 1112) = 'a journey in barbarian surroundings,' λευκοπῆχεις κτύποι (*Eur. Phoen.* 1351) = 'blows with white arms,' πολέκερως φόβος (*Soph. Aj.* 55) = 'much slaughter of horned beasts,' τετρασκελὴς πόλεμος (*Eur. H. F.* 1273) = 'a war with quadrupeds.' [The alteration to ὄμμα is ill-advised. The physical qualities are described in muscle (σάρκα), eye (ὄμμα), foot (ποδῶκες), hand (χεῖρα).]

610 sq. χεῖρα δ' οὐ βραδύνεται κ.τ.λ. A difficult passage, of which many renderings and alterations have been proposed. Yet we may confidently keep the text and render literally 'and, in respect of his hand, he is not slow for his spear to seize upon a place laid bare from the side of the shield.'—δόρυ is the subject and γυμνωθὲν the object of ἀρπάσαι, which itself is 'consecutive' (= ὥστε ἀρπ.) to οὐ βραδύνεται (cf. *Cho.* 366 πάρος δ' οἱ κτανόντες νῦν οὕτως δαμῆναι | ...πρόσω τινὰ πυνθάνεσθαι, *ibid.* 735, 849, *Xen. Hell.* 5. 1. 14 ἡ θύρα ἡ ἐμὴ ἀνέψκται εἰσέναι τῷ δεομένῳ).

Others join γυμνωθὲν δόρυ as object of ἀρπάσαι, which they understand as 'seize for use.' But that γυμνωθὲν refers to an 'exposed' part of the opponent's body (and that it is much less suited to the spear) should be obvious. Of the spear,

guide his foot, and with no tardy hand doth his spear dart upon aught laid bare from side of shield.

Yet for mortals to win the day is the gift of gods.

[LASTHENES *departs*.]

CHO. Hearken, ye Gods, to our just prayers and fulfil them, ^{3rd anti-}that our country may win the day. Turn from us upon the ^{strophe.} invader of the land the fell work of the spear. From without the walls may Zeus smite and slay them with his bolt!

ποντες | γὰς ἐπιμόλους M (with εἰς written by m' above the beginning of ἐπιμόλους). γὰς πρὸς ἐπ. recc. Corr. Hermann. ἐκτρέποιτε γὰς H. Voss.

γυμνοῦται is the wrong term, since the shield does not protect or sheathe the δόρυ and γυμνοῦσθαι is a word of too distinct a colour to be used simply for the spear darting forth. Moreover the simple gen. ἀσπίδος γυμνωθέν would manifestly be used rather than παρ' ἀσπίδος. ἀρπάσαι δόρυ, again, would be appropriate to a warrior who snatches up his weapon, but not to one who already holds it.

The correct interpretation is plainly indicated by the use of γυμνωθῆναι in similar situations: cf. [Hes.] *Scut.* 334 ἐνθα κε γυμνωθέντα σάκευς ὑπο δαιδαλέοιο | ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδῆς, ἐνθ' οὐτάμεν ὀξεὶ χαλκῷ, *ibid.* 460 μῆρόν γυμνωθέντα σάκευς ὑπο δαιδαλέοιο | οὐτας', Theoc. 22. 187 ἔγχεσι μὲν πρῶτιστα τιτυσκόμενοι πόνον ἔχον | ἀλλήλων, εἰ ποῦ τι χροδὸς γυμνωθέν ἴδοιεν. One sense of ἀρπάσαι is *occipere*, of seizing upon a spot (Xen. *An.* 4. 6. 11 τοῦ ἐρήμου ὄρους...τι...ἀρπάσαι φθάσαντας). Cf. also e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 2 πείραν τιν' ἐχθρῶν ἀρπάσαι θηρώμενον of the seizing of an opportunity. These senses blend ('seize, when opportunity is given...'). The combatants fight crouching (as far as possible) behind their shields; their feet move nimbly for position; their spears are held in threatening movement just under the rim of the shield (Theoc. 23. 184 σείων καρτερὸν ἔγχος ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἀντυγα πρῶτην). Each is watching for the enemy to expose (γυμνοῦν) any portion of his body from under the buckler; then with swift hand he will seize the opportunity upon that part. See Eur. *Phoen.* 1382 sqq. for a description of the fight between Et. and Polyn., and *ibid.* 1384 εἰ δ' ὅμμι' ὑπερσχὸν ἔτυος ἄτερος μάθοι, | λόγχην ἐνώμα στόματι ('with the point') προφθῆναι θέλων.

The simple ἀσπίδος γυμνωθέν would possess less vividness than ὑπ' ἀσπίδος

(as in [Hes.] *Scut.* *Il.* cc.) or παρ' ἀσπίδος. The latter gives a picture of a portion of the body peeping out 'from beside' the rim of the shield. Doubtless a prose-writer would have said γυμνωθέν τι or τὸ παρ' ἀσπ. γυμνωθέν, but the generic participle without art. is frequent. With the art. the exact sense is ὅτι ἂν γυμνωθῇ ('any exposed part'), without it the sense is ἣν τι γυμνωθῇ. See Cho. 69 (n.), 360 (n.), 661 αἰδῶς ἐν λεχθεῖσιν. [The notion of Brunck that παρ' ἀσπίδος = *a sinistra*, while δόρυ = *ensem*, passes the legitimate use of language.]

612 θεοῦ: with emphasis; 'it is only Heaven that can grant success.' This tone is habitual to Eteocles (cf. 401, 549). The answer of the Chorus picks up the word and also εὐτυχεῖν. [Note that in all the six cases hitherto there is a justification of the eventual Theban success. It is only in the seventh that the blame is equal on both sides.]

615 δορίπωνα κάκ' κ.τ.λ. This follows the prayer for the πόλις; 'turning away from it, upon those who invade the land...' The Chorus recognises the difference between the character of Amphiarus and that of the five boasters. It bases its plea therefore upon the 'justice' of its prayer, which considers only the claims of patriotism. Sin lies with an invader of the land of others (cf. 567 sqq.), and Amphiarus is such.

With ἐκτρέποντες cf. *Ag.* 1465 μὴδ' εἰς Ἑλένην κότον ἐκτρέψης, Eur. *Suppl.* 483 τὸ δυστυχὲς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐς ἄλλον ἐκτρέπει.

616 πύργων and ἐκτοθεν are stressed: i.e. 'may Zeus slay them, and before they break into the stronghold.' They have occupied our land (γᾶς); now they are assailing our walls; may death fall upon them from the outer side.

ΑΓ. τὸν ἑβδομον δὴ τόνδ' ἐφ' ἐβδόμαις πύλαις
 λέξω, τὸν αὐτοῦ σοῦ κασίγνητον, πόλει
 κοί θ' ἄς ἀράται καὶ κατεύχεται τύχας,
 πύργοις ἐπεμβὰς κάπικηρυχθεὶς χθονί,
 ἀλώσιμον παιᾶν' ἐπεξιακχάσας,
 σοὶ ξυμφέρεσθαι καὶ κτανῶν θανεῖν πέλας,
 "ἣ ζῶντ' ἀτιμαστῆρα τὼς ἀνδρηλάτην
 φυγῇ τὸν αὐτὸν τόνδε τείσασθαι τρόπον."
 τοιαυτ' αὐτεῖ καὶ θεοὺς γενεθλίους
 καλεῖ πατρώας γῆς ἐποπτῆρας λιτῶν
 τῶν ὧν γενέσθαι πάγχυ Πολυνείκους βία.

620

625

618 νῦν ἐφ' Brunck, τόν τ' ἐφ' Blomf., τὸν πρὸς Dind., στάντ' ἐφ' Ritschl. ↓.
 620 οἷας γ' ἀράται M as altered by μ', which corrects οἶ (M^a) to οἷ and writes as
 in an erasure. Corr. *ed. ↓. οἷας τ' ἀράται σοὶ τ' ἐπεύχεται Weil. 621 χθονός

618 τὸν ἑβδομον δὴ τόνδ': 'we come in this case to the seventh and last.' δὴ (akin to ἤδη) closes the enumeration: cf. Plat. *Men.* 87 E ἡγεία καὶ ἰσχύς καὶ κάλλος καὶ πλοῦτος δὴ ('and here we will stop'). Apart from the actual list of the gates there is doubtless a suggestion in ἑβδομον of a sacred and complete number, and this gives further point to δὴ. Grammatically the expression is not as if τὸν had preceded ἐφ' ἐβδόμαις πύλαις, but (literally) 'I will enumerate, at the seventh gate, in this instance the seventh and last.' In Eur. *Phoen.* 1123 these gates are called the Κρηναῖαι. See Introduction § 16.

619 sq. πόλει *σοὶ θ' ἄς κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. The error of M is to be emended by better means than the οἷας of the second corrector. Any reader must feel that πόλει by itself (especially as placed) is weak and insufficient. It is true that Polyneices invokes mischief on the country (621 sq.), but he also invokes it individually upon Eteocles (623—625). It is no rational summary of the passage 621—625 to describe it as an imprecation on the πόλις. The sense required is provided in the text, where the emphasis on σοὶ is brought out by its position.

The pleonasm in ἀράται καὶ κατεύχεται is purposed, emphasising the wickedness of his deliberate and insistent imprecations. Emphatic pleonasm, being true to nature, is familiar in drama: cf. Eur. *I. T.* 490 ἐπιστάμεσθα καὶ γινώσκομεν, Soph. *Ant.* 41 εἰ ξυμπονήσεις καὶ ξυνεργάσῃ σκόπει, Shak. *Macb.* 2. 3. 79

The spring, the head, the fountain of your blood | Is stopped.

621—625 The lines should be taken as quotation in or. obl. of the actual language of Polyneices. This is essential for a proper interpretation of τὼς (624) and τόνδε (625). Cf. *Ag.* 1600 μῶρον δ' ἄφερτον Πελοπίδαυς ἐπεύχεται, | λάκτισμα δειπνον ξυνδίκως τιθεὶς ἀρᾶ, | οὕτως ὀλέσθαι πᾶν τὸ Πλεισθένης γένος (representing the direct οὕτως ὀλοῖτο). So here Polyn. says ξυμφεροίμην αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ κτανῶν θάνοιμι πέλας, ἣ φυγῇ τὸν αὐτὸν τόνδε τρόπον τισαίμην (αὐτὸν), ἀτιμαστῆρα τὼς (=οὕτως) ἀνδρηλάτην (ἄντα).

621 sq. πύργοις ἐπεμβὰς: not mounting the walls for the purpose of proclamation, but having set foot upon them successfully in the assault.—κάπικηρυχθεὶς καὶ ἐπεξιακχάσας carry on the same sense of ἐπι-, which is that of triumph or exultation. He plants his foot (cf. λᾶξ ἐπιβῆναι) upon the walls (as a victor on a fallen enemy, cf. Plut. *Dem.* 21. 1); he is proclaimed conqueror over the prostrate land (cf. κηρύσσειν and ἀνακηρύσσειν in the games); he utters the jubilant cry of assured victory over it.—χθονί is understood ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with the words which follow it. It is better not to make ἐπεξιακχάσας synchronous with, and explanatory of, ἐπικηρυχθεὶς, as if his loud paean were the manner of signifying that the capture is achieved; the words form an independent notion. For the sense of παιᾶν' see 254 (n.) and Smyth *Gk. Melic Poets* p. xl. With ἀλώσιμον cf. *Ag.* 10 ἀλώσιμον...θάξιν.

SCOUT. Last to the seventh I come, at the seventh gate—to thine own brother. These the bans and curses he calls down upon the town and thee; that with foot planted upon the walls, and proclaimed triumphant o'er the land, he may raise loud the conqueror's exulting shout, then match himself with thee, and, slaying thee, die at thy side. 'Or' saith he 'if he live, he who thus sets me at naught with banishment, may I punish him with exile, like for like with this!' Thus doth he shout, and withal calls upon the Gods of kin and fatherland to give his prayers regard—prayers all his own—a mighty Quarreller in good sooth!

rec. κάποκηρυχθεὶς χθονός Keck.

624 ζῶν Schütz, Heimsoeth. †. τῶς Μα, τὸν δ' rec., θ' ὡς rec., τὼς σ' Ald., σὼς Prien. ἀνδρηλατῶν Blomf., ἀνδρηλάτης Madvig. The passage requires interpretation only.

628 βλαι m.

623 σολ: emphasised.—**ἐυμφέρεσθαι**: 'be pitted against': cf. 497 *ἐυπόλετον*.—**καὶ κτανὼν θανεῖν πέλας**: not that he prays to die himself, but he proclaims his readiness to die, if only he can first kill. This form of expression is frequent. Cf. *Cho.* 437 *ἔπειτ' ἐγὼ νοσφίσας ὀλοίμην* (where schol. quotes Callimachus *τεθναίνην δτ' ἐκείνον ἀποπνεύσαντα πυθοίμην*), *Eur. El.* 281 *θάνομι μητρὸς αἰμ' ἐπισφάξας' ἐμῆς*, *Soph. Aj.* 390 *πῶς ἄν... τοὺς δισ-σάρχας ὀλέσσας βασιλῆς | τέλος θάνοιμι καὶ οὗτος*; For the alternative cf. *Soph. O. C.* 1306 (*ὅπως*)... *ἡ θάνοιμι πανδίκως | ἡ τοὺς τόδ' ἐκπράξαντας ἐκβάλομι γῆς*; (*Polyn. loq.*).

624 sq. *ἡ ζῶντ' κ.τ.λ.*: Polyneices would say 'Or, if I do not slay him, but if he (escapes me and) still lives, may I punish him, who outrages me thus with banishment, with exile in the same manner as this (of mine).' The expression is full, after the manner of the *verba concepta* in prayers, oaths or vows, which seek to avoid ambiguity by such redundancy. In *ἄτιμαστίῃρα* there is scarcely the same force as in *ἀτιμῶω*. Polyneices is indeed rendered *ἄτιμος* as a Cadmean, but he is also set at naught, or flouted as a brother and a prince.—*τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον* was evidently part of a formula in praying for retribution: cf. *Cho.* 272 *εἰ μὴ μέτειμι τοῦ πατρὸς τοὺς αἰτίους | τρόπον τὸν αὐτόν, ἀνταποκτεῖναι λέγων*.

626 sqq. *τοιαῦτ' ἀντὶ κ.τ.λ. καὶ* = 'and withal' (so *et=et tamen*), i.e. 'and, while so crying, he (yet) dares to call the gods of kinship, belonging to the fatherland.' There is a double emphasis on the irony of the prayer. Though he is medi-

tating harm to the country (*πόλει*) and dishonour to its gods (569 sqq.), he still calls upon the gods of that country (*πατρώας*); while meditating the slaughter of his brother, he calls on the gods of kinship (*γενεθλίους*).—*ἐποπτήρας*: to direct them to successful issue: cf. *Cho.* 1, 581, 1061 (*ἀλλ' εὐτυχοῖης, καὶ σ' ἐποπτεύων πρόφρων | θεὸς φυλάσσοι*) and *ἐπόπτης* (*Pind. N.* 9. 5 *Πυθῶνος αἰπεινᾶς ὁμοκλάρους ἐπόπταις*, i.e. Apollo and Artemis at the Pythian games).

This monstrous and unreasonable prayer he can only make through his character as *Πολυ-νείκης* (cf. 564).—**πάγχυ Πολυ-νείκους βία**: 'in very truth a mighty Quarreller.' The force of *πάγχυ* is that of *κάρτα* in 400, 402.—The phrase with *βία* is not here a mere periphrasis, but rather it = *Πολυνείκης βλαιος*, and *πάγχυ* is felt with both members of the phrase. [It is exceedingly feeble to join *πάγχυ* to *ἐποπτήρας γενέσθαι*.]

Not merely is *τῶν ὦν* more emphatic than *ὦν*; *λιτῶν* would have been sufficient in itself if there had not been some special point added by these words. We may explain by (a) 'his prayers' as opposed to ours, i.e. he asks the gods to ignore our prayers and to further his; or (b) *suarum* (in e.g. *Cic. Fin.* 3. 1. 4 *rhetoricum artes verbis in docendo quasi privatis utuntur ac suis*) 'his very own' or 'truly his', i.e. such as belong indeed to a *Πολυνείκης*. The latter is manifestly much more effective. [The use of *ὁ δὲ=suis* is not very frequent in tragedy, but in *Soph. O. C.* 519 for *δμῶς δ' γ' Ἀϊδῆς τοὺς νόμους τοὺτους ποθεῖ* we should surely read *τοὺς οὖς*.]

ἔχει δὲ καινοπηγῆς εὐκυκλον σάκος
διπλοῦν τε σῆμα προσμεμηχανημένον.
χρυσήλατον γὰρ ἄνδρα τευχηστήν ἰδεῖν
ἄγει γυνή τις σωφρόνως ἡγουμένη.
Δίκη δ' ἄρ' εἶναι φησίν, ὥς τὰ γράμματα
λέξει. “κατάξω δ' ἄνδρα τόνδε, καὶ πόλιν
ἔξει πατρώων δωμάτων τ' ἐπιστροφάς.”
τοιαῦτ' ἐκείνων ἐστὶ τὰξευρήματα.

630

635

629 γρ. εὔθετον schol. ↓.

632 ἡσκημένη Butler.

633 Δίκη γὰρ Hermann.

634 λέξει M (έ by m), λέγει recc. ↓. τ' for δ' rec., γ' Schütz.

635 πατρώων recc.

636 ἐκείνῳ γ' Pauw. I formerly suggested τοιαῦτ' ἐκείνων (sc. Δίκης καὶ Πολυνείκους)

629 καινοπηγῆς. Polyneices, a Boeotian, would previously carry an oblong Boeotian shield, but since his sojourn at Argos, and as a member of the Argive army, he now bears one which is truly round (εὐκυκλον).—καινοπηγῆς is not therefore merely picturesque, although such panoramic and realistic touches are not despised by Aeschylus or his epic authorities (cf. 578 πάγχαλκον, 529 and context). The shield actually is new, and, for a Boeotian, it is in a new fashion (καινο-). The notion in -πηγῆς is not simply of making (=ποιητὸν), but such a shield is ‘built,’ as being constructed with leather base, bronze plates, figures in relief and ὄχανον within. Cf. *πηκτὸν ἄροτρον* (Hom. *Od.* 13. 32) and *Il.* 5. 193 *δίφροι | καλοὶ πρωτοπαγεῖς νεοτευχῆες* (which further illustrates the appreciation of newness, as does *Il.* 21. 592 *κρημὶς νεοτεύκτου κασιτέρου*). Had the shield not been new it could not have borne this particular blazon, nor would there have been any need to describe it to Eteocles. [The conjecture εὔθετον destroys an important point.]

630 διπλοῦν: i.e. there are two separate figures of equal importance in the picture. The other *σήματα* have either shown one figure or a compact group (e.g. the Sphinx holding a Cadmean).—προσμεμηχανημένον: see 528 (n.). It would seem that the figure of Justice actually moves on the shield in leading the man.

631 χρυσήλατον. For gold work on shields cf. Hom. *Il.* 18. 517 *ἀμφω χρυσῶ χρύσεια δὲ εἴματα ἔσθην*, *ibid.* 574 *αἱ δὲ βόες χρυσοῖο τετεύχато κασιτέρου τε*, [Hes.] *Scut.* 183 (warriors on the shield) *ἀργύρεοι, χρύσεια περὶ χροῖ τεύχε' ἔχοντες*. The metal here is not inlaid

(as in 481), but is hammered plate.—*ἰδεῖν* is commonly treated as an idle addition to *τευχηστήν*, but this is not just to the poet. The point of the word is that the gold plate displays not only a man, but a man in full armour, the work being so skilful that the parts stand out clearly delineated. *ἰδεῖν* thus virtually = ‘distinctly’ or ‘conspicuously.’ This is properly the force of the infin. in e.g. Soph. *O. C.* 327 *ὦ πάτερ δύσμοιρ' ὄραν*, Eur. *I. A.* 274 *κατείδομεν | πρύμνας σήματα ταυρόπουν ὄραν*, | ... *Ἀλφεόν*, Ar. *Ecc.* 387 *λευκοπληθῆς ἰδεῖν*, Pind. *I.* 6. 22 *ἰδεῖν μορφάεις*. [It is just possible to relate *ἰδεῖν* to the whole clause: i.e. the woman leads the armed man ‘visibly,’ this being part of the mechanism. Cf. [Hes.] *Scut.* 166 *στίγματα δ' ὥς ἐπέφαντο ἰδεῖν*. But the position of the word is against this.]

632 γυνή τις: not strictly a woman, but a being represented as a woman: ‘a female form.’—*σωφρόνως ἡγουμένη*. There is no tautology with *ἄγει*, but the whole = ‘she leads as his guide.’ The *σωφροσύνη* is shewn in her deportment. Though Polyneices himself exhibits no *σωφροσύνη*, the artist who depicted his *Δίκη* would necessarily follow the canons for that allegorical figure.

633 Δίκη δ' ἄρ' κ.τ.λ. In the preceding *τις*, in *ἄρ'*, and in the fut. *λέξει* we are subtly placed back in the position of the *ἀγγελος* while he is deciphering the blazon. He sees what is apparently (*τις*) a woman; she turns out (*ἄρ'*) to be *Δίκη*, as one will find on reading. [Verrall takes *ἄρ'* as implying ‘that the narrator does not accept her declaration,’ i.e. the messenger reports it either somewhat sarcastically or with hesitancy: ‘she says she is Justice.’]

634 sq. λέξει. The fut. might be

His shield, true round, is new of build, with twofold emblem fixed cunningly upon it. A work of gold displays a man full-armed, and as 'twere a woman leads him with sober guidance. 'Justice,' it seems, she calls herself, according to the letters; 'And I will bring home this man, and he shall have a country, and right to use his father's house and substance.'

Such are the devisings on their side. 'Tis left for thyself to

ἐστὶ τὰ γγνήματα, but I now retain the text, although inclined to believe that τὰ ξυβρίσματα is the true reading. (Both *v* for *β* and *-η* for *-ισ-* are common confusions: cf. *Ag.* 1009 αὐλαβεῖα (Fl.) for ἀβλαβεῖα, *Ar. Av.* 774 εὖρον (S &c.) for ἔβρον (R.V.), *Xen. Hell.* 5. 4. 54 χαυρίαν (B) for Σαβρίαν, and *Eubul. ap. Ath.* 622 Ε κατηλίσταται

due to the eye wandering from λέγει and catching ἔξει of the next line, but it may very well be correct (*v. sup.*).—κατάξω: from exile (cf. κατιέναι, κάθοδος).—πόλιν ἔξει: not 'shall get' (σχῆσει), nor 'the country,' but 'shall possess a country.' He shall no longer be an exile and ἀπολις. A prose-writer in such circumstances uses μετέχειν πόλεως. Justice does not promise that Polyn. shall be master of Thebes nor of τὰ πατρῶα δώματα, but only that he shall have his place in Thebes, and in the house and its property.—δωμάτων is not merely the house as abode, but includes the possessions. See *Cho.* 126 (n.), and cf. *Eum.* 757 Ἀργεῖος ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, ἐν τε χρήμασιν | οἰκεῖ πατρίοις. For the position of the exile see *Cho.* 135 (n.).

ἐπιστροφάς: 'range' (Paley, who quotes *Ag.* 963 ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ' ἐπιστροφωμένον). Cf. *Eum.* 550 ἐνοστήμιους δωμάτων ἐπιστροφάς, and *Hesych.* ἐπιστροφά: διατριβαί, δαίται· Διοχύλος Φρυγί.

636 sqq. τοιαῦτ' ἐκείνων κ.τ.λ. The exact sense of the following passage requires some search. We must first realise the situation. Six Theban champions have been sent to six of the gates; the seventh remains. It would not naturally enter into the minds of the company that Eteocles himself would elect to fight with his own brother. When he declares his intention (659 sqq.), both the Messenger and the Chorus are horrified and endeavour to dissuade him. It is manifest that the Scout himself does not even think of such a meeting; he simply asks the king whom he proposes to send. It is true that in 269 sqq. Eteocles has spoken of posting six champions with himself for seventh, but the messenger was not then present, and, if the Chorus remembered the observation, its fulfil-

ment would now seem out of the question. Had Eteocles appeared in full armour equally with the six, the case might have been more obvious to the Scout. But Eteocles is not yet armed (see 662 sq.). The Scout therefore enquires in all good faith who is to go.

The most natural interpretation is therefore that at v. 635 the ἀγγελος ends his enumeration of the Argive champions and now adds comprehensively 'such are the inventions on their side.' The remaining words mean '(my duty, so far, is done), it is for you now to decide who is the right man to send. So far as the carrying of announcements is concerned, you will always find me to be trusted; (the rest is not my business); you are the captain of the ship.'

Two points must here be noted. (1) To refer ἐκείνων to the last-named champion and his device, and to render 'such are the devices of them (viz. Polyneices and his Δίκη),' is surely impossible for ἔξευρήματα. ἐκείνοι are 'the enemy': cf. *Pers.* 398 σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκείν' ἐπέφλεγεν and *sup.* 468 (τάδε). (2) The combination αὐτὸς ἤδη with imperat. is used where a speaker has said his say and now leaves the matter with the hearer: cf. *Cho.* 112 αὐτὴ σὺ ταῦτα μανθάνουσ' ἤδη φράσαι, *Luc. De Merc. Cond.* 42 σὺ δ' οὖν... αὐτὸς ἤδη ἀκριβῶς ἐπισκοπῶν ἑκάστα ἐνένησον.

With the above sense ἔξευρήματα is quite possible of the various 'notions' or 'inventions' which have occurred to the enemy as blazons. They are the 'devisings' of their ingenuity. (Otherwise the easiest emendation would be *ξυβρίσματα; see crit. n.) *Dem. Lacr.* 930 τοιαῦτα τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ κακουργήματα reads like an echo of this place.—δοκεῖ (*placet*) is manifestly correct. δοκεῖς (whether with πέμπειν or πέμψειν) could

σὺ δ' αὐτὸς ἤδη γνῶθι τίνα πέμπειν δοκεῖ.
ὥς οὔ ποτ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδε κηρυκευμάτων
μέμψη, σὺ δ' αὐτὸς γνῶθι ναυκληρεῖν πόλιν.

ET. ὦ θεομανές τε καὶ θεῶν μέγα στύγος,
ὦ πανδάκρυτον ἄμὸν Οἰδίπου γένος.
ᾧμοι, πατρὸς δὴ νῦν ἀραὶ τελεσφόροι.
ἀλλ' οὔτε κλαίειν οὔτ' ὀδύρεσθαι πρέπει,
μὴ καὶ τεκνωθῇ δυσφορώτερος γόος.
ἐπωνύμῳ δὲ κάρτα, Πολυνείκει λέγω,
τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα τοὔπισημ' ὅποι τελεῖ,
εἷ νιν κατὰξαι χρυσότευκτα γράμματα
ἐπ' ἀσπίδος φλύοντα σὺν φοίτῳ φρενῶν.
εἰ δ' ἢ Διὸς παῖς παρθένος Δίκη παρῇν

640

645

(A.B.) for -ηται (V.L.), Phryn. fr. 2 γυιόδονιστον for -ητον &c.)

637 δόκει M^a.

δοκεῖς rec. ↓.

641 ἄμὸν M^a, ἄμὸν M, ᾧμὸν rec.

643 κλάειν Porson.

645 The final εἰ as written in M suggests an earlier η. Πολυνείκη rec. ↓.

however stand colloquially (*Ag.* 16, *Ar. Vesp.* 177, *Ran.* 1421 (n.)).

638 ἀνδρὶ τῷδε = ἐμοί. It is scarcely relevant, and would be without much point, to refer the words to Polyneices, i.e. 'you will never find fault with (the indefiniteness of) his proclamations' or 'accuse him of giving insufficient warning' (viz. in 634 sqq.). As referring to the ἄγγελος we may render κηρυκευμάτων by (1) 'you will never have occasion to blame me in respect of the news which I bring you,' or (2) 'in respect of carrying announcements (from you).' The latter is preferable, in view of the natural sense of κήρυξ and its cognates. The former notion would rather require ἀγγελμάτων, while in κηρύκευμα lies the sense of conveying a message entrusted. Moreover the line, coming as it does between σὺ δ' αὐτὸς γνῶθι τίνα πέμπειν δοκεῖ and the same phrase repeated (in another form), should have some close connection with the former words, viz. 'make up your mind whom you will send: I will carry your message to him; but I offer no advice.' For the phrase with μέμψη cf. [*Eur.*] *Rhes.* 50 ἤλυθον ἄγγελος, ὥς | μή ποτ' ἐς ἐμέ τίνα μέμψιν εἴπης.

639 γνῶθι ναυκληρεῖν. Cf. *Soph. Ant.* 1089 ἵνα... γνῶ τρέφειν τὴν γλῶσσαν ἡσυχαιτέραν, *Hom. Il.* 7. 238 οἶδ' ἐπ' ἀριστέρα νωμῆσαι βούν.

640 sq. ὦ θεομανές: with γένος. As an apostrophe, referring to Polyn.,

it would have been the nom. ὦ θεομανής. 'This family of ours' is maddened by the gods, who mean to destroy it (*quem deus vult perdere prius dementat*). In Christian phraseology, the family is possessed of the devil. Cf. *θεοβλαβής* and *Eur. Or.* 845 θεομανεῖ λύσση δαμείς. The initial dactyl (if it be so pronounced) is upheld by *Cho.* 215, 984, *Ag.* 7, 1311, *P. V.* 756, fr. 255 (ὦ θάνατε), 392 (ἦ βαρύ). It is possible, indeed, that θεοι was slurred, as in *θεόμοροι* (*Pind. Ol.* 3. 10), *Θεογνιδος* &c. The same might be said of *Eum.* 40 ὁρῶ δ' ἐπ' ὀμφαλῷ μὲν ἀνδρα θεομυσῆ. But there is no need to assume this. —τε καὶ ('yes, and...') amplifies with an explanation or motive: 'because it is hated by the Gods.' The repetition in θεο- θεῶν is deliberate for emphasis; nothing less than the Gods could work such ruin. For the sense of μέγα see *μεῖζων* 412 (n.) and cf. *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 445 σχέτλι' Ἔρως... μέγα στόγος ἀνθρώποισιν.

πανδάκρυτον. To it belong πάντα δάκρυα in the Greek sense of 'nothing but' tears.—Οἰδίπου. The thought is not simply 'we sons of Oedipus,' for Eteocles is not distinctly regarding himself as θεομανής. But the trouble began with, and is derived from, Oedipus; hence 'this family of ours, belonging as it does to the unhappy Oedipus.'

642 πατρὸς δὴ. Either (1) δὴ goes closely with πατρὸς: 'yes, it is our father's,' or (2) δὴ belongs to the sentence, the full

say whom thou wilt send. In me a messenger's duty shall never fail thee, but 'tis for thyself to captain the country as thou deemest best.

ET. O maddened of Heaven, Heaven's great abomination, our house of Oedipus, whose portion is all tears! Ah me! our father and his curses! 'Tis now they bear their fruit. Nay, it is no time either to weep or wail, lest our due of lamentation grow heavier with interest. For him so truly named—for Polyneices—we shall soon know what virtue lies in his blazon; whether the bragging of gold lettering on a shield, and a foolish frenzy, will fetch him home again. Had that daughter of Zeus,

646 τοῦπίσῃ' M, but with *ὅ* as correction. *τάπισῃ'* Victorius. **648** συμφοίτω M, σὺν φοίτῳ *m* (marg.). A previous suggestion *συμφοίτως φρενί* might find some support in γρ. *φρενί* of rec. (Par. B), but *σὺν φοίτῳ* is better. MSS show no consistency in the assimilation of the nasal to the following consonant. With the present

expression being *εἰσι δῆ* ('manifestly'), *νῦν* in any case is very emphatic, but *δῆ νῦν* cannot be used for *νῦν δῆ*. The former application of *δῆ* is the better. After the mention of Oedipus, *πατὴρ δῆ* emphasises the reference to him: 'Of Oedipus—for it is from our own father and his curse that the trouble comes.'

643 κλαίειν... ὀδύρεσθαι. As the antithetical *οὔτε... οὐτ'* show, the words are not synonymous. In a mere fulness of expression we should have either *οὐ κλαίειν καὶ* or at most *οὐ κλαίειν οὐδ'*. The verbs are similarly joined in Hom. *Il.* 24. 48 *κλαύσας καὶ ὀδυράμενος*, the former denoting tears, the latter lamentations (cf. 50 sq.).

644 μή καὶ τεκνωθῇ κ.τ.λ.: an expression so curious in the choice of both verb and adj. that it requires more attention than it has received. The scholiast's *αὐξηθῇ* is feeble. *δυσφορώτερος* contains the notion of paying a 'heavy call' (cf. *βαρὺς*), with a glance also at the pecuniary use of *φόρος*. *τεκνωθῇ* (cf. *τόκος* and *συρ.* 424) contains that of 'interest.' The sense is thus 'for fear this γῶος may bear interest (the tone being lent by *καὶ*, which cannot of course go with the adj.) in the shape of another yet harder to support,' i.e. it is no fit time (*πρέπει*) to weep and wail; but in order to prevent greater cause for wailing (in the shape of the mischief threatened to Thebes by Polyneices), we must act. To waste time in lamenting will be to increase the reasons for it.

645 κάρτα: cf. 400, 402 (n.), 565, 628, *Eum.* 90.—*Πολυνέικει*. Either this

or *Πολυνέικη* (crit. n.) will stand. See Jebb on Soph. *Ani.* 31 *σοί | κάμοι, λέγω γὰρ κάμει, κηρύξαντ'*, *Aj.* 569 *Τελαμῶνι δέλξει μητρὶ τ'*, *Εριβοία λέγω*. Cf. Aesch. *Jr.* 175 *Ἀντικλείας... τῆς σῆς λέγω τοι μητρός*.

646 ὅποι τελεῖ: 'to what end it will come.' Cf. *Cho.* 526 *καὶ ποῦ τελευτᾷ καὶ καρανοῦται λόγος*; 1073 *ποῖ δῆτα κρανεῖ*; *Pers.* 737 *πῶς τε δῆ καὶ ποῖ τελευτᾷ*; *Suppl.* 611. *τελεῖν* is used intransitively of the issue or destination: cf. *Cho.* 1019 *οὐ τὰδ' οἷδ' ὅπῃ τελεῖ*, *Pers.* 228. The tense may be either fut. or pres. (of vivid realisation): cf. 37 (n.).

647 sq. *χρυσότευκτα*: i.e. however gorgeous or pretentious. It is not τὰ χρ. ('his'), but generically 'mere gold letters will have no power.'—*σὺν φοίτῳ φρενῶν*: either (1) with the whole phrase, 'while the wits are mad' (cf. *Ag.* 769 *τὰ χρυσόπαστα δ' ἔδεθλα σὺν πίνῳ χερῶν*, i.e. 'where hands are defiled'), or (2) closely with *φλόοντα*, 'boasting in madness of mind,' *σὺν* being modal (cf. Soph. *Ph.* 1223 *ἔρπει ὥδε σὺν σπουδῇ ταχύς*). The former is to be preferred. With *φοίτῳ* cf. Soph. *Aj.* 59 *φοιτῶντ' ἄνδρα μανιάδων νόσοις*, and *φοιταλέος* (= *παράκοπος*, *μανιώδης*, Hesych.). The alliteration of *φ* is frequently effective, as in the sarcastic *Cho.* 88 *παρὰ φίλης φίλῳ φέρειν*. In *Ag.* 497 *τόδ' ἔλθον φῶς ἐφήλωσεν φρένας* it seems less designed.

649 sq. *ἡ Διὸς παῖς, παρθένος Δίκη*. The article and the doubling of title are intended to elaborate the dignity and purity of the real *Δίκη*, in contrast to the imaginary *Δίκη* upon the shield. 'If

ἔργοις ἐκείνου καὶ φρεσίν, τάχ' ἂν τόδ' ἦν· 650
 ἀλλ' οὔτε νιν φυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον,
 οὔτ' ἐν τροφαῖσιν, οὔτ' ἐφηβήσαντά πω,
 οὔτ' ἐν γενείου ξυλλογῇ τριχώματος,
 Δίκη προσεῖπε καὶ κατηξιώσατο·
 οὐδ' ἐν πατρώας μὴν χθονὸς κακονχία 655
 οἶμαί νιν αὐτῷ νῦν παραστατεῖν πέλας.
 ἦ δῆτ' ἂν εἴη πανδίκως ψευδώνυμος
 Δίκη, ξυνούσα φωτὶ παντόλμω φρένας.
 τούτοις πεποιθὼς εἶμι καὶ ξυστήσομαι
 αὐτός· τίς ἄλλος μᾶλλον ἐνδικώτερος; 660

place cf. Soph. *O. T.* 324 σὺμφωνημι' (L). σὺν τύφῳ Ald.

651 φεύγοντα Blom-

field. ↓. 652 πῶς Meineke. 653 ξυλλογῇ M. 654 προσεῖδε Martini (from

that (*illa*) daughter of Zeus, the virgin Right....' The titles are part of the accepted theogony: cf. Hes. *Opē*. 256 ἡ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα, | κυδρὴ τ' αἰδοῖται τε θεοῖς αἰ' Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν, *Theog.* 901, *Cho.* 948 Διὸς κόρα (n.). —παρῆν: *adesset*, of the *praesens deus* (cf. *παρεστάναι*). —ἐκείνου: with emphasis, 'a man like him.' —τάχ' ἂν τόδ' ἦν: not, of course, by a conquest in war, but Eteocles might have permitted it in some natural course of circumstances.

651 φυγόντα κ.τ.λ.: 'at his birth.' It is injudicious to substitute φεύγοντα, which would direct more attention to the physical process. Justice would not address the child during this, but as soon as it was accomplished. Paley quotes Hor. *Od.* 4. 3. 2 *quem tu, Melpomene, semel | nascentem placido lumine videris*, but Latin lacks the nice difference of pres. and aor. part., and here the verb is of addressing, not of watching. The latter remark applies also to Hes. *Theog.* 82.

With the phrase cf. Pind. *N.* 1. 35 σπλάγχων ὑπο μητέρος αὐτίκα θνητὸν ἐς αἴγλαν... | ὠδῖνα φεύγων...μύδην, *Lucr.* 1. 170 *enascitur atque oras in luminis exit*, *Verg. Aen.* 7. 660 *partu sub luminis edidit oras*, *Eum.* 668 ἐν σκότοισι νηδύος τεθραμμένη.

652 τροφαῖσιν: including παιδεία (cf. 535). —ἐφηβήσαντα: specifically referring to the age of ἐφηβοί (at eighteen). —πῶ (which belongs to the following verbs) can hardly be regarded as more than a metrical convenience. For similar

insertions in the same place cf. Soph. *Trach.* 303 μή ποτ' εἰσίδομί σε | πρὸς τοῦμ'· οὕτω σπέρμα χωρήσαντά ποι, *ibid.* 1060 οὐθ' Ἑλλὰς οὐθ' ἀγλασσοσ οὐθ' ὅσπην ἐγὼ | γαίαν καθάρων ἰκόμεν ἔδρασέ πω, *El.* 786 νῦν δ' ἐκῆλά που | τῶν τῆσδ' ἀπειλῶν οὐνεχ' ἡμερεύσομεν, *Eur. Ion* 1277, *Phalaeus ap. Ath.* 440 E ἴσα δὲ πίνειν | οὐτις οἱ ἀνθρώπων ἦρισεν οὐδαμά πω.

653 γενείου ξυλλογῇ τριχώματος: (1) with γενείου dependent on τριχώματος = ἐν τῷ συλλέγειν τὸ τοῦ γενείου τρίχωμα: (2) with γενείου possessive = 'in his beard's gathering of hair.' The order points to the latter. 'As his beard thickened its hair' is no mere periphrasis. The beard had begun to show already in the previous stage of ἐφηβος, but it gathers thickness in the next. He is no longer πρῶτον ὑπηνήτης but grows a full γένειον.

654 προσεῖπε καὶ κατηξιώσατο: 'accosted and recognised,' the latter verb being exegetical. There is no gain, but a loss, from reading προσεῖδε. Cf. *Cic. Phil.* 2. 33 *affari atque appellere*, *Eur. Suppl.* 959 οὐδ' Ἀρτεμὶς λοχία | προσφθέγγεται ἂν τὰς ἀτέκνους, *Or.* 520 Ἑλένην...οὐποτ' ἀνέσσω, | οὐτ' ἂν προσεποιμ', 1605 τίς δ' ἂν προσεποιμ' σ'; *Hipp.* 792, *Alc.* 194 κοῦτις ἦν οὕτω κακός, | δν οὐ προσεῖπε, *Theocrit.* *ap. Ar. Pol.* 1. 4 τίς ἂν προσεπειὼν ἀξιώσειεν λάτρην; In *Ag.* 769 (Δίκη) τὰ χρυσόπαστα δ' ἐθελα σὺν πίνῳ χερῶν | παλιντρόποις ὁμμασι λιποῦσ' ὅσα προσέβα του we should read προσέφατο. The notion that Justice would

the virgin Right, countenanced his acts and thoughts, perchance that might have been. But neither when he escaped the darkness of the womb, nor in his nurture, nor when he grew to man, nor when the hair was thickening in his beard, did Right deign to accost or own him. Nor, yet, methinks, does she stand at his shoulder now, when a fatherland is outraged. Surely not right, but all a lie, would be her name of Right, if she partnered his reckless purpose.

In this faith will I go and face him—I myself. Whose place is it more than mine? Whose rather? Leader to leader, brother

schol.). The substitution in schol. is perhaps accidental (cf. Soph. *O. T.* 463 Δελφίς εἶδε πέτρα as variant for εἶπε). ↓. ποτ' εἶδε Wakefield. 655 οὐτ' M, corr. recc. κακουργία Hartung. ↓. 657 ἦδητ' M, corr. m'. ἡ δῆτ' Weckl. &c. ↓. 658 δίκη M^a.

not 'have a word to say' to Polyn. is surely as natural as that she would not 'look at' him.—κατηξιώσατο = 'deemed worthy of herself, i.e. of her society'; the opposite of ἀπαξιούσθαι (*Eu.* 366 Ζεὺς...ἀξιόμισον ἔθνος τόδε λέσχας | ἄς ἀπηξιώσατο, a passage which further supports προσείπε). Cf. *Ag.* 894 τοιοῖσδε τοί νῦν ἀξίω προσφθέγγασιν.

655 οὐδ' ἐν πατρώας μὴν κ.τ.λ.: 'nor yet again, be sure...' For οὐδὲ...μὴν cf. 794, 525 (οὐ μὴν...γε), *Cho.* 188 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὴν νῦν ἡ κτανούσ' ἐκέλευε, *Eur.* *Or.* 1117, *Hel.* 1047.—πατρώας stresses the *impietas*, in which Δίκη can take no part (571 sqq.).—κακουχία: κακῶσει schol., but strictly the word describes a condition, i.e. ἐν τῷ κακῶς ἔχειν τὴν πατρίδα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. This is its sense also in *Plat. Rep.* 615 B εἰς δουλείας ἐμβεβληκότες ἡ τινος ἀλλης κακουχίας μεταίτιοι.

656 οἶμαι: sarcastic meiosis.—πέλας is not otiose, but adds the notion of zeal to παρασταταίν ('support'). She cannot stand by him with that closeness which makes for effective help.

657 sq. ἡ δῆτ' is preferable to ἡ δῆτ' as being a more natural and accepted combination. ἡ would require a different position of δῆτ', e.g. ἡ εἴη ἂν δῆτα.—πανδίκως never merely = παντελῶς (*Jebb* on *Soph. Tr.* 611), but is based on the earlier sense of δίκη ('manner') already discussed (586, 592, 594 n.). In *Cho.* 677 πρὸς τοὺς τέκοντας πανδίκως μεμνημένος | τεθνήωτ' Ὀρέστην εἰπέ the sense is not πάντως but 'acting rightly by your trust'; *Suppl.* 423 φρόντισον καὶ γενοῦ | πανδίκως εὐσεβῆς | πρῶξενος (with all the δίκη implied in the connection). At the

same time there is 'in πανδίκως...Δίκη an obvious play which necessitates our giving to πανδίκως some of the distinct sense 'justice.' Dike would be falsely named, with every 'plea' against her. Her name would be false by all the width of what is meant by δίκη (= 'we should, with all justice, deny her the name of Justice'). This application of the adv. would have been more manifest if the sentence had taken another shape, e.g. ἡ δῆτα πανδίκως ἂν λέγοιμεν ψευδώνυμον εἶναι Δίκην.

παντόλμω is itself a negation of δίκη, since δίκη lays down limits. Without φρένας the word would not connote distraction or frenzy.—φωτὶ contains, as often (but not invariably), a suggestion of contempt or pity.

659 sq. τοῦτοις: 'these arguments.'—αὐτὸς gains emphasis by its position.—μᾶλλον ἐνδικώτερος is here probably not an ordinary double comparative (though *Thom. Mag.* p. 238. 8 quotes this passage after remarking that poets *καινοτομοῦσι* in that use). Analysed it = 'who, rather, is more called upon?' Cf. *Suppl.* 285 Λιβυστικαῖς γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐμπερέσεται | γυναιξὶν ἔσθε ('rather, I should say, you are more like...'), *Eur. El.* 222 ἄλλους κτάνοιμι μᾶλλον ἐχθίους σθέν ('may I, rather, kill others, who are more hated'). For passages containing combined comparatives see *Plat. Phaed.* 79 E, *Gorg.* 487 D, *Eur. Hec.* 377, *Hipp.* 485, *Xen. Cyr.* 2. 4. 10, *Iophon fr.* 2 (τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον ἡσσαν εἴσεται), *Ath.* 275 B.

ἐνδικώτερος: 'more fit and proper.' Again with basis δίκη = 'appropriate conduct' (594 n.).

ἄρχοντί τ' ἄρχων καὶ κασιγνήτῳ κάσις
ἐχθρὸς σὺν ἐχθρῷ στήσομαι. φέρ' ὡς τάχος
κνημίδας, αἰχμῆς καὶ πέτρων προβλήματα.

*ΑΓ. μή, φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, Οἰδίπου τέκος, γένῃ
ὀργὴν ὁμοίως τῷ κάκιστ' αὐδωμένῳ.
ἀλλ' ἄνδρας Ἀργείοισι Καδμείους ἄλῃς
ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· αἶμα γὰρ καθάρσιμον.

665

663 πετρῶν M (but ε was previously accentuated). αἰχμῆν καὶ πετρῶν recc. Some editors omit the line, but ↓. 664—672 These lines are assigned in the MSS and

661 sq. ἄρχοντί τ' ἄρχων κ.τ.λ. To punctuate after this line and make the words depend on the previous **ξυστήσομαι** (with *τῷ...ἐνδίκωτερος* parenthetic) leaves **ἐχθρὸς σὺν ἐχθρῷ** rather weak. Moreover to say 'I will go and match myself—to whom is it more proper?—as leader against leader and brother against brother' is highly unnatural, since it is in no way *ἐνδίκον* for brothers to fight. As punctuated, and as translated above, the text means 'we are public enemies in our commands, we are private enemies as brothers.'—**σὺν...στήσομαι** is so-called tmesis.

662 sq. φέρ' ὡς τάχος κ.τ.λ. Addressed to some attendant or to his attendants in general.—**κνημίδας**: He might have said 'Bring me my armour' (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 779 ἐκφέρετε τεύχη πάντολά τ' ἀμφιβλήματα), but the words are more precisely those which would be used in the circumstances. He is not yet armed, otherwise his *κνημίδες* would already have been upon his legs. On the contrary, he calls for that part of his armour which was always first donned by the epic warrior (and naturally so, since the body-armour prevented free stooping). Cf. Hom. *Il.* 19. 369 *κνημίδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμῃσιν ἔθηκεν* (and then the *θώρηξ*), 3. 330, *Batrachom.* 124 *κνημίδας μὲν πρῶτον ἐθήρυσεν*, [Hes.] *Scut.* 122 *ὡς εἰπὼν κνημίδας ὀρεχάλκοιο φασεωῦ* | ...ἔθηκεν, δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα.

αἰχμῆς καὶ πέτρων κ.τ.λ. The shins were easily assailable, and not least with stones (*Il.* 4. 518 *χερμαδίῳ γὰρ βλήτο παρὰ σφυρὸν ὀκρίδεντι* | *κνήμην δεξιτερὴν* ... | *ἀμφοτέρῳ δὲ τένοντε καὶ δοτῆα λᾶας ἀναιδῆς* | *ἄχρῃς ἀπηλοιήσεν*). For the necessity of protecting them cf. *Od.* 24. 228, *Alcaeus fr.* 56. 4 *λάμπραι κνάμῃδες ἄρκος ἰσχύρω βέλεις*. In *Il.* 21. 592 sqq. Agenor casts his javelin and smites Achil-

les on the shin, but the *κνημὶς* saves him (*οὐδ' ἐπέρησε, θεοῦ δ' ἠρύκακε δῶρα*). The obj. gen. is of a common type: cf. *Ag.* 938 *σκιάν...Σειρίου κυνός*, *Soph. O. T.* 1200 *θανάτων...πύργος*, *Eur. Or.* 1488 *θανάτου προβολάν*, *Plat. Tim.* 74 *ἡ προβολὴ κανμάτων*, *Pl.* 4. 137 *μῆτρης θ'*, *ἣν ἐφόρειν, ἔριμα χροός, ἔρκος ἀκόντων*, *Ar. Rhod.* 4. 201 *ἀσπίδας...ἔχμα βολάων*. With **προβλήματα** itself cf. *Plut. Mor.* 691 D *Γερμανοὶ μὲν οὖν κρύους πρόβλημα ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐσθῆτα μόνον*, *Ar. Vesp.* 615.

If it is asked why Aesch. adds this epic apposition to *κνημίδας* at all, the answer lies in the thought: 'bring me my greaves, to be ready for spear and stone, *i.e.* 'I will prepare myself for fight in every shape, but a man must protect himself.'

664—672 Lines 664—669 have always been given to the Chorus (*i.e.* the Coryphaeus) and 670—672 to Eteocles, but editors have been sorely puzzled to fit them with a natural sense. It will be observed that, except in the *στιχομυθία* and in the place (356—361) where the leaders of the two *ἡμιχόρια* speak three lines to each other, the part of the Chorus has always been lyrical. Nor does the Coryphaeus anywhere make a set speech. It is unnatural that one of the Theban women of the Chorus should take the position of a full actor and deliver a *ῥῆσις* to the king. The sentiments of the Chorus are sufficiently expressed in their proper lyrics (673 sqq.). The ascription of the speech here to the Chorus must have been due to the notion that there was no other character upon the stage, it having been assumed that the *ἄγγελος* had withdrawn at v. 639. But the Scout was still waiting for instructions as to the seventh gate, not expecting Eteocles himself to undertake it. The lines are therefore most naturally

to brother, it will be standing foe to foe. [*To an attendant.*] Bring me forthwith my greaves, to fend off spear and stone.

SCOUT. No! son of Oedipus, of men most precious. Let not your temper grow wrong as his who speaks so wickedly. Nay, enough for Cadmeans to fight with men of Argos, for that bloodshed leaves no stain. But death like this, dealt one to

editions to two speakers, viz. 664—669 to the Chorus, 670—672 to Eteocles. Corr. *ed. ↓.

667 χέρας M, corr. rec. καθάρσιον M, but the correction seems

put into his mouth. This creates no difficulty as far as v. 669. But, further, it would not only create no difficulty, it would on the contrary remove one of a very serious kind, if the following lines (670—672) were also assigned to him. After warning Eteocles that the pollution of deliberate fratricide is beyond purgation, he continues, 'if any calamity were to happen to a man (*i.e.* if he meets his death), let it be without shame (such as would occur in this case), for that is the only advantage (of one over another) where dead men are concerned; but when calamity is combined with shame (as it would be in such a fight as yours), there is no good word to be said': *i.e.* if Eteocles is perchance to meet death, let him meet it elsewhere than in deliberate and shameful conflict with his brother. αἰσχρὰ (*turpia, prava*) are things morally wrong.

In the mouth of Eteocles the lines are practically unintelligible. It has been supposed that he is speaking of the 'disgrace' of refusing a challenge; but this is no answer to the question of pollution, and, if he means 'well, if such a misfortune (as the killing or being killed in polluted fratricide) is to come, let it come without cowardice on my part,' the remark implies a curious inconsequence and tangle of mind. Moreover if Eteocles has not spoken since v. 663, his next uncompromising speech (676) has more effect than if he had uttered the moralisings of 670—672. But the strongest arguments for the new ascription are to be found in (1) the simplification which results, (2) the unlikelihood that the set speech belonged to the Chorus.

664 Οἰδῖπου τέκος. Whereas φῖλατ' ἀνδρῶν is the appeal of affection to the man, this is the appeal of respect to the king. Cf. 359. It is better not to assume any reference to the temper of the father as a warning to the son.

665 ὀργήν: 'temper and disposition,' wider than 'anger.'—τῷ κάκιστ' αὐδωμένῳ viz. Polyneices, 'who utters such words of wickedness.'—αὐδωμένῳ is middle, as in *Cho.* 151 παιᾶνα τοῦ θανόντος ἐξαυδωμένας, *Eum.* 383, *Soph. Aj.* 772 ὀτρύνονσά νιν | ἡδῶτ' ἐπ' ἐχθροῖς χεῖρα φούλαν τρέπειν. The reference is to 620—625. [It would be extremely feeble to take τῷ as generic, whether with αὐδωμένῳ as middle or as passive. It is, again, very far-fetched to render 'him who bears the worst of names' (viz. Πολυνέικει). Nor can the sense be τῷ κάκιστα ὑπὸ σου αὐδωμένῳ (schol.), 'to him whom you so vehemently reproach.' A possible version is 'to one who is called κάκιστε,' *i.e.* a δυσγενής, ignorant of nobility and its obligations. This might add some point to the honorific Οἰδῖπου τέκος of the previous line. For αὐδᾶν so used cf. *Eur. And.* 19 Θεσσαλὸς δέ νυν λεῶς | Θετίδειον αὐδᾶ, *Alexis ap. Ath.* 242 C ὁ παραμαστήτης ἐν βροτοῖς αὐδῶμενος. But the rendering would be too far-drawn.]

666sq. ἀλλ' ἀνδρας Ἀργείοισι κ.τ.λ.: *i.e.* it is enough for the two armies to fight, they are foreigners to each other; we do not want Cadmean against Cadmean, still less when those Cadmeans are brothers. In ἅλις the thought is that matters can be decided 'sufficiently well' without any blood-pollution; there is no need for Eteocles to take the gate.

αἷμα γὰρ καθάρσιον of the MS can hardly be rendered (as by Verrall) 'for there is blood for cleansing.' To say nothing of the abruptness through the omission of the substantive verb ἔστι (not ἔσσι), it is not the case that in a battle between foreigners the slayer needed purification by the ceremony of *Eum.* 452 (ἔστ' ἂν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αἵματος καθαρσίῳ | σφαγαὶ καθαιμάξωσι νεοθῆλου βοτοῦ), *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 693—717, *Cho.* 1057 &c. Such purgation is necessary only for homicide within the same tribe, or of

ἀνδροῖν δ' ὁμαίμουν θάνατος ὧδ' αὐτοκτόνος,
οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας τοῦδε τοῦ μιάσματος.
εἴπερ κακὸν φέροι τις, αἰσχύνῃς ἄτερ
ἔστω· μόνον γὰρ κέρδος ἐν τεθνηκόσιν·
κακῶν δὲ καὶ ἀσυχρῶν οὐτιν' εὐκλείαν ἐρεῖς.

670

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. τί μέμονας, τέκνον; μήτι σε θυμοπλη-
θῆς δορίμαργος ἅτα φερέτω· κακοῦ δ'
ἐκβαλ' ἔρωτος ἀρχάν.

675

ΕΤ. ἐπεὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κάρτ' ἐπισπέρχει θεός,

necessary. ↓. **668** αὐτόκτονος M, αὐτοκτόνος m'. ὦν Elmsley for ὧδ'. **670** φέρει recc. Some prefer the punctuation ...ἄτερ, | ἔστω· **671** κῶδος Pauw. ἐν m' and schol. εὐ Bücheler. μένει γὰρ κέρδος ἐν Heimsoeth. τεθνηκότι recc. **672** κ' αἰσυχρῶν M. εὐκλείαν M. εὐ κλύειν Lowinski. ↓. εὐκλείαν φέρεis Halm. **673** m' writes

a ξένος, or in some other circumstances creating a bond. Cf. Oracl. ap. Ael. V. H. 3. 44 ἐκτεινας τὸν ἐταῖρον ἀμύνων· οὐ σ' ἐμίανεν | αἷμα, πέλεις δὲ χέρας καθαρώτερος ἢ πάρος ἦσθα, a passage which might rather indicate the meaning 'for the blood (so shed) is purifying blood' (viz. through being shed in a good cause). If we retain **καθάρσιον** it must be in this sense, since it cannot simply = **καθαρόν** ('the bloodshed is pure'). But the notion is somewhat recondite, and it seems better to read ***καθάρσιμον** (cf. βιώσιμος, ἀνήσιμος, ἀλώσιμος, οἰκήσιμος &c.). This does not mean that any purgative process of the above ritual kind was needed, but simply that the blood could be washed off the hands, and there an end. It created no μiasma ἀκάθαρτον.

668 ἀνδροῖν δ' ὁμαίμουν. The dual is effective, bringing the consideration down from the generalities of the plural to the particular case of two ('like you'). Stress lies on ὁμαίμουν.—**ὧδ'** αὐτοκτόνος = 'in this deliberate spirit of murder.' There may be purification in some other instances of domestic homicide (cf. *Eum.* 281 μητροκτόνον μiasma δ' ἐκπλυνον πέλει). We may, if we choose, call the line a provisional nominative, but it is better to speak of it as an effective aposiopesis. Cf. *Cho.* 518 τὰ πάντα γὰρ τις ἐκχέας ἀνθ' αἵματος | ἐνός, μάτην ὁ μόχθος, *ibid.* 1057 (n.), *Eum.* 100.

669 οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας κ.τ.λ. : i.e. it remains always young and fresh (οὐ μαρμα-

νεται: cf. *Eum.* 280). Similarly *Soph. O. C.* 954 θυμοῦ γὰρ οὐδὲν γῆρας ἔστιν ἄλλο πλην | θανείν. But there may be also a reference to γῆρας in the sense of the old skin sloughed off by a snake or other animal: cf. *Theophr. fr.* 177 (w) τοὺς ἀστακοὺς...ἐκδύεσθαι (φησί) τὸ γῆρας, *Arist. H. A.* 5. 17. 10 γῆρας ἐκδύνειν, *Aesch. fr.* 45 καθαίρομαι δὲ γῆρας. So *Eum.* 286 χρόνος καθαίρει πάντα γηράσκων ὁμοῦ.

τοῦδε τοῦ: more emphatic than **τοῦδε**. For the thought cf. 721, *Cho.* 70 πόροι τε πάντες ἐκ μιᾶς ὁδοῦ | <φοι>βαίνοντες τὸν χερομυστὴ φόνον καταπρέοντες ἴθυσαν μάταν.

670—672 εἴπερ κακὸν φέροι τις: a euphemism (= εἰ τι πάθαι τις) for 'if one were to be killed.' It was preferred to put such disagreeable suppositions in the remoter form of the optative as well as in the 3rd pers. rather than the 1st. Hence the apodosis **ἔστω** is natural grammar. For **κακὸν** = κακόν τι cf. *Ag.* 273 σὺ δ' εἴτε κεδνὸν εἴτε μὴ πεπυσμένη κ.τ.λ., *Soph. O. T.* 516 εἰ...νῦν νομίζει πρὸς γ' ἐμοῦ πεπονηθέναι | λόγισιν εἴτ' ἐργοισιν εἰς βλάβην φέρον, *Plat. Rep.* 368 Α θεῖον πεπόνθατε, *Alexis ap. Ath.* 74 F πρὸς μόχθηρον ἡδὺν προστεθὲν | ἀπορεῖν πεποίηκε. [Some prefer to punctuate **εἴπερ κακὸν φέροι τις αἰσχύνῃς ἄτερ, | ἔστω**]

μόνον γὰρ κέρδος κ.τ.λ.: the only advantage which one dead man has over another is that of being well spoken of.—

other by two brethren of one blood—of that pollution there is no growing old.

If one should suffer harm, let it be free of shame; for that is all that boots when men are dead. But of harm that goes with shame what good word can you say? [*Exit* SCOUT.

CHO. Child! What art thou set upon? Let not insensate^{1st} lust of fight fill thy soul with wrath and carry thee away. strophe. Banish the wicked passion at its birth.

ET. Since Heaven with this urgency must have it so, let

η over ο of μέμονας (cf. Eur. *I. A.* 1264 where MSS give μέμνηε for μέμονε). μήτισσεν | θυμοπληθής M, corr. recc. 674 δορὶ μάργος M, corr. m'. M divides the line at φερέτω |. 675 ἐκβαλ' M^a.

ἐν τεθνηκόσιν may be either (1) 'among dead men' (whose honour in the after-world depended on the manner of their death and burial, and on their estimation among the living: cf. *Cho.* 344—352, 483 and notes) or (2) 'in the case of dead men' (cf. *Ag.* 1451 τὸν αἰεὶ φέρονσ' ἐν ἀμύν | Μοῖρ' ἀτέλευτον ὕπνον, *Cho.* 951 n.). These meanings may, however, coalesce. The article is absent when the sense is hypothetical rather than generic, i.e. ἢν τεθνηκότες τινὲς ὦσι. Cf. 611 (n.), and for this (frequent) use of the anarthrous plural, *Ag.* 39 μαθούσιν αὐτῶ κοῦ μαθούσι λήθομαι, 59 πέμπει παραβάσιν Ἑρινύν (= εἰ τινες παρέβησαν), frag. adesp. 414. 2 καὶ πρὸς παθόντων κὰν κακοῖσι κειμένων | σοφὴ κέκλημαι.

672 κακῶν δὲ κᾶσυχῶν: deeds which are ἅμα κακά καὶ αἰσχυρά. Cf. Theogn. 608 αἰσχυρὸν δὴ κέρδος καὶ κακόν, ἀμφοτέρων, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 102 αἰσχυρὸν γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς αἰσχύνη κακόν, 756 κακῶς πέπρακται κατὰ τοῖς κακοῖσι πρὸς | αἰσχιστά. The words should not be taken as masculine.

οὐτὴν εὐκλείαν ἐρεῖς. The 2nd pers. is generic and might have been expressed by εἴποις ἄν (*dicas*): cf. 706, Herond. 4. 28 οὐκ ἐρεῖς αὐτήν, | ἢν μὴ λάβῃ τὸ μῆλον, ἐκ τάχα φύξει; *ibid.* 32. For simple accus. with ἐρεῖς cf. *Suppl.* 918 οὐκ ἐρεῖτ' ἀναρχίαν. For εὐκλείαν see 389 ἀνοία (n.) and 893 ἀμεφεία. [The correction φέρεαι is not required, but would be easy and good in itself, the act. being used in the sense of 'obtain,' 'carry off.' Cf. Theogn. 201 φέρειν κέρδος, Soph. *Aj.* 436 πᾶσαν εὐκλειαν φέρων, *O. T.* 590 ἐκ σοῦ

πάντ' ἀνευ φόβου φέρω, Eur. *Hel.* 66, fr. 65. 3. Cf. 193 n.]

673 sq. τέκνον: an indication of the age of some portion of the Chorus. See note to the ὑπόθεσις.—θυμοπληθής: either (1) so full of passion that there is no room for the reason, or less well (2) 'filling thy soul' (cf. χειροπληθής).—δορὶ-μαργος: 367 (n.).—φερέτω: 'carry you away,' as in *P. V.* 909 ἐξω δὲ δρόμου φέρομαι λύσσης | πνεύματι μάργῳ, Plut. *Cor.* 34 ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ρεύματος φέρεσθαι τοῦ πάθους, or with a different metaphor or agency *Cho.* 1021 ἐξωτέρω φέρονσι γὰρ νικώμενον | φέρεται δούραρτοι, Soph. *El.* 724 ἀστομοὶ | πᾶλοι βία φέρονται.

675 ἐκβαλ'...ἀρχάν=princiipiis obsta.—ἔρωτος: used of any passionate desire: cf. *Cho.* 595 (n.). Philodem. *de Mus.* (Kenke p. 81) σιωπῶ γὰρ τὸ πᾶσαν ὀρμὴν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν ἔρωτα καλεῖσθαι.

676 τὸ πρᾶγμα...θεός. θεός is emphatic; it is Heaven which has taken in hand the 'business' (*causam*, cf. 586) and is pressing it on. In view of the following lines it should be noted that ἐπισπέρχειν is used of winds (*Od.* 5. 304 ἐπισπέρχονται δ' ἄελλαι | παντοίων ἀνέμων) and was perhaps a mariner's word. Cf. also Ap. Rhod. 3. 345 ἴσον δ' ἔξ ἀνέμοιο θέει (sc. ἡ ναῦς) καὶ ὅτ' ἀνέρες αὐτοὶ | νωλεμέως χεῖρεσσιν ἐπισπέρχωνιν ἐρετμοῖς. [This, with the etymologising reference so often found in *κάρτα*, might possibly suggest a supposed connection of θεός with θέω (as in Plat. *Crat.* 397 c); but probably this is too subtle, and *κάρτα* simply='beyond doubt.']

ἴτω κατ' οὖρον κῦμα Κωκυτοῦ λαχόν
Φοίβῳ στυγηθὲν πᾶν τὸ Λαΐου γένος.

ἀντ. α'. ΧΟ. ὠμοδακῆς σ' ἄγαν ἡμερος ἐξοτρύ-
νει πικρόκαρπον ἀνδροκτασίαν τελεῖν
αἵματος οὐ θεμιστοῦ.

680

ΕΤ. φίλου γὰρ αἰσχρά μοι πατρὸς τελεῖν ἀρὰ

679 sq. The compiler of the schol. (q.v.) apparently had in his text ὁ δ' ἀμαθὴς and πικρόκαρπος, while σε was absent (Paley). He may also have had ἀντικτασίαν or

αὐτοκτασίαν.

679 m' writes ἐπ' over ἐξ-.

680 ἀνδροκτασίαν M, ἀνδροκτασίαν

677 sq. ἴτω κατ' οὖρον κ.τ.λ. The metaphor is from a ship, but it is not clear whether the subject is γένος or κῦμα, and whether we should punctuate ἴτω κατ' οὖρον, κῦμα Κωκυτοῦ λαχόν, | Φοίβῳ κ.τ.λ. or ἴτω κατ' οὖρον κῦμα Κωκυτοῦ, λαχόν | Φοίβῳ κ.τ.λ. We may thus render (1) 'let all the race, loathed by Phoebus, go down the wind, finding for its portion the wave of Cocytus,' or (2) 'let the current of C. go on with the wind, carrying with it, as loathed by Ph., all the race.' It happens that λαχόν is suitable either way, whether of the person who meets a fate, or of the destiny or deity obtaining control. The latter is distinctly the more familiar: cf. Theoc. 4. 40 σκληρῷ μάλα δαίμονος, ὅς με λε-
λογχεῖ, Plat. *Phaed.* 107 D ὁ δαίμων ὅστις ζῶτα εἰλήχει, *Il.* 23. 78 κήρ... ἥπερ λάχε γευνόμενον περ, *Matron ap.* Ath. 698 A Κλεόνικος, ὃν ἀθάνατον λάχε γῆρας, *Anth.* *Pal.* 9. 546 κῆν πρύμνη λαχέτω μέ ποτε σιβάς. On the other hand Pind. *P.* 5. 96 λαχόντες αἶδαν is very apposite here, and in point of sense we may compare e.g. *Soph. O. T.* 423 εὐπλοίας τυχών. The rhythm also makes for the former interpretation, and on the whole it appears more natural to speak of the race as going κατ' οὖρον.—ἴτω κατ' οὖρον: cf. *Soph. Tr.* 467 ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν | βέλτω κατ' οὖρον, *Ag. Thesm.* 1226 τρέχε νῦν κατὰ τοὺς κῶρακας ἐπουρίδας, *Eur. Tro.* 102 πλεῖ κατὰ πορθμῶν, πλεῖ κατὰ δαίμονα, | μηδὲ προσίστη πρῶραν βίτου | πρὸς κῦμα, *Ag. Eg.* 432 ἀφῆσ' | κατὰ κύμ' ἐμαντὸν οὐριον. The thought is prompted by φερέτω of v. 674.—κῦμα Κωκυτοῦ is not merely ῥεύμα K., but the water swells into a 'billow,' which goes with the direction of the wind. In fact κῦμα K. practically = Κωκυτὸν κυμαίνοντα (cf. 475 n.),

'Cocytus in high wave.' 'There is of course a blending of reference to a literal κωκυτός and to the river of Death; hence the choice of Cocytus rather than Acheron. The notion of this river as a stream (not here to be crossed but) to carry one away was apparently proverbial. Cf. *Plut. Mor.* 106 F ὁ τῆς φθορᾶς ποταμός (opposed to ὁ τῆς γενέσεως), ἐπ' Ἀχέρων εἴτε Κωκυτὸς καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν, *Anth.* *Pal.* 7. 12. 3 πλατὺ κῦμα καμόντων.—Φοίβῳ στυγηθὲν: the tense as in *P. V.* 45 ὦ πολλὰ μισηθεῖσα χειρωναξία. The hate (with its manifestation implied in στυγεῖν, 221 (n.)) was derived from the time when Laius disobeyed the oracle of Apollo (cf. 728 sqq.). Hence the mention of Laius rather than Oedipus.—Φοίβῳ, rather than Δοξία or Ἀπόλλωνι, is required for the antithesis implied between the dark world of Cocytus and the light of day, the sense of φοῖβος as 'bright' being still poetically current (*P. V.* 22, *Bacchyl.* 13. 106, *Cho.* 32).—πᾶν must be uttered with emphasis.

679—681 ὠμοδακῆς... ἡμερος: 'a desire for biting raw flesh.' In the first instance this suggests the mad passion of *Hom. Il.* 4. 34 εἰ δὲ σὺ... ὤμων βεβρώ-
θοις Πριάμον Πριάμοιό τε παῖδας | ...τότε κεν χόλον ἐξάκεσαι, 24. 212 (Hecuba) τοῦ ἐγὼ μέσον ἦπαρ ἔχοιμι | ἐσθέμεναι προσφύσα (which expresses πικρία βά-
ραρος καὶ θηριώδης schol.), *ibid.* 346 αἶ γάρ πως αὐτὸν με μένος καὶ θυμὸς ἀνέλῃ | ὦμ' ἀποταμνόμενον κρέα ἐδμεναι, οἷά μ' ἔοργας. In *Xen. Hell.* 3. 3. 6 οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρῦπτεν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἡδέως ἂν καὶ ὤμων ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν and *An.* 4. 8. 14 we have a deliberate semi-humorous hyperbole. Cf. also *Soph. fr.* 731. 5 οὐθ' ὥς πρὸ Θηβῶν ὠμοβρώς ἐδάισατο | τὸν Ἀσά-
κειον παῖδα (sc. Τυδεύς), *Eur. fr.* 537 εἰς

the whole race of Laius go down the wind, caught by Cocytus' wave, with Phoebus' hate upon it.

CHO. Too fierce thy appetite, that drives thee to a rite bitter and raw of taste, where man is victim and the blood is blood unlawful. 1st anti-strophe.

ET. Aye, for the hideous Curse—an own father's curse—

μ'. ↓. ἀνδροπασίαν is possible. ↓. 682 ἐχθρά recc. (a common confusion; cf. MSS at Eur. *Alc.* 1037). τελεῖ M, τελεῖα μ', τελεῖ' recc. Corr. Turnebus. ↓. τάλαυ' Wordsworth, μέλαι' Weil. It would be possible, but less near, to read ἐχθρα... τελεῖα δρῶ.

ἀνδροβρώτας ἡδονὰς ἀφίξομαι, Plut. *Mor.* 462 B ὠμηστήν καὶ μαινόμεν.

The notion of eating raw flesh then suggests to Aesch. the Orphic ὠμοφαγία, and in terms adapted thereto the Chorus says that passion urges Eteocles to offer a human victim (cf. τελεῖν θυσίαν, *Ierá*, Eur. *fr.* 475. 11 τὰς τ' ὠμοφάγους δαίτας τελέσας) as if designing to use his flesh in the raw-eating rites. The same suggestion exists in Eur. *H. F.* 889, where λυσσάδες ὠμοβρώτες δίκαι (in the madness of Heracles) result in οὐ Βρομίω κεχαρισμένα θύσσω... αἵματα (i.e. blood of a strange and unallowable kind for the ὠμοφαγία). In ἀνδροκτασίαν there is thus stress on the first element of the compound (cf. ἀνδροδάκτος *Cho.* 859), the point being repeated in οὐ θεμιστοῦ. It is to be an ἀνδροκτασία, not a βουκτασία or ταυροκτασία. In point of construction αἵματος οὐ θεμιστοῦ depends upon -κτασίαν: 'the slaying (i.e. shedding) of unlawful blood, the blood of a man.' Greek says κτείνειν αἷμα (contained acc.), and ἀνδροκτονεῖν αἷμ' οὐ θεμιστόν is no unnatural extension. For the ὠμοφαγία in Bacchic and Orphic ceremonies see Harrison *Proleg. to Gk. Religion* pp. 479 sqq., and Plut. *de def. orac.* 14 (where the 'eating of raw flesh' and the 'tearing to pieces' are named). [Since the reading ἀνδροκτασίαν is not certain, and since πατέομαι is used of tasting either flesh or blood (*Soph. Ant.* 201 ἡτέλησε δ' αἵματος | κοινοῦ πάσασθαι), it is possible that ἀνδροπασίαν is correct. This, however, makes no material difference to the passage.]—πικρόκαρπον: not simply 'bitter' (=to your sorrow) in its consequence, but with the literal implication of the bitter taste, like that of unripe fruit.

682 sq. φίλου γὰρ αἰσχροῦ κ.τ.λ.: 'yes, for the curse of my father is pressing me to perform it.' The usual alterations

of τελεῖ of M (crit. n.) are improbable, and the true reading should have been established by v. 680. The only emendation needed is τελεῖ for τελεῖ. Eteocles takes up the τελεῖν of the Chorus. The infin. (in prose normally accompanied by ὥστε) follows the sense of προσιζάνει, as if it were δρῶναι (resumed in 685) or κελύει. Such an infinitive (strictly = 'for the accomplishing') is not rare: cf. 611 (n.). The notion in προσιζάνει is that of besieging or obsession, and the word (or its cognates) is a vox propria of such haunting: cf. *Ag.* 1187 καὶ μὴν πεπωκὼς γ', ὥς θρασύνεσθαι πλέον, | βρότειον αἶμα κῶμος ἐν δόμοις μένει, | δόσπεμπος ἔξω, συγγόνων Ἐρινύων. | ὕμνοδαι δ' ὕμνον δώμασιν προσήμεναι, Porphyr. *de philos. ex orac. haur.* p. 149 σιτουμένον γὰρ ἡμῶν προσίσι καὶ προσιζάνουσι (sc. the Keres-Erinyes), Plut. *Mor.* 551 D οἷς οὐκ ἄτρεπτος ἢ κακία πέφυκε προσιζάνειν.

ἐχθρά (recc.) for αἰσχροῦ (M) is plausible, and the confusion is not rare. It is natural to appreciate (and over-appreciate) the antithesis φίλου... ἐχθρά. But αἰσχροῦ, whether as fem. ('ugly' or 'shameful,' or both), or as neut. object to τελεῖν, is readily translatable. We may perhaps dismiss the neuter with the reflections (1) that τελεῖν, in answer to v. 680, is better left without an object, (2) that the position points to the antithesis φίλου πατρός | αἰσχροῦ ἀρά. This is less mechanical than φίλου | ἐχθρά.—αἰσχροῦ in fact combines the thoughts (1) of the 'shameful and wrong' curse uttered by a father whom nature meant to be φίλος, (2) of the mental picture of the embodied Curse, the haunting fiend, with its 'ugly' face and dry hard eyes. The ugliness of all forms of Κῆρες is apparent in the representations in art (cf. μέλαινα δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν βδελύκτροποι *Eum.* 52).—φίλου expresses relationship ('own,' 'near') but

ξηροῖς ἀκλαύστοις ὄμμασιν προσιζάνει,
λέγουσα κέρδος πρότερον ὑστέρου μόρον.

στρ. β'. ΧΟ. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ 'ποτρύνου· κακὸς οὐ κεκλή-
ση βίον εὖ κυρήσας· μελάναιγίς οὐκ
εἴσι δόμων Ἑρινύς, ὅταν ἐκ χερῶν
θεοὶ θυσίαν δέχωνται;

685

ΕΤ. θεοῖς μὲν ἤδη πως παρημελήμεθα,
χάρις δ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὀλομένων θαυμάζεται.
τί οὖν ἔτ' ἂν σαίνοιμεν ὀλέθριον μόρον;

690

683 ἀκλαύστοις marg. Ald. †. ἀκλαντος Butler. ὄμμασιν M. **684** μόρον M, corr. recc. †. **685** M divides at κεκλήση|. The sign for ΧΟ. comes from m, M having only the paragraphus. **686** βίου Hartung. μελάναιγίς δ' οὐκ M (sic). Corr. *ed. with

not necessarily affection (*Cho.* 109). When the expected affection is not present a qualifying antithesis (or expression of oxymoron) is frequent; e.g. *Ag.* 1271 φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν, *Cho.* 233 τοὺς φιλότατους γὰρ οἶδα νῶν ὄντας πικρούς, *Eur. Phoen.* 1446 φίλος γὰρ ἐχθρὸς ἐγένετ', ἀλλ' ὅμως φίλος. That antithesis is given here with fuller contents of meaning than in the bare ἐχθρά.

683 ξηροῖς ἀκλαύστοις ὄμμασιν: circumstantial dative. The notion is of hardness and pitilessness. The 'dry' eye may be such from fearlessness (*Hor. Cđ.* 1. 3. 18 *qui siccis oculis monstra natantia...vidit*), or pitilessness, or madness (*Eur. Or.* 389 δεινὸν δὲ λύσσεις ὀμμάτων ξηραῖς κόραις). The last is out of the question here, the meaning being defined by ἀκλαύστοις. The words complete the picture of the 'ugly' *Ara*. The glare of fiends is proverbial. It is not possible to keep apart the meanings of ἀκλαυστος and ἀκλαντος (see Jebb on *Soph. O. T.* 361 and cf. *Cho.* 698 n.). [Otherwise we may render 'haunts my eyes, which are dry and cannot weep'; but this is obviously less apt, and is somewhat against the order of the words taken as a whole.]

684 λέγουσα κέρδος κ.τ.λ. The sense is manifestly 'declaring that an earlier death, rather than a late, is a gain.' Death is better than protracted misery: cf. 691, *Soph. Ant.* 461 εἰ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου | πρόσθεν θανοῦμαι, κέρδος αὐτ' ἐγὼ λέγω, *El.* 1485 τί γὰρ βροτῶν ἂν σὺν κακοῖς μεμειγμένων | θνήσκειν οὐ μέλλων τοῦ χρόνου κέρδος φέροι; *Eur. Hipp.* 1047 ταχὺς γὰρ Ἀϊδης ῥάστος ἀνδρὶ δυστυχίῃ.

With μόρον the grammar is simple: 'a death earlier than a later one,' and the fulness of expression is not un-Greek (*Eur. Andr.* 392 ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείς | πρὸς τὴν τελευτὴν ὑστέραν οὖσαν φέρη). With μόρον (which owes its shape only to the preceding ὑστέρου) the meaning and construction are quite obscured. [The version 'telling me of gain (i.e. the glory in the slaying of Polyneices) to precede the death which follows' is not much to the point of the context, nor is such a dry analysis of the situation suited to the passionate state of Eteocles. We might render λέγουσα as 'counting' (the gain first), but this hardly improves matters.]

685 sq. μὴ 'ποτρύνου: referring to προσιζάνει (683).—κακὸς οὐ κεκλήση: 'you will not bear the name of coward.' The pride of Eteocles urges him to answer his brother's challenge, and the Chorus argues (cf. 703) that it is not κακία to refuse such an undertaking from sound prudential motives and when the result is victory. The proverb 'all's well that ends well' or 'nothing succeeds like success' is known to Greek in the form *ὃν δὲ θεοὶ τιμῶσιν, ὁ καὶ μωμεύμενος ἀνιῇ* (*Theogn.* 169). Somewhat like is *Pind. N.* 1. 10 *ἔστι δ' ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ | πανδοξίας ἀκρον*.—βίον εὖ κυρήσας: i.e. when fortune approves your course (τιμᾶ θεός 703). The accus. with κυρεῖν is not confined to such neut. pronouns and adjectives as may be considered 'contained accus.' (e.g. *Cho.* 710 κακεῖ κυροῦντων δώμασιν τὰ πρόσφορα, *Theoc.* 3. 51 *ὅς τοσσῆν ἐκύρησεν, ὅσ' οὐ πεισεῖσθε βέβαλοι*), but has a wider use of 'falling in with':

with eyes too hard for tears, besets me to fulfil it. 'The earlier death comes, the more the gain,' saith she.

CHO. Nay, let urging move not thee. Let thy life prosper, ^{2nd} and none will call thee craven. Will not the black-cloaked ^{strophe.} Hauntress of the house be gone, when the Gods accept oblation at thy hands?

ET. The Gods! Already, methinks, all care from them is past, and the service of ours they prize is that we perish. Why any longer then cringe at the doom that ends us?

question-mark added (μελάναιγυς Arnald). ψ. ἐκ δ' Weil. 687 δόμον recc. δόμους Brunck. δτ' ἂν M, οὐτ' ἂν m and schol. 689 m' supplies the sign for Eteocles, M

cf. Eur. *Hec.* 698 ἐπ' ἀκταῖς νιν κυρῶ θαλασσίαις, *Rhes.* 113 εἰ μὴ κυρήσεις πολεμίους ἀπὸ χθονὸς φεύγοντας, *ibid.* 695. Here βλον is easier, since it may be regarded either as cognate or as accus. of respect. The word includes material prosperity, which will enable him to offer the (liberal) sacrifices next mentioned.

686 sqq. μελάναιγυς οὐκ κ.τ.λ. When the interrogation sign had been omitted, δ' was inserted to the confusion of the sense. The thought is that of *Cho.* 963 τάχα δὲ παντελὴς χρόνος ἀμείψεται | πρόθυρα δωμάτων, ὅταν ἀφ' ἐστίας | μύσος ἅπαν ἐλάσῃ καθαρμίους ἀρᾶν λυτήριον, *Plat. Phaedr.* 244 D, E. The sentiment is general: 'one who is rich and prosperous can always offer sacrifices of ἀποκομπή, so long as his hands are undefiled.'—δεχονται is not simply λαμβάνουσι. The gods will not 'accept' offerings from a polluted hand (*Cho.* 72 χερομυσῇ, *Ag.* 769 σὺν πίνῳ χερῶν). In μελάναιγυς the poet is thinking of the representations in art, in which the Erinyes wear over the tunic a skin (αἰγίς), sometimes fastened at the waist with a knot of snakes. See illustrations in Harrison *Prol. Gk. Rel.* pp. 225 sqq. This may be symbolic of these mysterious powers moving in the darkness and perhaps the storm (*Hom. Il.* 9. 571 ἡεροφοίτης Ἐρινύς).

689 θεοῖς μὲν ἤδη κ.τ.λ. θεοῖς is stressed in reply to θεοὶ of the last line: 'as for the gods you speak of...' For the thought cf. *Soph. O. C.* 385 ἤδη γὰρ ἔσχεις ἐλπιδ' ὡς ἐμοῦ θεοὺς | ὦραν τιν' ἔξειν, ὥστε σωθῆναι ποτε;—ἤδη: the hope suggested is past, the refusal of the gods to notice him or his brother has 'already' occurred.—πως lends a certain lingering qualification to the positiveness of this assertion. The plural used through-

out the passage and emphasised in ἡμῶν must refer to both members of the λαῶν γένους (678), Οἰδίου γένους (641). Elsewhere Et. speaks of himself in the singular.

690 χάρις δ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ.: 'and the way in which we can please them is by—perishing.' Eteocles does not say with the bitterness of Ajax (*Soph. Aj.* 589) οὐκά τοι σθ' ἐγὼ θεοῖς | ὡς οὐδὲν ἄρκειν εἰμ' ὀφειλέτης ἐτι; (with which cf. *P. V.* 1017). Rather it is in despair that he argues 'no right action in this matter, no sacrifice, will move them; they set a value only on our death'—τὸ δλέσθαι ἡμᾶς (μόνον) θαυμάζεται ὡς χάρις.—θαυμάζεται, as often, = τιμάται: cf. Eur. *El.* 84 μόνον δ' Ὀρέστην τόνδ' ἐθαύμαζες φίλων, *Med.* 1144, *Thuc.* 1. 38. For χάρις of a service procuring gratitude cf. *Soph. O. C.* 779 εἰ... | πλήρη δ' ἔχοντι θυμὸν ὦν χρήζεις, τότε | δωροῖθ', δτ' οὐδὲν ἡ χάρις χάριν φέρει.—ὀλομένων in grammar is hypothetical (= ἦν δλώμεθα, εἰ δόλομεθα), with the apod. in the lively indic. present. For the absence of μόνον cf. *Plat. Rep.* 357 A τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρα, ὡς εἰκοι, προοίμιον and *ibid.* 352 C (n.). [The rendering (1) 'and gratitude from us, who have been abandoned, is a matter of wonder (to the gods)' is weak and lacks connection with the following line; (2) 'and the service rendered by our death is (= will be) prized (by the citizens)' is too far-fetched for the Greek in the absence of ὑπ' ἀστῶν, nor is it clear that this is the particular service which the country would most prize.]

691 τί οὖν κ.τ.λ.: since the Gods wait only for our death, why seek to delay it? (cf. 684). For hiatus in τί οὖν see 192 (n.), and for σάινουμεν 370 (n.).—τί... ἂν σάινουμεν; is not identical with τί

ἀντ. β'. ΧΟ. νῦν, ὅτε σοι πάρ', εἶκε· δαίμων ἐπεὶ
λήματος ἂν τροπαία χρονία μεταλ-
λακτὸς ἴσως ἂν ἔλθοι θελεμωτέρῳ
πνεύματι· νῦν δ' ἔτι ζεῖ.

695

ΕΤ. ἐξέζεσαν γὰρ Οἰδίου κατεύγματα·
ἄγαν δ' ἀληθεῖς ἐνυπνίων φαντασμάτων
ᾧψεις, πατρώων χρημάτων δατήριοι.

ΧΟ. πείθου γυναιξίν, καίπερ οὐ στέργων ὅμως.

ΕΤ. λέγοιτ' ἂν ὦν ἄνη τις· οὐδὲ χρὴ μακράν.

700

ΧΟ. μὴ 'λθης ὁδοὺς σὺ τάσδ' ἐφ' ἐβδόμαις πύλαις.

having the paragraphus.

692 νῦν ὅτε σοι παρέστακεν· ἐπεὶ δαίμων M, with ζτ in marg. Corr. *ed. †. An alternative νῦν, ὅτε σοι πάρεστ', εἶκε· ἔτι δαιμόνων | λήματος ἂν τροπαία is perhaps not so good. ἐπεὶ δόμων Ellis, ἐπεὶ κλύδων Hermann.

693 ἀντροπαία χρονία M, ἀντροπαία χρόνια m. ἂν τροπαία Heath, αὐ τροπαία Paley,

σαίνωμεν; but='why should we be deprecating (supposing we were to deprecate)?'—*δλέθριον μόρον*. Since *μόρος* is always 'death' in tragedy (*Cho.* 8 n.), and therefore an *δλεθρος*, the adj. must refer to the previous *δλομένων* ('the death that does so end us').

692 νῦν ὅτε σοι παρέστακεν of M is commonly defended (as a more emphatic form of νῦν σοι π.) by the doubtful νῦν ὅτε καὶ θεοὶ διογενεῖς κλύοιτε of *Suppl.* 638, with which are compared the Latin *nunc id est quom* (Plaut. *Rud.* 664). Even granting the possibility of such an expression, perhaps conceivable as a formula of urgency, it is hard to see what fitness there is in 'now is it present to you.' If the subject is *μόρος*, the sentence has no relevance to the argument, although the expression itself may be good (Hom. *Il.* 16. 852 ἀλλὰ τοι ἤδη | ἄγχι παρέστηκεν θάνατος, Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 56 τοῦ θανάτου παρῆσθηκός, Herond. 1. 16 χῆ σκι παρέστηκεν). If again *παρέστακεν*=*πάρεστι*, *ἔξεστι* the use is hard to support (Thuc. 1. 133 *παρεστηκός* is the only instance quoted, but see Poppo-Stahl), and there is scarcely an appreciable sense. If, retaining a proper force in *ὅτε*, we render 'now (avoid death), when the occasion has come' the words are more naive than consequent. Of two emendations which suggest themselves the one given in the text is preferred to an alternative νῦν, ὅτε σοι πάρεστ', εἶκε· ἔτι δαιμόνων | λήματος ἂν τροπαία χρονία κ.τ.λ. (1) as keeping *δαίμων* and *ἐπεὶ*

and assuming only the transposition which is rather frequent in the lyrics of this play, (2) as leaving *δαίμων* in the sing., of the specific 'evil genius,' (3) as avoiding the pleonastic *τροπαία μεταλλακτὸς* (although the gender of the participial adj. is good; cf. *Cho.* 22 (n.) and add Eur. *Suppl.* 578 *λόγῃ σπαρτός*, Soph. *Tr.* 163 *μοῖραν...δαιρετόν*).—*δαίμων* is not generic, but 'your attendant genius.' Cf. *Pers.* 604, *Ag.* 1663, *Cho.* 511, Menand. *inc.* 18 ἅπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαρίσταται.

693 sq. *τροπαία*: originally *τροπαία πνοή* or *αἶρα*. Cf. *Ag.* 229 *φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν*, *Cho.* 771, Eur. *El.* 1147 *μετάτροποι πνέουσιν αἶραι δόμων*. The same thought (with *λήμα* and *χρόνος*) in Eur. *Heracl.* 702 *λήμα μὲν οὐπω στόρνου χρόνος | τὸ σόν*. Among the seafaring Athenians such metaphors from favouring or contrary winds were naturally very common, e.g. *Cho.* 391, Eur. *H. F.* 216 *ὅταν θεὸς σοι πνεῦμα μεταβαλὼν τύχῃ*, Soph. *O. C.* 612, *Ant.* 929: cf. *πνεῦν χάριν, ὀργὴν* &c. The repetition of *ἂν* with the verb, when it has already occurred towards the beginning of the clause, should never have been suspected: cf. Soph. *Aj.* 155 *κατὰ δ' ἂν τις ἐμοῦ | τοιαῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἂν πείθω*; and even without such separation Soph. *O. T.* 446, *ibid.* 139. For *ἂν...ἔλθοι* of a defensible expectation see *Cho.* 463 (n.) and add Eur. *H. F.* 97 *ἔλθοι τ' ἔτ' ἂν παῖς οὐμός*, Ar. *Thesm.* 528, Pind. *O.* 2. 20, Soph. *Aj.* 186.

θελεμωτέρῳ (Conington) is based on

CHO. Now, while thou mayest, yield! For the mood of the bad Genius may haply veer at last. It may change, and blow with milder breath. But now it is aboil.

ET. Aye, set aboil by Oedipus and his curses. All too true are the visions that haunt my dreams and apportion our father's substance.

CHO. Take a woman's counsel, although thou like it not.

ET. Say on, but to a purpose, and no long speech withal.

CHO. Go not where thou art going! Not to the seventh gate!

ἐν τροπαίᾳ Ald. ↓. M divides at μεταλλακτὸς ↓.

ρωτέρω m. ↓. θελεμωτέρω Conington (cf. *Suppl.* 1038 θελεμὸν (M), θαλερόν (P)). χαλαρωτέρω Hermann.

696 ἐξέτεσεν recc. ↓. κατ' εὐγμᾶτα Verrall.

697 φασμάτων ἐνυπνίων recc. 698 δοτήρι** M, δωτήρι** M^a, δοτήριον m.

ΔΑ over δο m'. 699 πιθοῦ Blomfield. ↓. 700 τίς M, τίς m' (superscr.).

μακρὰ Robortello. 700—703 With paragr. only in M. 701 The accus.

Hesych. θελεμὸν ἥσυχον (also οἰκτρὸν). Cf. *Suppl.* 1038 θελεμὸν πῶμα, where cod. Par. again has θαλερόν. Arcadius (61. 3) says τὸ δὲ θελεμὸς ἀντὶ τοῦ θελημὸς, and Bacchyl. (17. 84) has πόντιόν τέ νιν | δέξατο θελημὸν ἄλσος. The sense 'gentle' exactly suits the opposition to ζεῖ. [If θαλερωτέρω has any apposite sense it is that of 'more wholesome.']

695 ζεῖ. It is not certain whether the subject is δαίμων or λῆμα. The sense amounts to the same, but the latter is preferable: cf. *Soph. O. C.* 434 ὀνηρὸν ἔξει θυμός (and context). Similar in thought is *Eur. Med.* 128 μέλεις δ' ἅπας ὅταν ὀργισθῇ | δαίμων οἴκοις ἀπέδωκεν. It should be noted that ζεῖ glances also at a boiling sea (*Hdt.* 7. 188 τῆς θαλάσσης ζέσεως).

696 ἐξέτεσαν: sc. τὸ λῆμα or τὸν δαίμονα. The trans. use (e.g. *Soph. Tr.* 840 Νέσσου...κέντρο' ἐπιζέσαντα, *Eur. I. T.* 987 δεινὴ τις ὀργὴ δαιμόνων ἐπέτεσε | τὸ Ταντάλειον σπέρμα, *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 391, *Babr.* 1. 95. 60 χολὴ δ' ἐπέτει καρδίην) is not confined to the compounds, but is found in the aor. of the simple verb (*Antiph. ap. Ath.* 295 D, *Dionys. Com. idid.* 381 D) and in the imperf. in *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 273 τοὶ δὲ λόετρα πυρὶ ζέον. For the use of the plur. after neut. cf. *Pers.* 861 νομίσματα...ἐπηθύνον, *Kühner-Gerth* 1. pp. 65 sq., *Gildersleeve Gk. Synt.* § 102. The intention of the line is 'the curses of Oed. set it boiling, and only their fulfilment can make it cease.'

697 ἐνυπνίων φαντασμάτων κ.τ.λ. The present play has said nothing of these dreams, but Hermann is probably right in supposing that they had been mentioned in the middle play of the

trilogy. They would naturally be derived from the epic. Terrifying dreams are one of the agencies of the Erinyes (*Cho.* 287) and other nether powers: cf. *Hippoc. περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου* p. 133. 20. 'The visions dividing our father's substance' = the visions relating to the manner in which it should be divided. They doubtless concerned the 'Scythian stranger' who was the δατητής (see 714 sqq., 801 sq.).

699 πείδου γυναιξίν: i.e. though we are but women, our advice is good. Cf. *Ag.* 360 τοιαῦτά τοι γυναικὸς ἐξ ἑμοῦ κλύεις, *Eur. Suppl.* 294 ὥς πολλὰ γ' ἐστὶ κάπθ' ἠγλειῶν σοφά, *Hel.* 1049 ἀκούσον, ἦν τι καὶ γυνὴ λέξῃ σόφον.—πείδου is better than πιθοῦ since the concession will require some effort.—καίπερ οὐ στέργων: either (1) 'though the advice is against your wishes,' or (2) 'though you do not like to accept the advice of women' (cf. 216—218). The former is the more natural.—οὐ, going closely with στέργων, is not affected by the imperative.

700 ἀνῆ=ἀνυσσι καὶ πράξις (Hesych.) and Bacchyl. (5. 162) has οὐ...τίς ἐστὶν | πράξις τάδε μυρομένοισι. Cf. *Theogn.* 461 μήποτ' ἐπ' ἀπήρκτοις νόον ἔχε, μηδὲ μενοίνα, | χρήμασι τῶν ἀνυσσι γίνεταί οὐδ' ἐμία. The word ἀνῆ itself occurs in *Alcman fr.* 29 ἀνα καὶ τέλος, *Callim. Hymn. Iov.* 89, probably in *Cho.* 955 (n.), and should be read *inf.* 900.

701 μὴ 'λθῃς. Though the orthography (this or μὴ ἔλθῃς) is varied, the pronunciation is a synchphonesis. Cf. *Soph. Ph.* 985 ἦν μὴ ἔρπηις ἐκὼν, *Ant.* 33 τοῖσι μὴ εἰδόσιν, *Eur. Suppl.* 362 ὅστις μὴ ἀντιδουλεύει, *I. T.* 1322 μὴ ἐν-

ET. τεθηγμένον τοί μ' οὐκ ἀπαμβλυνεῖς λόγῳ.

XO. νίκην γε μέντοι καὶ κακὴν τιμᾷ θεός.

ET. οὐκ ἄνδρ' ὀπλίτην τοῦτο χρή στέργειν ἔπος.

XO. ἀλλ' αὐτάδελφον αἷμα δρέψασθαι θέλεις;

705

ET. θεῶν διδόντων οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγοις κακά.

στρ. α'. XO. πέφρικα τὰν ὠλεσίοικον
θεόν, οὐ θεοῖς ὁμοίαν,
παναλαθῇ κακόμαντιν,
πατρὸς εὐκταίαν Ἐρινὺν

710

ἐβδόμας πύλας should not be substituted. ↓.
Bourdelot. καὶ κάκῃς is possible, but the text can hardly be improved.

703 καλὴν rec. ↓. κοῦ κάκην

706 M has

ταῦθα.—σὺ is appealing, not for αὐτὸς σὺ (as opposed to some other champion).—**ἐφ' ἐβδόμας πύλαις**: either (1) 'to take charge of the gate,' 'for the protection of...,' or (2), by an old usage, in place of the accus.: cf. Hom. *Il.* 5. 327 νηυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῶσιν ἐλαυνόμεν, Soph. *fr.* 369 σοὺς μέγιστον χορῆμ' ἐπ' Οἰνέως γύαις | ἀνῆκε, Eur. *Phoen.* 1129 Καπανεὶς προσ- ἤγε λόχον ἐπ' Ἡλέκτραις πύλαις. The point of **ἐβδόμας** (stressed) is that he may choose some other.

702 λόγῳ: with emphasis. With the expression cf. Eur. *Or.* 1625 λῆμα... τεθηγμένον, Plut. *Dem.* 12. 3 τὴν Δημοσθένους ἀμβλύναι πικρίαν, Shak. *Hamlet*. 3. 4. 107 *This visitation | Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose.*—**τοί** 'marks that the phrase is a proverb applied to the present case' (Verrall). If so, the Chorus answers one proverb with another.

703 νίκην γε μέντοι κ.τ.λ.: 'Victory, so long as it is victory, even if it is won without daring (with yielding), bears the approval of Heaven.' The fact that a victory is such, no matter how it is won, is sufficient proof that Heaven approves the act; otherwise the success would not be gained, since the *τύχη* on which it depends is dispensed by the gods. Cf. 612 θεοῦ δὲ δῶρὸν ἔστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς. The sentiment that nothing succeeds like success has occurred in 685 (n.): cf. also 1038 (n.), Eur. *Phoen.* 721 καὶ μὴν τὸ νικᾶν ἐστὶ πᾶν εὐβουλία (according to one interpretation). The sentence is a *γνώμη*, and it is not implied that the refraining of Eteocles would actually be cowardice or dishonour. 'But, since victory, even

without honour, is approved, a mere abstaining like yours, if you win by it, will do you no hurt.' The line carries on their advice of v. 701. The defeat of the Argives and of Polyn., without a fray between the brothers, will be just as much a victory.—**θεός** is emphatic: ('whatever men may think or say'). For the phrase cf. *fr.* 302 ψευδῶν δὲ καιρὸν ἔσθ' ὅπου τιμᾷ θεός.

704 οὐκ ἄνδρ' ὀπλίτην κ.τ.λ.: Soph. *El.* 401 ταῦτ' ἔστι τάπη πρὸς κακῶν ἐπαίνεσαι.

705 αἷμα δρέψασθαι. The primary notion in *δρέπειν* is that of plucking fruit; in the middle of plucking and enjoying. But from the thought of fruit comes particularly the thought of the juices of the fruit (Plut. *Mor.* 646 B τοὺς χυμοὺς δρέπεσθαι καὶ ἀπολαύειν). Hence such phrases as the present and Bion 1. 22 αἱ δὲ βάτοι νιν | ἐρχομέναν τείροντι καὶ ἱερὸν αἷμα δρέπονται. When a fruit is plucked, its life is ended; when the blood *δρέπεται*, the result is the same. Hence the total contents of the expression are 'to drain your brother's life-blood for your own satisfaction.' [Verrall understands the word as 'pluck as a prize.']

706 οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγοις = οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγοις τις. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 155, *Ant.* 476, Pseudo-Plut. *de vit. et poes. Hom.* § 57 καὶ ἔτερον δ' εἶδος ἀποστροφῆς ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον. 'Τυδείδην δ' οὐκ ἂν γνώης ποτέρουσι μετεῖη.' ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ 'οὐκ ἂν τις γνώη.' Eteocles maintains the tone of fatalistic despair. For the sentiment cf. Solon *fr.* 12 (4). 64 δῶρα δ' ἀφυκτα θεῶν γίγνεται ἀθανάτων.

ET. Talking, I say, will not blunt my whetted edge.

CHO. Winning, though poor its way, is winning, and Heaven approves it.

ET. That is no text for a man in arms to welcome.

CHO. But would you drain the blood from your own brother's veins?

ET. Ill things, when heaven sends them, cannot be shunned.

[Exit ETEOCLES (to left).]

CHO. I shudder in dread of the God, unlike to Gods, wrecker^{1st} of kith and kin—the vengeful spirit of a father's prayer, whose strophe. presages of ill prove all too true. I dread her wreaking of the

paragr. only. ἐκφύγοι μ' (i.e. οι superscr. to οἱ). ἐκφύγουι Nauck. †. 707 M has paragr. only. 709 παναληθῆ M, πανάληθε M². παναλαθῆ Dindorf.

707 sqq. πέφρικα τὰν...θεὸν...τελέσαι. Abnormal as the construction may look, it is quite sound and not very rare (lit. 'at her accomplishing'). Cf. Eur. *Ion* 1564 θανεῖν σε δέσας μητρὸς ἐκ βουλευμάτων, *Rhes*. 934 καὶ σε...οὐκ ἐδείμαυνεν θανεῖν, *Suppl.* 554 ὃ τ' ὀλβιος...πνεῦμα δειμάτων λιπεῖν (sc. αὐτόν), *Hec.* 768 πατήρ νιν ἐξέπεμψεν ὀρρωδῶν θανεῖν (αὐτόν). The same aor. in Xen. *Hell.* 1. 4. 17 τῶν φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι. See Goodwin *M.* 3. 2. T. § 373.

τὰν ἄλειςόικον: cf. 1046 φερσικγενεῖς. The epithet is general; she destroys a house in this case, but only as she destroys it in others. The Erinys particularly intervened when a curse fell on a family through unnatural conduct within it: cf. Hom. *Od.* 2. 134 (Telemachus *log.*) ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς κακὰ πέλομαι, ἄλλα δὲ δαίμων | δώσει, ἐπεὶ μήτηρ συγγεράς ἀρήσεται Ἐρινύς (viz. if he forces her to marry).

θεόν, οὐ θεοῖς ὁμοίαν. For the wider and narrower senses of θεός see 510 (n.). In Soph. *El.* 112 σεμναί τε θεῶν παῖδες Ἐρινύες there is a different value to the words (Jebb (n.)). The δασπλήτης Ἐρινύς is both in form unlike the conception of θεοί (who were anthropomorphic) and also in function and character. Apposite is Plut. *Mor.* 458 C Ἀθηναῖοι...καλοῦσι...τὸ κολαστικὸν ἐρινυῶδες καὶ δαιμονικόν, οὐ θεῶν οὐδ' Ὀλύμπιον. In the wider sense of θεός, indeed, there are included personified agencies which, while superhuman, are malevolent. Thus Soph. *O. T.* 27 ὁ πυρφόρος θεός | ...λοιμὸς

ἐχθιστος, Semon. *fr.* 7. 101 λιμὸν...δυσμενέα θεόν. But it was realised that these were οὐ θεοῖς ὁμοῖοι and were not regarded with favour by Gods of the ideal type. So *Eum.* 644 the Erinyes are στύγη θεῶν, and in Soph. *O. T.* 215 Ares as Death-god is τὸν ἀπότημον ἐν θεοῖς θεόν (θεῶν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ εὐεργετὴν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους schol.). So rites are paid to the Erinyes ὡραν οὐδενὸς κοινὴν θεῶν (*Eum.* 109). In appearance they resemble neither gods nor mortals (*Eum.* 410). The best commentary on the passage is Isoc. 106 A ὁρῶ...τῶν θεῶν τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμῶν αἰτίους ὄντας Ὀλυμπίους προσαγορευομένους, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ ταῖς τιμωραῖς τεταγμένους δυσχερεστέρας τὰς ἐπωρυμίας ἔχοντας, καὶ τῶν μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ νεῶς καὶ βωμοὺς ἰδρυμένους, τοὺς δ' οὐτ' ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς οὐτ' ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις τιμωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀποπομπὰς αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς ποιουμένους. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 880 B, C, where the gods are classed as ὠφελούντες and βλάπτοντες, the latter including Ποναί, Ἐρινύες, Ἄρης.

παναλαθῆ κακόμαντιν: to be closely joined; her evil prophecies are all too true.—κακόμαντιν: in the dreams (696—698). The expression Ἐρινύς τις is regular (cf. 70, Hom. *Od.* 11. 280 μητρὸς Ἐρινύς): she belongs to the person invoking her (*Il.* 9. 454 πολλὰ κατηράτο συγγεράς δ' ἐπέκελετ' Ἐρινύς). There is no proof, either in the antistrophe or in principle, that ἐκταίαν here must have -αί-, although such shortening is frequent enough: see *Cho.* 803 (n.), *Suppl.* 390 ἱκταίου, Simon. 29. 2 Ἀμυκταίαν, Bacchyl. 17. 129 παῖάνιζον, *ibid.* 98 ἀλιναιέταν.

τελέσαι τὰς περιθύμους
κατάρας βλαψίφρονός <γ'> Οἰδιπόδα·
παιδολέτωρ δ' ἔρις ᾗδ' ὀτρύνει.

ἀντ. α'.

ξένος δὲ κλήρους ἐπινωμᾶ
Χάλυβος Σκυθὴν ἄποικος
κτεάνων χρηματοδαίτας
πικρός, ὠμόφρων σίδαρος,
χθόνα ναίειν διαπήλας,

715

712 <γ'> add. *ed. ↓. βλαψίφρονός τ' Hartung, Οἰδιπόδα βλαψίφρονος Triclinius.
713 δ' ἔρις δ' ὀτρύνει M, δ' ἐρᾷδ' ὀτρύνει m' (with ιs above the line). Both readings might be due to δ' ἐριδ' ᾗδ' or to δ' ἐριδι σφ', but the text is best. ↓. Ἐρις ἐξοτρύνει

711 sq. τὰς περιθύμους κ.τ.λ. τὰς = 'those' (strange) curses, which the accompanying words are intended to excuse or account for. Thus περιθύμους = 'too angry,' but explained by that anger. The insertion of γ' does more than mend the metre, it gives the tone of a plea, 'he was frenzied at the time.'—Οἰδιπόδα: from the epic, in which the convenient form Οἰδιπόδης would be usual. So also 870, 1047, Soph. *Ant.* 380, *O. T.* 495, Eur. *Suppl.* 835. [On curses and their effect see Harrison *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, pp. 138 sqq.]

713 παιδολέτωρ δ' ἔρις ᾗδ' ὀτρύνει. See crit. n. With the reading of m' the sense is 'and she is urging on (the issue, or simply αὐτοὺς) in the shape of the present strife, which destroys the children.' The Erinyes takes the form of the present ἔρις. This is the more easy in the Greek since ἔρις is often the personified spirit of quarrel (cf. ἄρης, ἀφροδίτη), and is a mythological figure (*Il.* 4. 439, Hes. *Sc.* 148, *Theog.* 225), a malign power like the Ἐρινύες and Κῆρες (*Il.* 18. 535).—ὀτρύνει is explained by schol. as ταῦτα παρορμᾶ. [It is possible that both readings are due to παιδολέτωρ δ' ἐριδ' ᾗδ' ὀτρύνει: 'and, for the destruction of the children, she here (ᾗδε) is urging on the strife.' But this is less vigorous.] With the fem. παιδολέτωρ cf. 211 (n.), [Eur.] *Rhes.* 550 παιδολέτωρ μελοποῖδς ἀηδονίς (though τεκνολέτειρα in Soph. *El.* 107), Bacchyl. 9. 44 Ἰστορες κοῦραι, *Hyg.* *Ant.* 1074 λωβητήρες Ἐρινύες. Aesch. has χειρὶ πράκτορι (*Ag.* 113), θέλκτορι Πειθοί (*Suppl.* 1050). With the sense

cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 254 Ἄρης...παισὶν Οἰδίπουν φέρων | πημονῶν Ἐρινύων.

714 sqq. ξένος δὲ κ.τ.λ. The rather cryptic mention of this Scythian stranger (without its explanation) apparently formed part of the dreams (697) and their μαντεύματα (709). As reported in 773 sqq. the curse of Oed. contained only allusive language. The general character of curse and dreams must have been that a ξένος Σκύθης (or πόντιος) was to serve as a πικρός χρηματοδαίτης (cf. 924—928). Gildersleeve (on Pind. *O.* 13. 81 κραταίποδα = 'bull') remarks that 'oracles had a vocabulary of their own.' The same applies to all prophetic utterances and warnings. The cryptic words would contain Σκύθης, but not Χάλυβος, since the explanation would then be too clearly indicated, inasmuch as χάλυψ itself sometimes = σίδηρος and Euripides (*Heracl.* 160) can say simply μὴ γὰρ ὡς μεθήσομεν | δόξης ἀγῶνα τόνδ' ἄτερ Χαλυβδικοῦ. It is here that the Chorus perceives the true explanation, which it gives in the words ὠμόφρων σίδαρος κ.τ.λ.: 'the sharp stranger from Scythia' is to be, proves to be, 'the cruel iron': his 'division of land by portions' is to be an allotment of 'enough to be buried in.' 'Iron is a Χάλυβος; Chalybes are Scythians; and therefore the prophecy comes true.' Grammatically this takes the shape 'and there manages the lots, as the "stranger from Scythia,"...the cruel iron.' This might have been expressed, with less idiom, by ξένος δ' ὁ κλήρους ἐπινωμῶν ὠμόφρων ἐστὶ σίδηρος.—ἐπινωμᾶ: cf. *Eum.* 310 λάχη τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους | ὡς ἐπινωμᾶ

curse that Oedipus, distraught the while, uttered in stress of wrath. Here is her urgency; she is this strife, bent on the children's doom.

The alien who doles the lots, Chalyb who comes from Scythia abroad, harsh portioner of goods, is the cruel-hearted steel. 'Tis he hath cast the lot that parcels them land to dwell

Headlam, ὦδ' ὀτρύνει Butler. 714 κλήρους M^a, κλήρους M (and schol.). ἐπινομῶν M, ἐπινομῶν m (and schol.). †. 715 Σκυθῶν M, Σκυθῶν Dindorf. 716 κτεάνων M, corr. mⁱ.

στάσις ἀμά, Soph. *Ant.* 139 ἄλλα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπενόμα... Ἄρησ. In κλήρους there is a glance at the allotments of an Athenian κληρουχία. The whole story points to the time when iron was a new and strange metal (ξένος) in Greece. [The reading ξένος δι κλήρους ἐπινομῶν κ.τ.λ., though very involved, is just translatable, viz. 'and we have as the stranger, for the dispensing by means of lots, ...' = ὥστε κλήρους ἐπινομῶν (τὸ πρᾶγμα).]

715 Χάλυβος = Χάλυψ: cf. Eur. *Alc.* 980 τὸν ἐν Χαλύβοις δαμάζει σὺ βία σίδαρον, fr. 472. 6 Χαλύβω πελέκει. Hesych. has Χαλύβοι· ἔθνος τῆς Σκυθίας ὅπου σίδηρος γίγνεται. Steph. Byz. quotes the same form from Hecataeus.

Σκυθῶν. To Aeschylus the Chalybes are in Scythia: cf. *P. V.* 740 λαϊὰς δὲ χειρὸς οἱ σιδηροτέκτονες | οἰκοῦσι Χάλυβες, i.e. N. or N.W. of Io's journey towards the Crimea. The actual iron-workers were probably those of Styria, Carinthia and Bohemia (see Ridgeway *Early Age of Greece* p. 612), but ancient writers, especially those of the date of the Theban story upon which Aesch. is drawing, were extremely vague in their notions of geography beyond the Balkans. The same name is applied to these as to the iron-workers of Asia Minor (Xen. *An.* 5. 5. 1, Ap. Rhod. 2. 1003, Strab. § 549). We must not therefore render 'a Chalyb, colonist of the Scythians,' as if the reference were to a supposed migration of these people into Asia Minor. ἀποικος is used in the wider and less technical sense of one who comes ἀπ' οἴκου to Thebes. Relatively to Thebes the ξένος is ἐποικος or μέτοικος; relatively to Scythia he is ἀποικος (cf. ἀπόδημος, ἀποικεῖν and Soph. *O. T.* 1518 γῆς μ' ὅπως πέμψει ἀποικόν), 'our visitor come abroad from

the Scythians.' Besides defining the stranger as iron, both Χάλυβος and Σκυθῶν carry in themselves the suggestion of ὀμόφρων. Thus of the Chalybes Prometheus says (*P. V.* 742) ἀνήμεροι γὰρ οὐδὲ πρόσπλατοι ξένοις, and the Scythians were proverbially savage: cf. Strab. 7. 298 τὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν περιοικοῦντων ἔθνων (viz. round the then called Ἀξενος πόντος) καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Σκυθικῶν.

716 sq. κτεάνων χρηματοδαίτης is not mere pleonasm. A χρηματοδαίτης has the function of the Athenian δατητής (liquidator), for whom see Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56. 36 (Sandys), and he may be dividing goods or moneys from any source. Here the division is of τὰ κτέανα in the sense of the landed property.

σίδαρος connotes heartlessness or ruthlessness: cf. fr. ap. Plut. *Mor.* 91 Α κείνος ἐξ ἀδάμαντος ἢ σιδάρον κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδίαν, and σιδηρόφρων, σιδηρεός; so Shak. *Hamlet* 3. 3. 70 heart with strings of steel.

πικρός, besides the sense 'sharp' = 'severe' (as judge), may still retain (from the epic) some of its original physical sense of 'sharp' = 'biting' (as sword).

718 sqq. χθόνα ναίειν κ.τ.λ.: i.e. χθόνα διαπήλας (ὥστε αὐτοὺς) ναίειν (αὐτὴν) ἀμοίρους τῶν κ.τ.λ., while the construction of the rel. clause is ultimately for ὅπως αὐτοὺς καὶ φθιμένοισιν (διαπήλειεν ἂν τις) κατέχευαν. There is some slight confusion, but not of a kind to discredit the text. By tense διαπήλας is antecedent to κλήρους ἐπινομῶν: 'see! he dispenses the portions after shaking the lots.' The act of πάλειν naturally precedes that of assigning. καὶ belongs to the rel. expression, not to φθιμένοισιν. For the thought cf. 803.

ὅποσαν καὶ φθιμένοισιν κατέχειν,
τῶν μεγάλων πεδίων ἀμοίρους.

720

στρ. β'.

ἐπειδὰν αὐτοκτόνως
αὐτοδαίκοι θάνωσι,
καὶ χθονία κόνις πῆν
μελαμπαγὲς αἷμα φοίνιον,
τίς ἂν καθαρμοῖς πόροι;
τίς ἂν σφε λούσειεν; ὦ πόνοι δόμων
νέοι παλαιοῖσι συμμαγεῖς κακοῖς.

725

ἀντ. β'.

παλαιγενῇ γὰρ λέγω
παρβασίαν ὠκύποινον—
αἰῶ δ' ἐς τρίτον μένει—
'Απόλλωνος εὔτε Λαίος

730

719 φθιμένοι M. φθιμένους ἂν Blomf., φθιμένους γε Stanley. καφθιμένοισιν is possible, but καὶ (with the rel.) is better. **720** ζτ in marg. M. **721** ἐπειδὰν is preferable to ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν. †. αὐτοκτόνωνσιν | αὐτοδαίκοι M, αὐτοὶ κτάνωσιν m'. The schol. (q.v.) points to *αὐτοκτόνοι | σιδαροδαίκοι with παραβασίαν in antistrophe (729). αὐτοκτόνως Triclinius, αὐτοκτονῶσιν Wellauer, αὐτοκτόνοι καὶ αὐτοδαίκοι Heimsoeth.

719 κατέχειν: occupy in the tomb. Cf. *Suppl.* 25 χθόνιοι θήκας κατέχοντες, *Ag.* 460. For the infin. (= τοσαύτην ὥστε...) cf. *Od.* 3. 349 ὅ σὺ τι χλαῖναι καὶ ῥήγεα πόλλ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, | οὐτ' αὐτῷ μαλακῶς οὔτε ξείνοισιν ἐνεύδειν, *Ag. Vesp.* 352 κοῦκ ἔστιν ὁπῆς οὐδ' εἰ σέρφω διαδῶναι, *Eccle.* 592 τῷ δ' εἶναι (sc. γῆν) μηδὲ ταφῆναι, *Plut.* 556, *Soph. O. C.* 790 χθονὸς λαχὼν τοσοῦτον ἐνθανεῖν μόνον, *Thuc.* 1. 2 νεμόμενοι...τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν, *Xen. An.* 4. 18. 12, *Plut. Cor.* 6 τόπον ἐνταφῆναι...παρέξειν &c.

720 τῶν: 'those (well-known)'. The πεδία of Boeotia were famous in a country where 'level lands' are comparatively small. So *Eur. H. F.* 468, *Suppl.* 619, *Phoen.* 643 πεδία...πυροφόρ' Ἀδῶν (the χλοηφόρος βαθυσπόρους γῆρας of *ibid.* 648, cf. *sup.* 295 τὰν βαθύχθον' αἶαν). The word naturally connotes fertility and wealth: cf. *Sol. fr.* 22 (5). 1 ὅτω πολὺς ἄργυρος ἔστιν | καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πεδία, *Pind. N.* 8. 37 χρυσὸν εὐχονται, πεδίων δ' ἕτεροι | ἀπέραντον, *Eur. H. F.* 369 μακρὰ ἀρουραὶ πεδίων (of Thessaly), *frag. adesp.* 127, *Eur. fr.* 515. 2 πεδὶ ἔχουσι εὐδαίμονα (of Calydon), *Plut. Mor.* 499 f.

721 sq. ἐπειδὰν κ.τ.λ. The reference is general (as the absence of δ' shows): 'when men die....'—αὐτοκτόνους αὐτοδαίκοι: cumulative in pathetic insist-

ence: cf. *Cho.* 328 πατέρων τε καὶ τεκόντων γόος, *Soph. fr.* 61 πρὸς τοὺς τεκόντας καὶ φυτεύσαντας, *Eur. I. T.* 800 ὦ συγκασιγνήτη τε καὶ ταύτου πατρός. [With ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν the reference might be specific and σφε (726) would = αὐτοὺς.]

723 καὶ χθονία κόνις κ.τ.λ. There can be no objection to χθονία in point of sense, whether it mean (1) 'dust of the earth' or (2) 'dust of their land' (πατρῴα schol.). Doubtless neither such use is frequent, but for (1) cf. *fr. ap.* *Plut. Mor.* 98 ε δεῖνὰ μὲν φύλα πόντου | χθονίων τ' αἰρίων τε | δάμναται βουλευματα, and for (2) *Soph. O. C.* 947 τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς Ἄρεος εὐβουλον πάγον | ἐγὼ ξυνήδη χθόνιον ὄνθ' (= ἐγγχώριον). The similar passage *Cho.* 64 ε δ' αἵματ' ἐκποθέθ' ὑπὸ χθονὸς τροφῷ | τίτλα φόνος πέπαγεν οὐ διαρρῖδαν might support the latter sense, but *inf.* 806 we have simply πέπωκεν αἷμα γαῖα. It is on the whole safer to render the word as=γαῖα (i.e. ἡ κόνις τῆς χθονός). Any objection is metrical, but we may scan as χθονία (see 115 n., 225 n.) and emend in v. 730. [Should χθονία, however, be wrong, it would be better to find in its place an adj. of colour, contrasting the κόνις with the φοίνιον αἷμα which stains it, as in *Shak. Henry V.* 3. 7. 153 *We shall your tawny ground with your red blood* | *Discolour.* Cf. *Pind. ap.*

in—e'en so much as they may hold in death—with no share in those wide-spreading fields.

When men die, kin slain by kin, gashed by brother hands, ^{2nd} and the crimson gore, clotting to black, is drunk by the dust of ^{strophe.} earth, who can offer cleansings? Who can wash it out?

O house, where troubles new and sorrows old fill the same cup!

Aye, old in age is the transgression, swift to find punishment, ^{2nd anti-} though to the third generation it abides. 'Twas Laius who ^{strophe.} sinned. Thrice at the mid-navel of the world, Pytho's prophetic

723 The line in M does not answer to the antistr. (730 q.v.). *καὶ γὰρ* Hermann, *καὶ νερέτρα* Weil. With *αἰῶ* in antistr. *χθονία* may stand, but the schol. appears to lead to e.g. *χλωρά* (↓).

725 *κάθαρ* * * M, *κάθαρμα* m, *καθαρόν* m' (i.e. *ὄν* over *μα*). The schol. (q.v.) points to *τίς ἂν καθάροι* (or *καθαρμοῦ*) πόρος; | *τίς ἂν κ.τ.λ.* ↓. *καθαρμοὺς* recc.

726 *λύσειεν* appears to have been read by schol. (Dobree).

727 *παλαιοῖς* M, corr. recc. **729** *παραβασίαν* M, *παραβασίαν* recc. (see 721 c.n.).

παρβασίαν Porson. *ὠκύπονον* M^a. *ὀξύποινον* Weil (cf. schol.), *ὠμόποινον* Oberdick. ↓.

730 *αἰῶνα* M. Corr. *ed. See 723 (c.n.).

Ath. 574 A *χλωρὰς λιβάνον ξανθὰ δάκρη*. Such words are *χλωρά* and *ξανθά*: cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1064 *ἀμφὶ χλωρὰν ψάμαθον ἐκβεβλημένος*, and the *fulva harena* of Vergil. This would leave the same necessity for emending v. 730.]

724 *μελαμπαγὶς αἷμα φοῖνιον* = the crimson blood clotted into a fixed black stain. For *μελαμ*- cf. Eur. *El.* 318 *αἷμα δ' ἔτι πατρός κατὰ στέγας | μέλαν σέσθηπεν* (where *μέλαν* is predic.). In *-παγὶς* is implied more than mere clotting. There is the same allusion to the supposed indelibility of the bloodstain of murder as in *Cho.* 65 *τίτας φόνος πέπαγεν οὐ διαρρύδαν* (a passage which shows that *πῆγ* does not mean 'drinks up' but 'drinks a draught of...').

725 sq. *τίς ἂν καθαρμοὺς πόρος*; See crit. n. The denial of purification or full atonement is frequent: cf. *Cho.* 47 *τί γὰρ λύτρον πεσόντος αἵματος πέδω*; Soph. *O. T.* 1227 *οἶμαι γὰρ οὐτ' ἂν Ἰστρον οὐτε Φάσιν ἂν | νίψαι καθαμῶ τήνδε τὴν στέγην*, Seneca *Hipp.* 715 *quis eluet me Tanaïs?*—*σφε*: either (1) = αὐτοῖς, the men who have slain each other, or (2) the blood (λύουσιεν being = ἀπολούσειεν). [If the true reading is *τίς ἂν καθάροι* (or *καθαρμοῦ*) πόρος, *τίς ἂν κ.τ.λ.*, the use of πόρος is identical with that in *Cho.* 70 *πόροι τε πάντες ἐκ μῆς ὀδοῦ | <φοι>-βαίνοντες τὸν χειρομνήφονον κ.τ.λ.*, *Eum.* 454 *ταῦτ' ἀφιερῶμεθα | ...καὶ βοτοῖσι καὶ ῥυτοῖς πόροις*.]

727 *συμμιγείς*: partly perhaps with

the same metaphor as in *Ag.* 1396 *τοσῶνδε κρατῆρ' ἐν δόμοις κακῶν ὄδε | πλήσας, Cho.* 740 *τὰ...παλαιὰ συγκεκραμένα ἄλγῃ*. But the thought which connects these with the following words is rather that the new sorrows are 'part and parcel' of the older ones, of which they are the consequence.

728 sq. *παλαιγενὴ γὰρ λέγω...*: 'yes, I speak of...', i.e. 'yes, the original trouble from which this flows was...'

ὠκύποινον: with antithesis to the words in the following parenthesis. Punishment came speedily, but the sin lasts to the third generation, and, even as late as this, there is more punishment due. In prose, *ὠκύποινον μὲν, μένουσαν δὲ κ.τ.λ.* The 'speediness' of the first punishment is relative, for the *ποινή* did not fall till Oed. grew up and slew Laius. Frequently vengeance is slow (*Juv.* 13. 100 *ut sit magna tamen, certe lenta ira deorum est*). See *Cho.* 59 sqq. (n.).

730 *αἰῶ*. The form is vouched for in Aesch. (*Bekk. Anecd.* i. 363. 17 *αἰῶ τὸν αἰῶνα κατ' ἀποκοπὴν Διοχόλος* εἶπε) and is read by some editors in *Cho.* 349 (where see note). Cf. *Ichw* (*Il.* 5. 416), *ιδρῶ* (11. 621), *κυκεῶ*, *Ἀπόλλω*. Kühner-Blass i. p. 425. 2. For the antithesis in a parenthesis cf. *Cho.* 25 *δυνχος ἀλοκι νεοτόμω | δι' αἰῶνος δ' ἰνυμοῖσι βόσκειται κέαρ* (where *νεοτόμω* is answered or commented on), Eur. *Or.* 4 *ὁ γὰρ μακάριος, κούκ ὀνειδίξω τόχας, | Διὸς πεφυκώς.—ἐς τρίτον*: Laius, Oedipus, the sons of Oedipus.

βία, τρὶς εἰπόντος ἐν
μεσομφάλοις Πυθικοῖς χρηστηρίοις
θνάσκοντα γέννας ἄτερ σῶζειν πόλιν,

στρ. γ'.

κρατηθεὶς δ' ἐκ φίλων ἀβουλιᾷν
ἐγείνατο μὲν μόρον αὐτῷ,
πατροκτόνον Οἰδιπόδαν,
ὅστε ματρὸς ἀγνὰν
σπείρας ἄρουραν, ἢν' ἐτράφη,
ρίζαν αἱματόεσσαν
ἔτλα· παράνοια συνᾶγε
νυμφίους φρενώλεις.

735

ἀντ. γ'.

κακῶν δ' ὥσπερ θάλασσα κῦμ' ἄγει,
τὸ μὲν πίτνον, ἄλλο δ' ἀείρει
τρίχalon, ὃ καὶ περὶ πρύ-

745

732—734 M divides with μεσομφάλοις | ...θνάσκοντα | ...πόλιν. βία M, βίαι m. θνάσκοντα M (with H over a by m). σῶζειν M. σῶσειν Blomfield. †. **735** δ' om. Porson, Pauw, wrongly (†). ἀβουλιᾷν M, corr. Dind., ἀβουλίαις (-α, -as) recc. **736** γέννατο M, corr. recc. **738** μὲν πρὸς (for ματρὸς) m in

732 sqq. The solemnity and finality of the utterance of Apollo (who is not Loxias, the Riddler, in this instance) are brought out by the words **τρὶς** (of the ritual repetition ἐν τρίτοις προσφθέγματος), **μεσομφάλοις** (of the most august spot on earth), **Πυθικοῖς** (of the most august of oracles). Delphi is itself the ὀμφαλὸς of the earth (Strab. 9. 420, Pind. *N.* 7. 33, Soph. *O. T.* 480 &c.) and also contains the ὀμφαλὸς-stone (*Eum.* 40). For the representation of the latter in art see Overbeck *Bildwerke* Pl. 29, Huddilston *Greek Trag. in the light of Vase-Painting* pp. 57—72.

εἰπόντος...σῶζειν=κελεύσαντος σῶζειν. There is obviously no need of **σῶσειν**. For the command cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 18 μὴ σπείρε τέκνων ἄλοκα δαμόνων βίᾳ, *ibid.* 868.

735 **κρατηθεὶς δ' : δ'** is resumptive, the clause **τρὶς εἰπόντος...πόλιν** having diverted attention from the beginning of the sentence concerning Laius. Cf. the (much longer) interruption in *Ag.* 194—215 with resumption by **δέ.—ἐκ φίλων ἀβουλιᾷν**: i.e. 'by follies appealing to his (weaker) nature,' 'follies of natural temptation.' Cf. Shakespeare's use of *kind* and *dear*. *φίλα* are things to which nature kindly responds. Cf. Eur. *fr.* 339 *φίλους*

ἔρωτας. Hence the phrase=ἐξ ἀβουλόυ πόθου (*ἔρωτος*). For the expression in general cf. Aeschin. *F. L.* 152 (317) *ποία κρατηθεὶς ἡδονῇ*; (sc. was I a traitor), Eur. *Herc.* 299 *νικηθεὶς πόθῳ*, Dem. 40. 8 *ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας κεκρατημένος* (of his mistress), Ap. Rhod. 1. 805 *ἢ ματὶ ἐλζαντες*, and in a similar sexual connection Soph. *fr.* 846 *ἀλίσκεται | πρὸς τοῦ παρόντος ἡμέρου νικωμένη*. For the circumstance itself cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 21 ὁ δ' ἡδονῇ δοὺς ἐς τε βακχεῖον πεσὼν | ἔσπειρεν ἡμῖν παῖδα. [To read **ἐκ φίλων ἀβουλίᾳ** and interpret **ἐκ φίλων** as=*ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς* is both bad in taste and away from the story.]

736 **ἐγείνατο μὲν...**(**κακῶν δ'** (743), αὐτῷ being opposed to the result to the πόλις (746).

739 **σπείρας ἄρουραν**: Soph. *O. T.* 1256 *μητρῴαν...διπλὴν ἄρουραν*, *ibid.* 1211 *πῶς...αἱ πατρῴαι σ' ἄλοκες φέρειν... | ἐδυνάθησαν*; 1485, 1497 sq., *Ant.* 569, Theogn. 581, Soph. *epigr.* 3. 4, Aesch. *fr.* 99. 8, Eur. *Phoen.* 18, *Or.* 552. Cf. the use of *ἐπὶ γνησίῳ παῖδων ἀρότῳ* and of *σπορά, ρίζα, ἔρως* &c.: Lucr. 4. 1107 *muliebria conserat arva*.

740 sq. **ρίζαν αἱματόεσσαν ἔτλα**: 'he endured the bloody outgrowth.' **ρίζαν** is not immediately=Oedipus, but is abstract, the result of his act (τὸ ἐκπεφυκός).

shrine, did Apollo bid him save the realm by dying without child.

But mastered by the folly of fond nature he begat—doom ^{3rd} to himself, Oedipus, slayer of his own sire, the same who sowed ^{strophe.} seed in a forbidden field—the mother's womb wherein he grew—and reaped its plant of blood. 'Twas frenzy brought together the infatuate pair.

Hence as 'twere a sea of woes brings on its waves, and, while ^{3rd} one falls, it lifts another of triple tier, e'en that which now ^{anti-strophe.}

marg. μὴ πρὸς recc. ↓. **741** ἐτλη M (a superscr. m). παράνοιαι M, παράνοιαι m (i.e. παρανόια, with φρενώλης to follow). The schol. may have had ἐτλα δ' ἀρ' ἀγνοία. σύναγε M, συνάγαγε m'. ↓. **742** φρενώλης M (eis superscr. m') and schol. **745** M divides with περι πρέμναν |. ζτ in marg.

Laius sowed, and the root or shoot which germinated was a deed of blood. For the accus. with τλήναι cf. Hom. *Il.* 5. 395 τλή δ'...ὠκὺν ὀιστόν, *Hymn. Demetr.* 147 θεῶν...δῶρα...τέτλαμεν, Eur. *H. F.* 1183, *Phoen.* 1352. [It is involved and unnecessary to combine ἄρουραν σπείρας ῥίξαν either as a double accus. after the manner of γείναι, χορτάζειν, ποτίζειν τινά τι, or with ῥίξαν in appos. to the verbal action (as if=σπείρας σποράν). Otherwise there would be no objection to joining ἐτλα σπείρας (synchron.): cf. *Ag.* 1025 πραθέντα τλήναι, *Soph. El.* 943 τλήναι...δρώσαν.]

741 sq. παράνοια συνάγε κ.τ.λ. The asyndeton is effective and throws emphasis on the important words παράνοια...φρενώλης: 'it was no less than insanity that....' Though συνάγε might be regarded as a panoramic imperf. of the operation of the will of Heaven (cf. Hom. *Il.* 1. 5 Διὸς δ' ἐτέλεετο βουλῇ, *Cho.* 75 θεοὶ...ἐκ...οἰκων | πατρίων δοῦλιόν μ' ἐσ-ἄγον αἰσαν) it should be noted that (like *Ελειπον* of 55) the imperf. of ἄγειν is often used where an aor. would be expected: cf. *Sappho fr.* 1. 9, Hom. *Od.* 20. 99 ἦγετε (=ἦγάγετε). *Monro Hom. Gr.* § 72. 2. 2. We might of course understand it here of a temptation with continuing strain.

νυμφίους: Laius and Iocasta, since it was no παράνοια (but an ἀγνοια) which brought together Oedipus and his mother. Wecklein objects that νυμφίοι must be bride and bridegroom and finds the word unsuited to Laius and his wife. But it really means 'newly married pair,' and naturally the warning must have been given to them when they were such.

743 sq. κακῶν δ' ὥσπερ κ.τ.λ.:

'and as it were a sea of troubles brings on a billow.' ἄγει (expressive of a wave drawn out and up to great length and height) follows ὥσπερ θάλασσα (=θάλασσα ὡς εἰπεῖν, *tamquam mare*) just as it would θάλασσα alone.—κακῶν θάλασσα is a common metaphor: cf. *Suppl.* 478. For the picture presented here cf. Hom. *Il.* 13. 798 κύματα παφλάζοντα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης | κυρτὰ φαιηρόντα, πρὸ μὲν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα, Eur. *Ion* 927 κακῶν γὰρ ἄρτι κύμ' ὑπεξαντλῶν φρενί, | πρύμνηθεν αἶρει μ' ἄλλο σὼν λόγων ὕπο. The formal correspondence would have been τὸ μὲν πίτνον, τὸ δ' αἰερόμενον, but the turn adopted is more lively and poetical. Paley quotes Eur. *Bacch.* 1131 sqq. [It is possible also to construe (1) 'and a wave of troubles, like a sea, carries (them) on, one falling, while another lifts them' (αἶρει as in Eur. *Ion* l.c.), or (2) 'and it (the παράνοια) brings on a wave of troubles, as might a sea.' The subject in the latter case at least is very unlikely.]

745 sq. τριχάλον. We might refer this to κύμα, but a more natural order is with ἄλλο. While one wave is falling or sinking, another of triple tier is rising, αἶρειν τριχάλον being like αἶρειν μέγαν, ὑψηλόν (*Cho.* 261 n.). The notion of the succeeding waves is that of *Soph. Tr.* 115 κύματα...βάντ' ἐπίοντα τε. τριχῆλος = of three χηλαί, 'ridges' or 'tiers.' This is the τρικυμία or 'combination of three waves': cf. *Plat. Rep.* 472 A τῷ δύο κύματε ἐκφυγόντι νῦν τὸ μέγιστον καὶ χαλεπώτατον τῆς τρικυμίας ἐπάγει, *Plut. Mor.* 549 E τί γὰρ δεῖ τὸ τρίτον ἐπετεργεῖν κύμα καὶ προσκατακλύσαι τὸν λόγον; Such a combination seems to have been a tradition of the Greek seas, and might be

μναν πόλεως καχλάζει·
μεταξὺ δ' ἀλκὰ δι' ὀλίγου
τείνει πύργου ἐν εὐρεῖ·
δέδοικα δὲ σὺν βασιλεῦσι
μὴ πόλις δαμασθῇ.

750

στρ. δ'.

τελεία γὰρ παλαιφάτων ἀρᾶ
βαρεῖται καταλλαγαί· τὰ δ' ὀλοὰ
πελόμεν' οὐ παρέρχεται·
πρόπρυμνα δ' ἐκβολὰν φέρει

747 ἀλκὰν rec., ἀλκαρ Blomfield.
ἐν "Αρει Herm. from rec. (γρ. ἀρει).
himself would write συμβασιλευσι.
Corr. *ed. †. Schol. had τέλεια before him.

748 πύργος M. Corr. *ed. (with rec.). †.
749 συμβαλεῦσι M, corr. m'. Aeschylus
751 τέλεια* M (οι over α by m'). ἀραι M.
τέλειαι...ἀρᾶν Bothe (τελειᾶν Headlam).

spoken of either as 'three waves' or a 'triple-ridged wave.' For Aesch. cf. *P. V.* 1047 ὁὸς σε χειμῶν καὶ κακῶν τρικυμία | ἐπεισ' ἀφύκτος. [There cannot, in the case of the oncoming wave, be any reference to the fate of the three generations, two of which are past.]

8 καί: '(the same) which (now)....'—
περὶ πρύμναν πόλεως κ.τ.λ.: cf. 2 (n.),
Hom. *Od.* 13. 84 sq. ὡς ἄρα τῆς πρύμνης
μὲν ἀέρετο, κύμα δ' ὅπισθε | πορφύρεον
μέγα θύε πολυφλοίσβοιο (cf. καχλάζει)
θαλάσσης, and (applied to a person)
Soph. *Aj.* 351 ἰδεσθὲ μ' ὅλον ἄρτι κύμα
φορίας ὑπὸ ζάλης | ἀμφίδρομον κυκλεῖται.
For the comparison of a πόλις to a ship
in a storm cf. 2 (n.) and add Alcaeus
fr. 6 (18), Soph. *O. T.* 22, Theogn. 671
sq. (ὑπερβάλλει δὲ θάλασσα | ἀμφοτέρων
τοίχων), Hor. *Od.* 1. 14. 7 vix durare
carinae | possint imperiosius (aequor).—
With καχλάζει cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1210.

747 sq. μεταξὺ δ' ἀλκὰ κ.τ.λ. For
the general notion cf. Soph. *O. C.* 14
πύργοι μὲν οὐ | πόλιν στέγουσιν. The par-
ticular expression belongs to a favourite
conceit of the Greeks: Arat. *Phaen.*
299 ὀλίγον δὲ διὰ ξύλον αἰὶδ' ἐρύκει (on
which see Longin. *de Sublim.* 10. 6),
Diog. Laert. 1. 8. 5, where (as in schol.
to *Il.* 15. 628) the saying is attributed to
Anacharsis that, if the πάχος τῆς νεῶς is
four inches, then τοσοῦτον ἀπέχομεν τοῦ
θανάτου; Juv. 12. 58 digitis a morte
remotis | quattuor aut septem, si sit
latissima taeda (with Mayor's note), *ibid.*
14. 289.

δι' ὀλίγου. In Eur. *Phoen.* 1097 ὡς
τῷ νοσοῦντι τευχέων εἰη δορὸς | ἀλκῇ δι'

ὀλίγου the sense is the natural one, 'at a
short distance,' nor are we justified in
rendering the phrase otherwise here.
The common version 'extends with but
a narrow line of separation' is not to be
got from the Greek. Strictly 'and,
between, protection extends at but small
distance (viz. from doom),' i.e. the ἀλκή
is within a very little of being no ἀλκή at
all. It is meanwhile difficult to extract a
proper grammar from πύργος ἐν εὐρεῖ (M).
No parallel is found for the obvious-look-
ing meaning 'a wall in width.' At most
it would = '(namely), a wall in the width
(which separates us).' But this is so far-
fetched that we need scarcely hesitate to
emend with *πύργου, i.e. 'depending on
(lying in, *penes*) the width of a wall.'
For ἐν cf. Hom. *Il.* 7. 102, Hdt. 3.
85 &c.

749 sq. σὺν βασιλεῦσι: not generic
for Eteocles, nor meaning Et. and Polyn.,
but 'with its royal house' (doomed one
and all since the time of Laius). The
order of the words (instead of μὴ σὺν β.
πόλις) is intended to stress both the anti-
thetic βασιλεῦσι and πόλις. In δαμασθῇ
the picture is of a ship struggling with the
storm and 'beaten' in the contest.

751 sq. *τελεία γὰρ παλαιφάτων ἀρᾶ
κ.τ.λ.: lit. 'for to a matured curse be-
longing to a pronouncement of old the
settlement is heavy.' This is the best
reading, since παλαιφάτων plainly refers
to the oracle and the oracle did not utter
curses (plur.); but a curse (= a plague)
follows from the old oracle when dis-
obeyed. The words τελεία, βαρεῖται, and
καταλλαγαί are all adopted from the

seethes about our country's poop. Small is the verge that stretches between to save us; it is but a wall's width; and I am afear'd lest, with its royal house, the city be borne down.

For when a curse of old promise falleth due, the settlement is heavy; the dire account keeps current and passes not by. And when the prosperity of moiling men hath waxed ^{4th}strophe.

753 τελόμεν' οὐ μ', τελλόμεν' οὐ recc. The text may be sound (↓); otherwise *τὰ δ' ὀλό' ὀφελόμεν' οὐ might be suggested. *πενόμενος* Bücheler. τὰ δ' ὀλό' ἐπιπλόμεν' οὐ Weil.

754 πρόπρυμμα M. πρόπρυμνον Turnebus and (omitting δ') Blomf., πρόπρεμμα Wecklein. See 71 (n). ↓. ἐκβολῶν M, corr. μ' (scholl. recognise both). Probably ἐκβολαν was read as ἐκβολᾶν and then the common form was substituted.

language of commerce into the language of poetry (cf. *Ag.* 532 sq., where there is a sustained metaphor from the dealings of a χρυσταμοιβός). καταλλαγή is exactly the English 'settlement,' whether of a feud (cf. Hesych. καταλλαγὴν δорός· ἀνάπαιναν, μεταλλαγὴν, κατάλλαγμα, and *Ar. Av.* 1588 where περὶ πολέμου καταλλαγῆς is a reading of good MSS) or of an outstanding account. βαρύς is a word of 'heavy' price: cf. *Alex. ar.* Ath. 224 F 'δέκ' ὀβολῶν' φησίν. 'βαρύ'· | ὀκτὼ λάβοις ἄν, Shak. *Ham.* 4. 5. 135 *Thy madness shall be paid with weight.*

παλαιφάτων: παλαι- is almost a standing portion of words relating to oracles which come to maturity 'in time' (*Hom. Od.* 9. 507 ἡ μάλα δὴ με παλαιφάτα θεσφαθ' ἱκάνει). It does not necessarily denote any great interval, but παλαι properly = 'a time ago' (cf. the use of Latin *procul*). Usually the sense becomes 'a (considerable) time ago,' but that implication is not inherent. Thus *Xen. Oec.* 18. 10 παλαι = 'a (little) while ago' and in *P. V.* 845 it is used of the recent past. In any case the meaning is relative. In *Soph. El.* 124 πάλοι refers to an event of seven or eight years before; in *Trach.* 821 προσέμεινεν ἄφαρ | τοῦπος τὸ θεόπρουν ἡμῖν τὰς παλαιφάτου προνοίας the date was only 12 years. In *Pind. O.* 2. 36 ἐν δὲ Πυθῶνι χρησθὲν | παλαιφάτου τέλεσσαν the interval is from the oracle given to Laius till his death. The 'length of time' is mentioned in connection with the consequent heaviness of the payment. The reflection is a general one. It is not stated, but is only feared (707 sqq., 775 sq.), that the curse is matured in the present case. [The reading τέλειαι γὰρ παλαιφάτων ἄρ' ἄν κ.τ.λ. is less good for the reasons already given. Otherwise grammatically it would be best to make

its gen. depend on τέλειαι rather than on καταλλαγαί. So *Ag.* 1155 γάμοι δλέθριοι φίλων, 1166 θυσαί... πολυκακείῃς βοτῶν, *Cho.* 27 λυοφθόροι ὕφασμάτων λακίδες, 658 δόμοισι πανδόκοι ξένων.]

752 sq. τὰ δ' ὀλόα τελόμεν' κ.τ.λ. If the text is sound the sense is (once more generically) 'the deadly forces, when once in being (or current), do not pass away.' The commercial metaphor is thus continued. The expression, however, appears weak (although for πέλει = 'hold good' we might compare *Solon fr.* 12 (4). 16 οὐ γὰρ δὴν θνητοῖς· ὕβριος ἔργα πέλει), and it is tempting to suggest τὰ δ' ὀλό' ὀφελόμεν' (the quantity of the first syll. of the line being optional). In favour of this word it may be pointed out that it suits both the notion of a debt which increases with time (*Plut. Mor.* 410 D 'χρέος ὀφέλλεσθαι' φησιν, ὡς τοῦ ὀφέλλεσθαι τὸ αὔξεσθαι δηλοῦντος) and also that of a swelling wave (*Hom. Il.* 15. 383 ἴς ἀνέμου... κύματ' ὀφέλλει). Both these notions would then combine in παρέρχεται: cf. *Hdt.* 2. 86 ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθωσι αἱ ἐβδομήκοντα ἡμέραι (and so of any day of settlement) and, on the other hand, *Hom. Od.* 5. 429 ἕως μέγα κύμα παρήλθεν: similarly *Dem. Cor.* 291 τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος. [Bücheler's ingenious *πενόμενος* παρέρχεται introduces a new thought which is neither relevant nor true.]

754 πρόπρυμμα: see 71 (n). πρυμνόθεν and cf. *προθέλυμος, πρόρριζος*. The word is either (1) adverb, 'right from the bottom (of the hold),' or (2) adj.-noun in apposition to ἐκβολᾶν, i.e. 'pays (goods) from the bottom (of the store in the metaphorical ship) as jettison.' The mention of the storm at sea and of the accumulated debt brings home the thought that, the greater the immediate prosperity, the

ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστᾶν
ὄλβος ἄγαν παχυνθείς.

755

ἀντ. δ'.

τίν' ἀνδρῶν γὰρ τοσόνδ' ἐθαύμασαν
θεοὶ καὶ ξυνέστιοι πόλεος ὁ
πολύβατός τ' ἄγων βροτῶν,
ὅσον τότ' Οἰδίπουν τίον
τὰν ἄρπαξάνδραν
κῆρ' ἀφελόντα χάρας;

760

στρ. ε'.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρτίφρων <ὦν>
ἐγένετο μέλεος ἀθλίων
γάμων, ἐπ' ἄλγει δυσφορῶν
μαινομένα κραδία

765

758 Qu. *πα for καί? (cf. Soph. *Ph.* 79 καὶ MSS, πα Erfurdt, Jebb). ὅσοι τε ξυνέστιοι Meineke, ξένοι καὶ Paley. πόλεως M. πόλεος ὁ Dindorf. **759** πολυβωτός τ' αἰὼν M. πολύβωτος Blomf. (from schol.). ἄγων Weil. ψ. For confusions cf. Eur. *fr.* 364 ὁ δ' ἡδὺς ἄγων (cod. Orion.) for αἰὼν (Stob.), Moschion *fr.* 6. 11 εὐγωτίδος for εὐιωτίδος (Grotius), Theogn. 507 μάταγον (A) for μάταιον, and ψ.

greater the disaster. The jettison searches to the bottom of the merchandise; no little off the surface will suffice. [The rendering 'over the stern' is wrong in meaning and would not be true to fact.] The metaphor is that of *Ag.* 995 καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων | κτησίων ὅκρος βαλὼν | σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρων, | οὐκ ἔδυν πρόπας δόμος | πημονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν. Somewhat differently Eur. *Or.* 341.—φέρει: not 'endures,' but 'pays' (cf. 644 n.).

755 ἀλφηστᾶν. In the present instance it might look as if Aesch. connected the word with ἀλφάνω. This was doubtless a popular etymology, although the real derivation is more likely to have been from ἀλφά ('white meal' = ἀλφίτα) and ἔδω: cf. ὠμηστής, δερμηστής. Men are opposed to gods in respect of τὸ σίτον ἐσθλῆν, τὸ ἐσθλῆν ἀλφίτα (μυελὸν ἀνδρῶν *Od.* 2. 290). Cf. Hom. *Il.* 5. 341 (of the gods) οὐ γὰρ σίτον ἔδουσ', οὐ πίνουσ' αἶθροα οἶνον' | τοῦνεκ' ἀναίμονές εἰσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται, as against *Hymn. Apoll.* 364 (186) βροτοῖσιν | ... οἱ γαίης πολυφόρβον καρπὸν ἔδουσιν, *Od.* 8. 222, 9. 89 &c. The equation (ἀνδρες) σιτοφάγοι = ἀλφησταί is complete. Through this distinction from the Gods the word (like the mysterious μέροπες) came to be used as a term of pity for δειλοὶ βροτοί, *mortales aegri*:

Od. 1. 348 Ζεὺς αἴτιος, *ὅς τε δίδωσιν | ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστήσιν, ὅπως ἐθέλῃσιν, ἐκάστω*, Hes. *Opp.* 82, *Theog.* 512, *Scut.* 28. It might indeed be argued that men who have to 'earn' (ἀλφάνειν) their living are equally δειλοὶ βροτοὶ as opposed to the ἄπονοι θεοί, but the phrases quoted above and the form of the word make for the other derivation. There is no proof that here Aesch. is thinking of the 'winnings' or 'gains' of men, or of etymology at all. The context will equally bear the simple implication of pity for human lot. If he has ἀλφάνω in mind his thought is not of their great gains (which would contradict the regular depreciatory use of ἀλφησταί) but of the pains with which they gather ὄλβος.

757 sqq. ἐθαύμασαν. There can be no zeugma in the application of this word to the Gods, since zeugma only occurs when the verb is placed nearest to that noun to which it is appropriate. The sense is 'showed respect for' (cf. 760 τίον and see 690 n.). If καὶ is sound the clause with τε (πολύβατός τ' κ.τ.λ.) is exegetic or amplificatory of ξυνέστιοι πόλεος, i.e. 'the Gods, and the sharers in the city's hearth, the thronged gathering of mankind.' The townspeople were ξυνέστιοι

too fat, it pays jettison of goods from the ship's deepest hold.

For was there man set ever in such regard by Gods, or by them who share the country's hearth, the mortals in their thronged gathering-place, as Oedipus was honoured at that day, when he had rid the land of that Deadly Thing whose prey was man? 4th anti-strophe.

But, when he was made to know aright the misery of his wretched wedlock, in the sore fretting of his pain and the madness of his heart he wrought to make his grief twice grievous 5th strophe.

760 τῶν M, τίων M^a. **761** ἀναρπαξάνδραν M, corr. Butler. τὰν ἀναρπάξανδρον Todt, but see schol. and ↓. **763** <ᾶν> add. * ed. See antistr. 770. ἀρτιόφρων is possible, but αὐτόφωρος might be too bold. ↓. γρ. δ' ἄρ' ἐμφρων rec., ἀρίφρων Enger. **764** ἐγένεθ' ὁ Oberdick. ↓. ἐγεντο Arnald. **765** Nothing is gained by δυσφρονῶν (Heimsoeth). **766** καρδιαί M, corr. Turnebus.

of Oed., but only in the sense limited by πόλιος. [There seems, however, little point in this use of ξυνέστωι, and βροτῶν is awkwardly delayed for the antithesis to θεοί. If we substitute πᾶ (crit. n.) the sense is 'what man did the Gods who anywhere share a city's hearth honour so much as (the Theban Gods) did Oedipus?' They were grateful, with the city, for its deliverance from the Sphinx.]

πολύβατός τ' ἀγών is a certain emendation (see crit. n. and scholl.). πολύβοτός τ' αἰών might indeed be construed in the sense 'and men of rich life' (lit. 'men of a life rich in cattle'), but the remoteness and improbability of this require no demonstration. With the text cf. Pind. fr. 75. 2 θεοί, | πολύβατον αἰτ' ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν ... | οἰχνεῖτε πολυδαίδαλον τ' εὐκλέ' ἀγοράν. The Homeric sense of ἀγών was still alive in Thebes (παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς ἀγών ἡ ἀγορά schol. to Il. 24. 1) and Aesch. may very well have known that the Theban Agora was so styled.

The reversal of fortune in the case of Oedipus was proverbial: cf. Eur. fr. 157 ἦν Οἰδίπου τὸ πρῶτον εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ, followed by εἰτ' ἐγένετ' αἰθὺς ἀθλιώτατος βροτῶν, and the whole passage Soph. O. T. 1193—1215, where there is much similarity to the present place.

761 sq. τὰν ἀρπαξάνδραν: cf. 528 sqq. The Sphinx is Kῆρ as being one of the baleful powers akin to the Erinyes, Gorgons &c. See Harrison *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*. pp. 207 sqq. ('The Kēr as Sphinx').

The fem. form of the adj. is perhaps deliberately adopted to emphasise the

ferocity in a female, but in any case poetry uses such forms freely in compounds. See *Cho.* 68 παναρκέτας νόσου (n.) and add Alcaeus 33. 2 λαβὰν χρυσοδέταν, *Hymn. Apoll.* 181 Δήλοιο περικλύστης. Paley compares proper names, e.g. Ἀλεξάνδρα, Κασάνδρα. The notion is of a bird of prey, but the prey is man. In the act. ἀφελόντα the action is not self-regarding. Oedipus performed the service for the Cadmeans before he was one of themselves.

763 sq. ἐπεί δ' ἀρτιφρων * <ᾶν> κ.τ.λ.: 'when to his misery he became rightly conscious of his own wretched nuptials.'—ἀρτιφρων = ἀρτίας φρένας ἔχων (Eur. *Tro.* 417 οὐ γὰρ ἀρτίας ἔχεις φρένας), and, though the ordinary meaning is 'sane,' it is natural for the word to imply the opposite of any error or deception, especially when (as here) the application is defined. To some extent Aesch. may have been influenced also by e.g. ἀρτιμαθής, ἀρτιδαής, ἀρτιδιδάκτος, where, however, the sense of ἀρτι- is 'newly.' The gen. follows ἀρτιφρων as it would ἴδρυς, ἐπιστήμων, δαίμων, συνετός. Cf. ἀρτιμαθής κακῶν (Eur. *Hec.* 687), Kühner-Gerth I. p. 369. The gen. is perhaps also felt with μέλεος (Eur. *Or.* 159 μέλεος ἐχθίστων θεῶν ἐργων &c.).

[A reading αὐτόφωρος suggests itself: cf. Soph. *Ant.* 51 (of Oed.) πρὸς αὐτοφώρων ἀμπλακημάτων διπλᾶς | δψεις ἀράξας αὐτὸς αὐτοργῶ χερσὶ, with O. T. 1213 ἐφηγῆρέ σ' ἄκουθ' ὁ πᾶνθ' ὀρών χρόνος. But the alteration is bold and the sense not improved.]

δίδυμα κάκ' ἐτέλεσεν
πατροφόνῳ χερί· τῶν
μισοτέκνων δ' ὀμμάτων ἐπλάγχθη·

ἀντ. ε'.

τέκνοισιν δ' ἀραιᾶς
ἐφῆκεν ἐπικότους τροφᾶς,
αἰαῖ, πικρογλώσσους ἀράς,
καί σφε σιδαρονόμῳ
διὰ χερί ποτε λαχεῖν
κτάματα· νῦν δὲ τρέω
μὴ τελέσῃ καμψίπους Ἑρινύς.

770

775

767 ἐτέλεσαν M^a. The common punctuation is ἐτέλεσεν· πατροφόνῳ κ.τ.λ. ↓.
769 κρείσσω τέκνων (κρεισσοτέκνων m) δ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων M. δ' ὀμμάτων rec. and schol.,
ἀπ' ὀμμάτων recc. Editors commonly omit δ'. ↓. δεργμάτων M. Schmidt. μισο-
τέκνων (anon.) is here provisionally adopted, but I believe the true reading to have
been *τρίς στυγερῶν (or τρισστυγερῶν). The confusion of τ and κ is very frequent
(e.g. Eur. fr. 781. 28 τηδεῖσεις, Hom. Hymn. 4. 338 τέρτομον, Aesch. Suppl. 246
ἀκρέστως, Ar. Lys. 106 πορπατισάμενος (R.V.), Ath. 645 D κηροῦ (E) for τυροῦ (A)
&c.). Also στ and ω are often confused. φρισσοτέκνων (Stanley) should be φριξο-

767 sq. δίδυμα κάκ' ἐτέλεσεν πατρο-
φόνῳ χερί· τῶν κ.τ.λ. The punctuation
here given is based partly upon the
appearance of δ' in all MSS and partly
upon the sense. Oedipus did not curse
his sons because of the discovery of the
truth concerning his marriage. Hence 'on
discovering the truth he wrought a double
mischief: he blinded himself and cursed
his children' cannot be the poet's mean-
ing. There is moreover no τε...τε or
μὲν...δὲ. Rather 'he wrought a doubling
of disaster with the (same) hand which
slew his sire—he blinded himself with it.'
The καὶ already wrought were not
sufficient. δ' (ἀντὶ τοῦ γάρ, as scholiasts
say) introduces the explanation of the
words.

768 sq. τῶν μισοτέκνων δ' ὀμμάτων
ἐπλάγχθη. See crit. n. Though μισο-
τέκνων is not an entirely satisfying
emendation of κρείσσω τέκνων it is tech-
nically not remote and yields a tolerable
sense. Oedipus did in fact shrink from
the sight of his children: Soph. O. T.
1375 ἀλλ' ἢ τέκνων δῆτ' ὅπως ἦν ἐφίμερος,
βλαστοῦς' ὅπως ἐβλαστε, προσλεύσσειν
ἐμοί, *ibid.* 1334 τί γὰρ ἔδει μ' ὄραν, ὅτω
γ' ὄρωντι μηδὲν ἦν ἰδεῖν γλυκὺ; 1273.
[Yet an act not referring to the children
would suit better with the following
τέκνοισιν δ' κ.τ.λ. Probably τρίς στυγε-
ρῶν (or τρισστυγερῶν) is correct. Each
step in the corruption is technically ex-

plainable.] The insertion of ἀπ' (M)
was natural. So Soph. O. T. 1349 ὀλοῖθ'
δοῖς ἦν δε ἀγρίας πέδας...ἐλυσ', where
MSS insert ἀπ' before ἀγρίας. But the
gen. requires no prepos.; cf. Pind. O.
1. 54 εὐφροσύνας ἀλάται, Eur. Tro. 635
ἀλάται τῆς πάροιθ' εὐπραξίας, Rhes. 283
πλαγχθεῖς πλατείας πεδιάδος θ' ἀμαξιτοῦ,
Babr. 1. 89. 1 ἄρνα πεπλανημένον ποίμνης.

770 sq. τέκνοισιν δ' *ἀραιᾶς...
τροφᾶς. The reading (ἀραιᾶς or ἀραιάς)
depends upon the legend as accepted by
Aeschylus. If the father had 'tabooed'
certain food, and yet this was offered to
him, ἀραιάς would be necessary. If he
was angry at the stinted manner in which
he was supported (ἐγηροτροφεῖτο) and
complained, like Lear, 'ye scant my
sized,' we must read ἀραιᾶς (*tenuis*: cf.
Ar. Pol. 7. 16. 14 ἀραιὰ τροφὴ χρῆσθαι).
See Introd. pp. xxvii sqq., where the
schol. quoted from Soph. O. C. 1375 (with
the whole passage) makes distinctly for
ἀραιᾶς. The schol. remarks there that
Aesch. wrote τὰ παραπλήσια τῷ ἐποποιῷ.
Compare the sons' behaviour in Eur.
Phoen. 64.

The gen. follows ἐπικότους: cf. Hom.
Il. 4. 168 τῆσδ' ἀπάτης κοτέων, Soph.
Ant. 1177 πατρὶ μηνίας φόνου, Eur. Or.
751 θυγατέρος θυμούμενος.

ἐφῆκεν: 'launched.' Eur. Hipp. 1324
ἀρὰς ἐφῆκας παιδί, Phoen. 1364 ἦκε
Πολυνείκης ἀράς, Andr. 954 ἄγαν ἐφῆκας

with the hand that slew his sire; for he put away the eyes which loathed to see his children.

And on his children he launched curses of wrath at their ^{5th anti-} stint of his maintenance, curses, alas! bitter of tongue: 'May ^{strophe.} ye hereafter divide your substance with a hand that doles with steel.' And now I tremble lest the Vengeful Spirit with rapid stride bring on fulfilment. [*Enter SCOUT (from left).*]

κνρσotέκνων Hermann. Verrall's ingenious χρνσotέκνων πωμάτων assumes a particular version of the curse.

770 τέκνοις δ' ἀράας M. τέκνοιςιν δ' ἀράς Hermann. ἀραῖας *ed. †. τέκνοις δ' ἀργίας Francken. τέκνοις δ' <ἀς> ἀραῖας is also possible.

771 ἐπιτρόπος rec. ἐπίκοτος Heath. τροφάς M, corr. rec. (with schol.). 773 ἡ σφε recc. ἡ σφε Heimsoeth.

774 διαχειρίαι M. Corr. Porson. The αι is for ε, intended to be a correction written over ει of χειρί. (The phenomenon of such incorporation of the superscript into the text is not rare: cf. Ar. Ach. 1146 ριουγρῶν

(i.e. ριγῶν corrected as ριγούν), Lys. 1138 Περικλειδῆσα (N)=Περικλειδῆς, Av. 1062

εὐανθαλεῖς (R)=εὐανθεῖς.) 775 κτήματα M.

γλώσσαν, Soph. O. C. 1375 ἀράς... ἐξανήκα.—αἰαῖ deplores his impatience.

773 καὶ σφε κ.τ.λ. We must not render 'that they also...', since σφε is necessarily unemphatic. καὶ is explanatory of πικρογλώσσους, 'namely that...'—σιδαρονόμω: while the ordinary division of portions would be by a hand wielding lots (κλήροι), theirs is by a hand wielding steel. Cf. Eur. Phoen. 67 ἀράς ἀράται παισιν ἀνοσιωτάτας, | θηκτῷ σιδήρῳ δῶμα διαλαχεῖν τόδε and inf. 801.

775 sq. νῦν: with τελέσῃ, but put first for emphasis.—τελέσῃ: without obj., 'bring fulfilment' (682).—The interpretation of καμψίπους is much disputed. Meanings which have been, or may be, offered are: (1) 'with returning foot,' i.e. returning (cf. κάμπτεω δρόμον) from generation to generation (Verrall): (2) 'with roundabout foot,' i.e. fetching a compass round her prey (by going a δοχμίαν κέλευσθαι: cf. fr. adesr. 493 ὄρας Δίκη...ἐξῆς δ' ὅπαδεῖ δόχμιον, ἀλλοθ' ὅστερον): (3) 'with lame foot': (4) 'with nimble foot.' Before considering these we may observe words of similar formation elsewhere used of an Erinyes or the like. Such are δεινόπους Ἄρά (Soph. O. T. 418) of the terrible insistence of pursuit; Ἐρινύς ταχύποδας (Aj. 837) of their swiftness; χαλκίπους Ἐρινύς (El. 491) of her tirelessness (cf. χαλκέντερος). In Eum. 373 μάλα γὰρ οὖν ἀλομένα | ἀνέκαθεν βαρυπτεσῇ | καταφέρω ποδὸς ἀκμάν, | σφαλερὰ ταχυδρόμοις | κῶλα the stride is one of rapidity. On the other

hand Hor. Od. 3. 2. 31 raro antecedentem scelestum | deseruit pede Poena claudo the notion is of a dogging which, though slow, overtakes in the end. The general impression from these is one of tireless pursuit, but the Avenging Spirit may be regarded either as limping behind but never desisting, or as striding rapidly when the sinner has received a long start. We shall do best therefore to limit the choice in καμψίπους to two interpretations (1) 'lame' (lit. 'with twisted feet'), (2) 'vigorous,' 'nimble.' In deciding, it must be remembered that ποὺς may be used either of the foot or of the whole leg (Cho. 980).

For (1) 'lame' may be cited Horace (l.c.), καμψός ('crooked'), and the χωλαὶ Λιταὶ of Il. 9. 503 (opposed to ἀτη ἀρτίπος: see Leaf ad loc.). Malevolent beings (e.g. the ghouls or female jinns of Arabic poetry) are often imagined with misshapen legs: 'The belief in spirits and witches who wander about with their feet turned backward is common in India' (R. W. Frazer A Literary Hist. of India, who quotes Tylor Prim. Cult. I. p. 307). See also Perdrizet Mélusine ix. 1898, p. 99. On the other hand (2) καμψίπους (cf. καμπεσίγυνος) is a natural expression for one who has lissom or nimble limbs: cf. Hom. Il. 11. 668 οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ ἴς | ἔσθ' οἴη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν, 24. 359, Od. 13. 398. The sense is well supported by Xen. Eq. 1. 6 τὰ γε μὴν γόνατα ἦν βαδίζων ὁ πῶλος ὑγρῶς κάμπτη and Poll. 1. 191

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.

θαρσεῖτε, παῖδες μητέρων τεθραμμένοι.

πόλις πέφευγεν ἤδε δούλιον ζυγόν.

πέπτωκεν ἀνδρῶν ὀβρίμων κομπάσματα,

πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδία τέ, καὶ κλυδωνίου

780

πολλαῖσι πληγαῖς ἄντλον οὐκ ἔδεξατο.

στέγει δὲ πύργος, καὶ πύλας φερεγγύοις

ἐφραξάμεσθα μονομάχοισι προστάταις.

καλῶς ἔχει τὰ πλείστ' ἐν ἑξ' πυλώμασιν.

τὰς δ' ἐβδόμας ὁ σεμνὸς ἐβδομαγέτας

785

777 τεθρυμμένοι Hermann, τεθραγμένοι Hartung. ↓.

778 δούλειον M, corr. rec.

779 πέπτωκεν δ' M, corr. rec. ↓. πέπτωκε δ' Burgard. ὀμβρίμων rec. 780 Qu.

* ἐνευδιᾷ τε? ↓. ἐν εὐδία 'στὶ Blomf. (a correction which might be supported by e.g.

γόνατα δυσκαμπῇ (quoted by Hermann). It is to works of art that we may most safely look, and in the vase-paintings there is no appearance of the crippled foot. On the other hand the Erinyes are commonly depicted with legs bent at the knee in a way to suggest rapid running. See Harrison *Prol. Gk. Rel.* figg. 47, 73 and p. 234 (n.). Moreover the merely descriptive epithet is less like Aesch. than the more relevant 'I fear that she may, with rapid stride &c.'

777 παῖδες μητέρων τεθραμμένοι: rightly treated by Verrall as 'reared so that you are mothers' children,' an expression of 'gentle contempt for their fears.' The alternative rendering 'children reared by mothers' is more difficult to extract from the Greek and misunderstands παῖδες. The Chorus does not consist of young maidens (see 673), and the gen. is very dubious. The use in e.g. Soph. *Phil.* 3 ὦ κρατίστου παιδὸς Ἑλλήνων τραφεῖς is that of origin (as with γεγώς, βλαστάνει, πέφυκα; Kühner-Gerth I. p. 376. 5). In a few instances where it appears to be gen. of agent the reading is probably unsound, e.g. Eur. *El.* 133 κείσαι σὰς ἀλόχου σφαγαῖς (σφαγαῖς Paley), *Or.* 496 ἐξέπνευσε ... πληγαῖς θυγατρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς (πληγαῖς?). In other places the explanation is obviously different. Thus *Cho.* 634 βροτῶν ἀτιμωθέν is gen. privative. We can hardly therefore render as τεθραμμένοι ὑπὸ μητέρων. But children who 'take after' the father are called (οἱ τοῦ) πατρὸς παῖδες, while daughters, or sons lacking manliness, are παῖδες τῆς μητρός. Cf.

Cho. 826 (n.), *Eum.* 738 κάρτα δ' εἰμι τοῦ πατρὸς (Athena loq.), *Soph. fr.* 139 οἱ τοὶ γένειον ὥδε χρή διηλιφές | φοροῦντα κἀνδρόπαιδα καὶ γένει μέγαν | μητρός καλεῖσθαι παῖδα, τοῦ πατρὸς δέον, *El.* 365, *O. C.* 442 οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς (the sons, who should naturally be the father's children rather than the mother's), Eur. *Hel.* 9 sqq. Somewhat differently Eur. *El.* 1103 οἱ μὲν εἰσιν ἀρσένων, | οἱ δ' αὖ φιλοῦσι μητέρας μᾶλλον πατρός.—τεθραμμένοι=τοιαύτην τροφὴν λαβοῦσαι ὥστε εἶναι.... They have been brought up, not to war and action, but to retirement and timidity.

778 ἤδε: with affection.—πέφευγεν (like πέπτωκεν, 'lie low,' of the next line) expresses a state rather than an act.—πόλις, resumed by πόλις of 780, reiterates the reassuring news before mention of the accompanying disaster.

779 πέπτωκεν: dramatically more effective than πέπτωκε δ'. The word is not merely 'are overthrown,' but (as the context indicates) it glances at the dropping of winds and waves (cp. *Hom. Od.* 14. 475 ἀνεμος πέσε, the use of *cadere*, and *νήνεμος* εὐβρεῖ πεσών of the sea).—ὀβρίμων. It is possible that ὀμβρίμων (of rec.) should be preferred here as connecting the word with ὄμβρος and therefore more closely with the following metaphor. ὄβριμος, while suited to the notion of storms, once more recalls the *Γιγάντες* to whom the Argive champions have been compared (e.g. 411). Cf. *Pind. O.* 4. 7 Τυφῶνος ὄβριμον, and (in keeping with such a character) *Hom. Il.* 22. 418 ἀνέρα τοῦτον ἀτάσθαλον

SCOUT.

Courage, ye true mothers' children, bred thereto. This realm is free of the yoke of slavery. The braggings of the bravoës are overthrown. Our state is in still waters, and, for all the lashing of the billow, it hath sprung no leak, but the wall proves taut, and it was with trusty champions that we blocked the ports. For the most part—at six gateways—all is well. The seventh that august Captain of Sevens, the lord Apollo,

Soph. *Trach.* 295 πολλή τ' (recc.) for πολλή 'στ', *El.* 309, Ath. 36 E &c.). *κάν κλυδωνίου* is possible. **783** ἐφραζάμεθα M, corr. recc., ἐφαρξάμεσθα Dind. (see 63 c.n.).

784 m' adds δ' (Δ superscr.) after καλῶς.

785 ἐβδομαγενής Burton

ὄβριμοεργόν, Hes. *Th.* 996 ὄβριστῆς Πελλῆς καὶ ἀτάσθαλος ὄβριμοεργός. In *Et. Mag.* 613, 23 one of the senses of ὄβριμος (besides *ισχυρός*) is ἀπειλητικός.

780 sq. πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδίᾳ τε: sc. ἐστὶ. There is, however, a feeling of grammatical abruptness about this, and the true reading may be ἐνευδιᾷ τε (cf. *εὐδιᾶν* and Ap. Rhod. 2. 935 ἐνευδιῶν). For the expression itself cf. Eur. *Andr.* 1145 ἐν εὐδίᾳ δὲ πως | ἔστη φαεινοῖς δεσπότης στήλων ὄπλοις.—καί: 'yes....' It is tempting to read *κάν*, but the instrum. dat. is joined to the passive sense in *ἀντλον οὐκ ἐδέξατο*, i.e. οὐκ ἐρράγη, οὐκ ἐτρώθη.—πολλαῖσι: 'though so many.'

782 sq. στέγα: 203.—The πύργος of the town answers to the τοῖχος of the ship (747 sq.), the πύλαι answer to the 'ports' (32 sq.) and cf. *θυρίδες* of a ship in Ath. 205 A), and the προστάται to the fighting ἐπιβάται.—φερεγγύους is stressed.—μονομάχοισι defines the reference as being to the individual champions selected by Eteocles. The word should be noted as shewing how the fighting was actually done.

784 καλῶς ἔχει τὰ πλείστ' κ.τ.λ. It might be disputed whether this means (1) 'the most part has gone well—to wit, at six gates (but not so well at the seventh)' or (2) 'at six gates the most part has gone well (but not without some harm to our men).' Moreover τὰ πλείστ' may be the true subject of ἔχει or may be adverbial ('things have gone well for the most part'). The simplest interpretation is (1).

785 τὰς δ' ἑβδόμας κ.τ.λ. A connection of Apollo with the number seven (perhaps originally astronomical) is indicated in various passages, e.g. Hes. *Opp.* 770 ἐβδόμη ἱερὸν ἡμάρ' | τῇ γὰρ

Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα γείνατο Λητώ, Plut. *Mor.* 717 D τὸν θεόν, ὡς ταύτη (sc. τῇ ἐβδόμῃ) γενόμενον... Ἐβδομαγενῇ καλεῖτε, *ibid.* 738 D ἡ δ' ἐβδόμας τῷ Μουσηγέτῃ προσκεκλήρωται, 391 F, Herod. 6. 57, Herod. 3. 53 (where see Nairn). But to suppose that ἐβδομαγέτας is here simply substituted παρὰ προσδοκίαν for ἐβδομαγενής would make a very feeble point. The addition of ὁ σεμνός contrasts Apollo with others who might bear the title ἐβδομαγέτης. In view of the continued metaphor from a ship and its defenders it may be no idle guess that the ἐβδομαγέτης (or ἐβδόμαρχος) was an officer who 'commanded seven.' Cf. the πεντηκόνταρχος controlling 50 oarsmen on a trireme, and for other officers see Neil on Ar. *Eq.* 542. Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia* speaks of πεμπάδαρχοι, δεκάδαρχοι, δωδέκαρχοι in the Persian army. An ἐβδόμαρχος might very well command the six ἐπιβάται on one side of a ship, being ἑβδομος αὐτός. He would choose his own post (hence *εὐετο*). Literally taken such an office would not be a very exalted one, but ὁ σεμνός makes all the difference. Apollo condescends to that position. Hence also the honorific ἀναξ: 'no less than Lord Apollo.'—ἐβδομαγέτας is correctly formed for ἐβδομ(αδ)αγέτας: cf. *μελανθής*, *Πλεισθένης* (= *Πλειστοσθένης*) &c. The first α is one of a frequent type: cf. *λοχαγέται* (42), *κυναγός*. See *Cho.* 569 (n.) and add *νοθαγενής*, *ναμέρπεια*, *ποινάσομαι*, *δίβαμος*. The termination -τας is probably a correct survival in a military word, and would be especially fit in connection with ritual (cf. Alex. *ap.* Ath. 39 B ὁ διμάτωρ Βρόμος). 'Dorica forma etiam Proclus usus est in commentario ad Timaeum Platonis III. p. 200' (Herm.).

ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων εἴλετ', Οἰδίπου γένει
κραίνων παλαιᾶς Λαῖου δυσβουλίας.

ΧΟ. τί δ' ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα νεόκοτον πόλει πλέον;

ΑΓ. πόλις σέσσωται· βασιλέως δ' ὁμόςποροι— 789

ΧΟ. τίνες; τί δ' εἶπας; παραφρονῶ φόβῳ λόγου. 791

ΑΓ. φρονούσα νῦν ἄκουσον, Οἰδίπου τόκοι—

ΧΟ. οἱ γὰρ τάλαινα, μάντις εἰμὶ τῶν κακῶν.

ΑΓ. οὐδ' ἀμφιλέκτως μὴν κατεσποδημένοι—

ΧΟ. ἐκεῖσε κῆλλον; βαρέα δ' οὖν ὁμῶς φράσον. 795

(and schol.?). ↓.

788 πρᾶγος recc. παρόν recc. (for πλέον), πέλον Kiehl, πάλιν Dindorf. ↓. 789 sqq. The order in M is disturbed. The verse (790) which in the text above has been placed (*ed.) after 795 is written in M after 789. For explanation of the error see ↓, and, for various arrangements, Wecklein's Appendix. 789 σέσσωται M, the text being otherwise sound. m' writes εἰς over ἐως of βασιλέως.

786sq. Ἀπόλλων: not merely through his traditional association with the number seven, but as the God whose oracle was disobeyed (731 sqq.).—εἴλετ': if ἐβδόμαγέτας has been correctly explained, the sense 'chose' is most simple. It might, however, only mean 'took' (cf. Soph. O. T. 889 κακά νιν ἔλοιτο μοῖρα, and more freely still Herond. 3. 54 οὐδ' ὕπνος νιν αἰρέϊται).—κραίνων gives the reason. He did not choose the gate simply to defend it, but 'in working conclusion to the error of Laius.' Apollo is not to blame for this result. He is the mouthpiece of destiny; the δυσβουλαι of Laius must find their necessary outcome; and Apollo is represented as giving that perversity its full way. For παλαιᾶς see 728 and for δυσβουλίας 735. The news is being gradually broken.

788 τί δ' ἐστὶ κ.τ.λ. The Chorus takes up the last words, of which it dimly conceives the meaning.—νεόκοτον: with the sense of 'alarming' found so frequently in νέον (357 n.).—πλέον: 'added' to previous troubles, to make matters worse (not 'left for you still to tell').

789 sqq. That something is wrong with the arrangement in M is universally admitted. The error might be one of the order or of an interpolation. The following considerations make strongly against v. 790 as it stands in M (crit. n.). (1) the reading ἐκ χειρῶν αὐτομάτων is so peculiarly corrupt that it is hard to think of it as merely a misreading of a line written in the ordinary script of the current text. It must be either an inter-

polation made at a date when the laws of iambic metre were not understood, or an interlinear explanation not intended for a verse, or it represents a line accidentally omitted and obscurely written in the margin, whence it was inserted (with misreading) at the wrong place: (2) πόλις of v. 789 has all the appearance of introducing a natural answer to the question of the Chorus; i.e. in reply to the word πόλει the Scout says 'so far as the country is concerned, it is safe enough.' This line is therefore probably genuine where it stands: (3) but, if 789 is genuine, it is natural to expect simple στιχομυθία, and therefore *prima facie* v. 790 is not genuine in its present position: (4) if the Messenger here actually said ἄνδρες τεθνᾶσιν ἐκ χειρῶν αὐτοκτόνων (or its equivalent), there would be no little absurdity in the subsequent dialogue. The Chorus could only ask its excited questions if it had not received the information which the line gives: (5) those questions imply the following development. The Mess. begins to speak of the brothers; he names them first in terms not quite specific (βασιλέως ὁμόςποροι). The Chorus really guesses what is coming, but in its excitement exclaims τίνες; He has not yet said that they are dead, still less that they slew each other. That they are dead is next told, but the Chorus is anxious to know, not only whether they are dead, but the worse matter still; 'Did they actually come to that dread crime? Did they make havoc of each other with hands thus too much akin indeed (796) &c.?' But to give

took for himself, bringing upon the house of Oedipus the crowning of the follies of Laius long ago.

CHO. Nay, what fresh matter is there now to alarm the realm?

SCOUT. The realm is saved, but the joint seed of the king—

CHO. Who? What sayest thou? Dread of the news confounds my mind.

SCOUT. Keep thy right mind and listen. The sons of Oedipus—

CHO. Ah! miserable me! I am true seer in things of evil.

SCOUT. Aye, and with no gainsaying, done to destruction—

CHO. Did they e'en go so far? Though sore the grief, yet tell us.

βασιλείς recc. **792** τόκος M, with γένος superscr. (m). The glossing was frequent (see e.g. MSS at Eur. *Alc.* 505). τόκοι Heimsoeth, τόκω Dindorf. **793** οὐ ἐγὼ M. **794** κατεσποδημένοι Dindorf. **795** ἐκείθι κείσθον M, with ἢλ over eis (m). Corr. *ed. For the corruption see ↓. γ' οὖν Blomf., γ' ἀλλ' Paley, δ' ὄρθ' Herwerden. ↓.

both these last lines at once to the Chorus is to break the *στιχομυθία*. Hence it would seem that there, if anywhere, should be inserted v. 790 of M, as the necessary complete and unequivocal answer of the Messenger.

From this it will be seen that the ascription of the lines to the speakers in M is quite correct, and that the only serious error which that MS commits is in the position of v. 790. It is not very hard to find a reason why the line should have been carelessly written here. It will be observed that v. 795, which it should follow, ends in *ομωσφρασον*, while v. 789, which it does follow, ends in *ὁμόσποροι*. It was this resemblance which misled the eye of some scribe when he had copied v. 789.

789 βασιλῆος δ' ὁμόσποροι: 'the joint-seed of the king,' subsequently (792) interpreted by *Οἰδῖπου τόκοι*. The intended expression is perhaps not complete, as he may have meant to continue with *παῖδες (τεθνήασιν κ.τ.λ.)*. Though not so stated, it appears to be assumed by Aeschylus (and implied in a natural consideration of the whole situation) that the brothers were twins. If so, *ὁμόσποροι* = οἱ μὲρ σπορᾶ (or ὁμοῦ) σπαρέντες.

791 τίνες; with a tone not merely of enquiry, but of alarm. 'Who?' The last *στάσιμον* shows that they are ready for the news.

792 φρονούσα takes up *παραφρονῶ*.—*νυν* (rather than *νῦν*): 228 (n.), 232.—τόκοι is at least as probable as τόκω:

when the speaker resumes we have the plur. *κατεσποδημένοι*.

793 μάντις εἰμι τῶν κακῶν: not 'I presage what you are about to tell me' (a remark too naive for the circumstances), but 'I am (it appears) a prophet of the evil side of things' (referring to vv. 707 sqq.). The article is the same as that of 560 (n.), 581. It was a common reproach against *μάντις* that they nearly always predicted τὰ κακά, and seldom or never τὰ ἀγαθὰ. The Chorus admits that it deserves this character, and there is doubtless a certain self-reproach, since the notion that prophesying evil also induced it still lingered.

794 οὐδ' ἀμφιλέκτως μὴν κ.τ.λ. For οὐδὲ...μὴν cf. 655 (n.), 525 (n.). The sense is either (1) 'out of question *κατεσποδημένοι*,' i.e. the word *κατεσπ.* can be applied to them beyond all question, or (2) 'equally (without distinction) *κατεσπ.*' The latter appears the more satisfactory. The former would possess point only if *κατεσπ.* were felt to be a peculiarly strong word, needing to be asserted with emphasis. The use of οὐδὲ rather than οὐκ is due to the thought. It is as if he had already said 'slaughtered'—and without distinction too.

795 ἐκείσε κῆλθον; 'Did they actually come to that?' (viz. to that fell deed which was threatened and which we feared: 668 sq., 705, 721 sqq.). Not 'Did they come to that?' (= *κάκεισε κῆλθον*). The reading *ἐκείθι κείσθον* was due to a

- ΑΓ. ἄνδρες τεθνᾷσιν ἐκ χερῶν αὐτοκτόνων. (790)
 ΧΟ. οὕτως ἀδελφαῖς χερσὶν ἡναίρουτ' ἄγαν;
 ΑΓ. οὕτως ὁ δαίμων κοινὸς ἦν ἀμφοῖν ἅμα.
 αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλοῖ δῆτα δύσποτμον γένος.
 τοιαῦτα χαίρειν καὶ δακρύνεσθαι πάρα·
 πόλιν μὲν εὖ πράσσουσαν, οἱ δ' ἐπιστάται, 800
 δισσῶ στρατηγῷ, διέλαχον σφυρηλάτῳ
 Σκύθῃ σιδήρῳ κτημάτων παμψησίαν·
 ἔξουσιν δ' ἦν λάβωσιν ἐν ταφῇ χθονὸς
 πατρὸς κατ' εὐχὰς δυσπότμους φορούμενοι.
 πόλις σέσωται· βασιλείῳ δ' ὁμοσπόρου 805
 πέπωκεν αἷμα γαί' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φόνῳ.

790 ἄνδρες M, corr. Porson. χερῶν M, corr. rec. αὐτομάτων M with κτόνων superscr. (m?), but the corruption was unlikely. Qu. *αὐθαιμάτων? αὐτοσφαγῶν Weil, αὐθαιρέτων Dindorf. **796** ἔρ M in marg. ὅπως rec. ἀρ. Meineke for ἄγαν. Nauck transposes ἄγαν and ἅμα (797). †. **797** ὅπως rec. **798** M

correction of ἐκείθι by κείσε. The verb is corrected by m, but ἐκείθι (not elsewhere found in tragedy, although that consideration is perhaps not of great weight) was left. The expression itself reminds one of ἔλασε δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν (*Cho.* 938), χωρεῖν εἰς πᾶν ἔργον (*Soph. El.* 614), ἐπὶ πᾶν ἵεναι (*Ar. Lys.* 543). [ἐκείθι κείσθον is a very bald phrase, whether it be taken as a question or an excited completion of the Messenger's sentence.]

795^a (= **790**) ἐκ χερῶν αὐτοκτόνων. This gives the dread news (βαρέα). The reading αὐτομάτων is difficult to explain if the original was αὐτοκτόνων. For *αὐθαιμάτων (see crit. n.) may be quoted (1) αὐθαιμος, αὐθαίμων, (2) the similar formations φιλαίματος, ἀνόματος. It is a stronger word (= ὁμοσπόρων) than συναίμων or ὁμαιμόνων.

796 οὕτως ἀδελφαῖς... ἄγαν: i.e. οὕτως ἄγαν ἀδελφαῖς. The hands were those of brothers, but they were also too much 'alike,' too well matched in cruel temper and in successful slaying. For adj. ἀδελφός (*germanus*) cf. *Soph. O. C.* 1262 ἀδελφά... τοῦτοισιν φορεῖ | τὰ... θρεπτήρια (and frequently). In ἡναίρουτ' the imperf. gives the panoramic effect. The brothers are seen in the deliberate effort to slay.

797 οὕτως ὁ δαίμων κ.τ.λ. The Messenger prefers to see the matter from another standpoint: the work was that of their evil genius (692). He treated both alike, and at the same moment (ἅμα).

798 αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλοῖ κ.τ.λ.: (1) 'by himself...', i.e. with the same thought as in 939 δυοῖν κρατήσας ἔληξε δαίμων; or better (2) 'in his own person' (no less), i.e. the deed seemed to be theirs, but it was the δαίμων himself assuredly (δῆτα), who in this act is destroying the race. [αὐτὸς δ' may be suggested; 'and in one and the same way he is in fact destroying the whole race.' Cf. αὐτὸς δὲ *Soph. Ant.* 715, αὐτὸς *Ant.* 85, *O. T.* 931, *Eur. Med.* 319. This gives point to the pres. ἀναλοῖ and also to δῆτα and γένος.]

800 sq. πόλιν μὲν εὖ πράσσουσαν: the motive of χαίρειν. Though the accus. is made the easier partly by the preceding τοιαῦτα and partly by δακρύνεσθαι, it would follow χαίρειν itself by a familiar idiom. Cf. *Soph. Ph.* 1314 ἥσθην πατέρα τὸν ἀμὲν εὐλογοῦντά σε, *Aj.* 136 σὲ μὲν εὖ πράσσοντ' ἐπιχαίρω, *Hom. Il.* 8. 377 ἢ νῦν Πριάμοιο πάϊς κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ | γηθήσει προφανέντε, [*Eur.*] *Rhes.* 390 χαίρω δέ σ' εὐτυχούonta, *Hēr.* 1340 τοὺς γὰρ εὐσεβεῖς θεοὶ | νηήσκοντας οὐ χαίρουσιν, *El. Mag.* χαίρω σε ἐκλυθότα Ὀρωπικοὶ οὕτως λέγουσιν, *Pind. P.* 7. 14, *Eur. fr.* 328, 673.

οἱ δ' ἐπιστάται: not regarded as commanders of the two armies (since tears would not be shed for Polyn. as leader of the Argives), but in opposition to πόλιν: 'its heads.' Though Eteocles has been for a time *de facto* king of Thebes, Polyneices had his claim. The state is now headless. The words δισσῶ στρατηγῷ might

SCOUT. The men are dead, by hands of the selfsame blood.

CHO. By hands so brotherlike—too like—did they seek death?

SCOUT. So equal the spirit of their fate for both alike.

Yea, 'tis for sure none other who blots out the ill-starred race. Such cause we have for joy and tears. With the country all is well, but its heads and chiefs, its pair of high commanders, have divided with the hammered Scythian steel their substance and estate, and their holding of land will be as they find it in the grave, borne thither on the stream of their sire's unhappy prayers.

The realm is saved, but, for the princes of joint seed, the earth hath drunk their blood by death at each other's hands.

[Exit SCOUT (to right).]

gives the sign for ἄγγελος to this line. *m'* writes γ' (Γ) over δ'. αὐτός γ' Heimsoeth. ↓. Qu. * αὐτὸς δ' ? ↓. 799 δακρύσσειν *m'* (i.e. superscr.), δακρύσσειν recc.

803 ἐνταφῇ M (ῖτ in marg.) and schol. χθόνα Brunck. ↓. 804 δυσπότμος Headlam. πορθούμενοι Meineke, κληρούμενοι Weil, φθατούμενοι Kirchhoff. μοιρώμενοι is possible, but no conjecture is preferable to the text. ↓. 805 M has here σέσσωται. βασιλείου M, corr. recc. 806 γὰν M, γαῖ *m'*. ἐπαλλήλῳ Wecklein. ↓.

mean 'each at the head of an army,' but such a fact is irrelevant to their grief. Rather it amplifies the notion in ἐπιστάται (our) two leaders.' A στρατηγός is one who rules a στρατός, whether as army or people (see 107 n.): cf. Soph. *Ant.* 7 τί τοῦτ' αὐ φασὶ πανδήμῳ πόλει | κήρυγμα θεῖναι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρίστῳ; The title is also familiar for the 'chief magistrate.' The word *δισσώ* and the emphasised dual point to their combination in one function (relatively to Thebes) rather than to their opposition at the head of different armies. For *δισσώ* as two conjoined cf. *Cho.* 866, Soph. *Aj.* 57 *δισσὸς* Ἀτρεΐδης.

801 sq. σφυρηλάτῳ Σκύθῃ κ.τ.λ. The epithets are not purely ornamental, but refer once more to the cryptic prophecy. See 925 (n.). A 'lot' was generally of softer material than iron (cf. 714 sqq. n.) and, if of iron, it would not be 'hammered' into shape.—παμψησίαν: 'full portion.' Cf. *παγκληρίαν* (*Cho.* 484), but the present word is nearer to the legal language (Poll. 10. 12 κάλλιον δὲ τὴν ἐνδομενίαν (supellectilem) παγκτησίαν ἢ παμψησίαν ὀνομάσαι...τραγικώτερον γὰρ ἢ παγκληρία).

803 ἔξουσι...χθονός. The common alteration to χθόνα is technically very improbable.—ἦν belongs to *παμψησίαν* (which may denote one person's share; cf. *Cho.* 484), and the construction is strictly ἔξουσι δὲ χθονός *παμψησίαν* ἦν λάβωσιν ἐν ταφῇ, 'they will hold, as their full share of land (i.e. as far as their

estate in land is concerned), that which they get in burial.' For the notion cf. 718 sq.

804 δυσπότμος = κακοδαίμονας in the sense of 'misguided,' 'infatuated': cf. Bacchyl. 5. 138 μάτρη κακόποτμος ἐμοί | βούλευεν δλεθρον, Soph. *O. T.* 888 δυσπότμου χάριν χλιδᾶς. So *Aj.* 1156 ἀνολβον = 'foolish' (where Jebb cites Dem. 3. 21 οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἄφρων οὐδ' ἀτυχής εἰμι). Similarly *δύστηνος* (*Ar. Ecc.* 166). Hence *φορούμενοι* is sound. Their reckless conduct is due to their being borne helplessly along on the current of their father's misguided prayers. The notion in *κατ' εὐχὰς φορούμενοι* is precisely that of *κατ' οὖρον* (677) following *μήτι σε...ἄτα φερέτω* (674), and the whole thought is the same as in that context. Cf. also *Cho.* 926 (n.) *πατὴρ δὲ γὰρ αἶσα τόνδ' ἐσουρήξει μόνον*, Pind. *I.* 3. 5 ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλοιός οὖρος | πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπαΐσων ἐλαύνει, Sol. *fr.* 12 (4). 45 ἀνέμοισι φορεύμενος ἀργαλέοισιν.

805 πόλις σέσσωται κ.τ.λ. Before departing the ἄγγελος formally sums up his tidings of good and bad. In *ὁμοσπόροι* followed by *ἐπ' ἀλλήλων* there is the thought that, as they were born together, so they died together and through each other. The opposition *πόλις* | *βασιλείου* as in 749 sq.

806 ἐπ' ἀλλήλων φόνῳ. It is doubtless tempting (though unnecessary) to read *ἐπαλλήλῳ* (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 56 αὐτοκτονούντε τῷ τάλαιπῶρῳ μόνον | κοινὸν κατηργάσαντε ἐπαλλήλων χερσίν, where

ΧΟ. ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ καὶ πολιοῦχοι
δαίμονες, οἳ δὴ Κάδμου πύργους
τούσδε ῥύεσθε,
πότερον χαίρω καπολολύξω
πόλεως ἀσινεῖ σωτηρίᾳ,
ἢ τοὺς μογεροὺς καὶ δυσδαίμονας
ἀτέκνους κλαύσω πολεμάρχους,
οἳ δῆτ' ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν
καὶ πολυνεικεῖς
ᾧλοντ' ἀσεβεῖ διανοία;

810

815

στρ.

ὦ μέλαινα καὶ τελεία
γένεος Οἰδίου τ' ἀρά,
κακὸν με καρδιά τι περιπίτνει κρύος.

807 πολιουσῶχοι M, corr. Pauw. 809 ῥύεσθαι M^a, τοῦσδ' ἐρύεσθε rec. For metre ↓. 811 σωτήρι M, σωτηρία recc. (of which some transcriber of M failed to make metre). ↓. σωτήρι <τύχη> Scholfield (φορᾶ, πότμω, δρόμω or φιλῆς might also be

MSS give ἐπ' ἀλλήλων). The construction is φόνω (modal or instrumental) ὑπ' ἀλλήλων (with the verb) rather than ὑπὸ φόνω 'under (to the accompaniment of) slaughter.' Cf. Ar. *Eg.* 1169 ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τῇ χειρὶ τῆλεφαντίνῃ, Eur. *Suppl.* 401 Ἑτεοκλέους θανόντος... | ...ἀδελφοῦ χειρὶ Πολυνέικους ὑπο. A similar but more ambiguous combination in Eur. *H. F.* 20 Ἦρας ὑπο | κέντροις δαμασθεῖς. [It is possible also to construe φόνω ὑπ' ἀλλήλων as = τῷ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φονευθῆναι.]

807 μεγάλε Ζεῦ κ.τ.λ. Zeus, though invoked first and separately according to the principle *ab Iove principium* (cf. *Suppl.* 1 (n.)), is himself one of the πολιοῦχοι (111). Hence καὶ virtually = καὶ ἄλλοι (see schol.).

808 sq. οἳ δὴ κ.τ.λ. δὴ takes up πολιοῦχοι: they prove 'guardian gods indeed.'—ῥύεσθαι: though the pause is perhaps greater in the instances cited by Jebb on Soph. *O. T.* 1303, the break in synapheia is allowable when there is any appreciable stop at all (cf. *Suppl.* 7, 13, 36, *Cho.* 861, *Pers.* 15). There is affection in τοῦσδε and a plea in Κάδμου (cf. 125 with 153).

810 sq. ἐπολολύξω: 254 (n.), *Ag.* 28, 592 (ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρὰς ὑπο). If πόλεως ἀσινεῖ σωτήρι is correct it must apparently mean 'its unharmed Σωτήρ,' 'its Saving Power unimpaired,'

i.e. the state of the city is identified with the state of its Σωτήρ (not specifically Zeus, but a generalising of its saving agencies as a genius). The Σωτήρ is represented as being injured when his city is hurt. [Otherwise we may render 'bringing no harm' i.e. 'permitting no harm.' Activity and passivity were often scarcely distinguished by a Greek in certain classes of adjectives: cf. φοβερός, τυφλός.] The paroemiac verse regularly ends in — — —, but — — — is no less permissible (cf. *Suppl.* 7, *Pers.* 33). But σωτηρίᾳ (of recc.) is probably correct, the scansion being Homeric (συβοστή, ἰστίη, ἀκομιστή, προθυμίῃσι, ἀεργίη, ὑποδεξίη, ἀτιμίῃσι all occur). In Soph. *Ant.* 130 ὑπεροπλίαις (anapaestic) appears correct, as in *Il.* 1. 205, Theoc. 25. 138. Cf. Xenophanes *fr.* 2 (19). 7 προεδρίη, Hippon. *fr.* 40. 4 πονηρίη. [All these occurrences are Ionic, and it is quite possible that Aesch. actually wrote σωτηρίη. In that case the corruption of σωτηρίη ἢ τοὺς into σωτήρι ἢ τοὺς would follow.] The sense 'with its σωτηρία (the state of τὸ σῶον εἶναι or τὸ σῶζεσθαι) uninjured' is not open to objection. A σωτηρία may be accompanied by more or less loss and ἀσινεῖ practically = παντελεῖ.

812 sq. τοὺς: 'those.'—ἀτέκνους: i.e. besides being slain, they also leave

CHO. O mighty Zeus and the land's guardian Powers, who save indeed from harm these walls of Cadmus! Shall I rejoice with chant of jubilation that no hurt hath touched the safety of the realm, or shall I weep for the cruel and ill-starred fate of yon childless leaders of the war, who, true to their name and quarrelsome indeed, perished through wilful wickedness?

Black and inexorable Curse upon the race, O Curse of Oedipus! ^{strophe.} a chill of wretchedness falls round my heart. 'Twas for a tomb

suggested, but it is hard to see why any of these, except φορᾶ, should be lost). ἀσυνῆς εὐσολία Ritschl.

814 οἱ δῆτ' ἐτέως Halm.

815 <ἐτέον κλεινοὶ> καὶ

(Prien) or <ἐτύμως κλεινοὶ> or the like are not required. ψ.

816 ἀσεβῆ M^a.

818 Οἰδίπου γ' rec. ψ.

819 καρδίαν rec. ψ. τ* Μ (ι add. m). περιπιτνέει

no children behind them, whether to continue the race or (a point very essential to Greek notions of happiness in death) to pay honours to their tombs. In Lucian *Lucif.* 13 the father who has lost his son will cry οἶμαι μοι καὶ τέθνηκας...οὐ γαμήσας, οὐ παιδοποιησάμενος. Cf. *Cho.* 1004 ὁλοῖμην πρόσθεν ἐκ θεῶν ἄπαις (n.), Soph. *El.* 187 ἄτις ἄνευ τεκνῶν κατατάκομαι, Eur. *I. T.* 697 ὄνομα τ' ἐμοῦ γένουτ' ἄν, οὐδ' ἄπαις δῆμος | πατρῷος οὐδὲς ἐξαλειφθεῖη ποτ' ἄν. Though according to Pind. (*O.* 2. 38) and Hdt. (4. 147) Polyneices left a son Thersander, and according to Hdt. (5. 61) Eteocles left a son Laodamas, to play their parts among the Epigoni, yet none of the tragedians recognise the existence of these sons, but all imply the contrary. So in Soph. *Ant.* 174 it is γένους κατ' ἀγχιστεία that Creon succeeds to the throne.—πολεμάρχους: see 800 sq. (ἐπιστάται and στρατηγῶ). Not 'leaders (on either side) in (this) war,' but those who would naturally lead Thebes in its wars. There are no princes left to take this place, and the fact is a cause of public concern.

814 sq. οἱ δῆτ' ὀρθῶς κ.τ.λ. The notion that *e.g.* <ἐτέον κλεινοὶ> has fallen out is due to an instinct for seeking in poetry the formality of prose. A prose-writer would perhaps say 'who perished true to their names—Right-Famous and Right-Quarrelsome.' But among poets Aesch. at least would hardly have used so pleonastic an introductory expression as δῆτ' ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν. For him δῆτ' ὀρθῶς or δῆτα κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν at most would have sufficed. He might, for instance, have written οἱ...ἐτέως δὴ κλεινοὶ καὶ πολυνεκεῖς ὤλοντο. What he actually says is of ὤλοντο ('who perished, in the one case') ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν (viz.

Eteocles, 'true to his name,' *i.e.* with ἐτέον κλέος, as fighting for his country and his honour) καὶ ('and in the other case') πολυνεκεῖς (*i.e.* Polyneices, διὰ τὸ πολυνεκεῖς εἶναι). The only word which belongs equally to both persons and emphasises the fitness of the names is δῆτ'.

ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν. For ὀρθῶς in this connection cf. 392 (n.), Soph. *fr.* 880 ὀρθῶς δ' 'Οδυσσεύς εἰμ' ἐπώνυμος κακοῖς. For instances of similar etymological play on names see *Cho.* append. to v. 32, Paley, *Introd.* to Eur. Vol. 1. p. xxxii, Smyth on Bacchyl. 6 (3). 1, and add *e.g.* *Hymn. Arphr.* 198 τῷ δὲ καὶ Αἰνείας ὄνομ' ἔσσεται, οὐνεκά μ' αἰνὸν ἔσχευεν ἄχος.

817 sq. ὃ μέλαινα καὶ τελεία. At first sight the combination of adjectives appears strange, but τελεία, in its sense of 'completing' or 'completed,' involves that of 'unrelenting.' The Ἀρά is personified; hence μέλαινα (cf. 686 (n.) and *Kῆρες μέλαιναί* Mimmerm. 2. 5).

γένεος Οἰδίου τ': *i.e.* the curse which has attached itself to the race as a whole since the πρῶταρχος ἄτη (*Ag.* 1191), and which was renewed in the malison of Oedipus. So far as concerns the subject in Aesch. the reference is to the consequences of the δυσβουλία of Laius, but even the prohibition laid upon Laius was due to a previous ban upon the γένος. The schol. on Eur. *Phoen.* 1611 ἀρὰς παραλαβὼν (Οἰδίου) Λαῖον καὶ πατρὶ δούς relates that Laius had been cursed by Pelops for carrying off his son Chrysippus.

819 καρδίᾳ: either locat. or dat. incommodi.—καρδίαν of the later copies is the more common (*Suppl.* 384 φόβος μ' ἔχει φρένας, *Eum.* 88, Hom. *Il.* 23. 47 ἐμὲ...ἔξετ' ἄχος κραδίην, Hes. *Scut.* 41

ἔτευξα τύμβῳ μέλος
 Θυιάς αἵματοσταγαῖς
 νεκροὺς κλύουσα δυσφόρως
 θανόντας· ἧ δύσορρις ἄ-
 δε ξυναυλία δορός.

820

ἀντ.

ἔξέπραξεν, οὐδ' ἀπέειπεν
 πατρόθεν εὐκταία φάτις·
 βουλαὶ δ' ἄπιστοι Λαῖου διήρκεσαν.
 μέριμνα δ' ἀμφὶ πτόλιν
 θέσφατ' οὐκ ἀμβλύνεται.

825

μ'. δεινόν (for κακόν) Heimsoeth. †. **821** *υι* of θυιάς is written by μ' in an erasure. θυιάς ὡς rec. (ὡς being interpretative). *Θυιάς ἄτ', αὐτοσφαγεῖς would answer exactly to the antistrophe (829), but the syllable affected is of either quantity. (For -σφαγῆς

τοῖος γὰρ κραδίην πῶθος αἶνυτο ποιμένα λαῶν), but is scarcely therefore the more probable.

With κρύος of grief and fear cf. *Eum.* 161, *Ar. Ach.* 1101 στυγερὰ τὰδε κρνερά πάθεα, *Pind. P.* 4. 73 κρύβεν μάντευμα, *Batrachom.* 74 φόβον κρύβεντος, and the same metaph. in *Cho.* 82 κρυφαῖος πένθεσιν παχνομένη (n.), *Hom. Il.* 22. 452, *P. V.* 719 ψύχειν ψυχάν, with the contraries *ἰαίνειν*, *θάλλειν*. All κρύος is unpleasant, and the force of κακόν is to intensify—a κρύος of more than ordinary distress. τι should be noted. It is not merely κρύος τι, as if the met. were qualified by τι, but =κρύος περὶ τίνος; there is 'a certain matter' causing the chill. The meaning is brought out in what follows. There is a sense of guilt in their feeling.

820 sqq. ἔτευξα κ.τ.λ. It is perhaps natural to think of ἔτευξα as a virtual present (or 'timeless') after the pattern of ἐπῆνεσα, ἥσθη, ἐγέλασα (=ἥσθη), ξυνῆκα, ἔμαθον, ἠδεσάμην, ἐφριξ' ἔρωτι &c. But all these express feelings or attitudes of mind, and they have no analogy with ἔτευξα μέλος. In *Cho.* 422 ἔκοφα κομμὸν Ἄριον the tense is a true past. Moreover in v. 823 those who render δύσορρις ἄδε ξυναυλία κ.τ.λ. as 'ill-omened harmony (or symphony) of the spear'—whether it mean the equal combat of the brothers or (as Verrall takes it) the dirge which the Chorus is now to sing—do not give to δύσορρις any satisfactory value. The combat (or dirge) may be 'sad,' but why 'inauspicious'? As used to describe a fight ξυναυλία is surely a naively

incongruous term, and as used of a musical performance ξυναυλία δορός should mean music which accompanies fighting, not which follows it. The tense of ἔτευξα can only relate to the past, and the μέλος must be that of the last ode (707—776). This was sung while the fight was proceeding and was therefore ξυναυλία δορός, the latter word being stressed, since the αὐλός usually accompanies more peaceful actions. But it was an unfortunate and inauspicious theme to have chosen at such a time, the δυσφημία being a species of μαντεία κακῶν (793π.), and therefore it was δύσορρις. There is no difficulty in ἄδε, which = τοιάδε (for τοιαύτη).

The surface objection to this interpretation lies in the words αἵματοσταγαῖς ... κλύουσα θανόντας, and the mistaken rendering naturally arose from assuming that the singing does not occur till it is heard that the brothers are slain. But we may join the words closely to Θυιάς, 'in my frantic condition (in my Thyiad possession) hearing...' i.e. 'my frenzy made me hear' (prophetically).—τύμβῳ is emphatic, and the sense of the whole passage is 'The tune I made was a tune for the tomb, when in a Thyiad state I heard of blood-dripping corpses miserably slain. Verily such an accompaniment to a fight was inauspicious (and hence my shudder of self-reproach).'

[For the reading see crit. n.—Θυιάς ἄτ', αὐτοσφαγεῖς would help towards obviousness as well as produce exact metrical correspondence, but the metre is sound enough and the omission of ἄτ' is idiomatic.]

820 ἔτευξα τύμβῳ: i.e. not for some

I raised a song, when, as in frenzied vision, I heard of dead forms miserably slain, dripping with blood. Ill-omened it was for men to fight to music such as that!

The father's malison, once uttered, wrought its end un-^{anti-}wearying. In disobedience Laius chose, and his choosing has ^{strophe.}run the course. No care of country can make blunt the word of Heaven.

and -σταγῆς confused see MSS at *Pers.* 818.) θυιάς ὥς, αἰμοσταγείς Heimsoeth.
822 δυσφώρας M, δυσμώρας schol. and recc. ↓. δυσμόρους recc. **823** ἀ|δε M.
827 ἀπειστοι rec. ↓. ἀπιστοι, Λάι', οὐ Verrall. **828** The usual punctuation is
 πτόλιν· | θέσφατ' ↓. ἀμύνεται would be an easy suggestion for the metre, but is less

pleasurable διατριβή.—**ἔνευα** simply = ἐποιήσαμην: cf. Hom. *Od.* 1. 118 τεύχε βοήν, Pind. *P.* 1. 4 ὀπτόταν προσιμίων ἀμβολὰς τεύχης, *ibid.* 12. 19 τεύχε πάμ-φνονος μέλος.

821 Θυιάς: in frenzied inspiration. Cf. Eur. *H. F.* 1121 "Αἰδου βάκχος. The absence of ὥς makes the phrase more idiomatic: ἔνευα μέλος Θυιάς = ἡ οἷα Θυιάς τεύχουσα μέλος. Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 159 ὄνος ἄγω μυστήρια, Cephisod. (*Com. Frag.* II. 883) ἐγὼ δὲ τοῖς λόγους ὄνος ὕμαι. Cic. *de Or.* 2. 57 docebo sus oratorem. In αἰμοσταγείς we have once more a woman's dread of blood as the chief feature in the slaughter which she visualises (cf. 406 αἰματηφρόους).

822 δυσφώρας: i.e. in a manner distressing for us to bear. This is supported by *Cho.* 344—352, where it is wished that Agam. had died with glory and left a tomb δώμασιν εὐφώρητον. The moral aspect is added to the physical by this word as much as by δυσμόρους (i.e. fratricidal).

823 sq. δύσορρις: since δυσφημία induces an evil result.—ἀδε: 'this (of ours)'; practically = τοιάδε. Otherwise we may make ξυναυλία concrete (cf. ξυντέλεια 237, προσφθλεια 502): 'we were an ill-omened accompaniment.'

ξυναυλία. The αὐλός was played as the accompaniment to various operations, e.g. at weddings, banquets, theatrical performances, and doubtless during various peaceful ἀγῶνες. Here the song accompanied a bloody ἀγών, an ἀγὼν δόρός.

825 sq. ἐξέπραξεν οὐδ' ἀπέπειν κ.τ.λ. The words are an answer of one half-chorus to the self-reproach of the other. 'Our inauspicious μέλος is not the cause; the deed came through the relentless exaction of the debt by the

Curse of Oedipus and in consequence of the folly of Laius.'—ἐξέπραξεν: without obj. (e.g. τὸ χρέος): cf. 776 τελέσθι.—πατρόθεν belongs to the combined εὐκαταία φάτις (the ἀρά or εὐχή of 804), but in strict grammar is connected with the verbal notion in εὐκαταία. The fuller phrase is not merely a variation of εὐχή, but expresses more specifically 'the prayer, when once uttered.'

827 βουλαὶ δ' ἀπιστοι κ.τ.λ.: 'the unconvinced will of Laius has run its full course' (lit. 'has lasted out'), i.e. has gone on to its full and natural effects: cf. 787 κραίνων παλαιὰς Λαῖον δυσβουλίας (n.).—βουλαὶ ἀπιστοι=αἱ δι' ἀπιστίας δυσβουλίαί. Laius thought he knew better than the oracle. (ἀπιστος ἀπαράπειστος, ἀπειθής Hesych. from Soph. *Troilus.*) The sense is the same as that of ἀπειστοι 'not persuadable,' but there is probably no clear rule for the substitution of the latter form (cf. σιτιπτός, στείπτός and note on Ar. *Ran.* 505). We may perhaps be content to write ἀπειστοι when there would be ambiguity (as perhaps *inf.* 861).

828 sq. μέριμνα δ' ἀμφὶ πτόλιν θέσφατ' κ.τ.λ. The lines are generally punctuated otherwise (crit. n.), being regarded as separate sentences with emphatic asyndeton. The first then means 'I fear for the country' (a sort of premonition of the war of the Epigoni?). But this is very abrupt and could scarcely have conveyed an intelligible sense to the audience. By making ἀμβλύνεται causal middle we remove the difficulty: 'and care for the country does not cause divine utterances to lose their edge.' For such middles cf. 841 (n.), *Cho.* 567 τί δὴ πόλιν τὸν ἱκέτην ἀπείργεται | Διγισθος; *Eum.* 169 (ἐχράνατο), Eur. *H. F.* 168 τῶνδε τιμωροῦς...λιπέσθαι. The allusion is not to the conduct of Eteocles

ἰὼ πολύστονοι, τόδ' ἤρ-
γάσασθ' ἀπιστον; ἦλθε δ' αἰ-
ακτὰ πῆματ' οὐ λόγῳ;

τάδ' αὐτόδηλα, προῖπτος ἀγγέλου λόγος.
διπλὰ μερίμναι διδύμην ὄραν
κάκ' αὐτοφόνα δίμοιρα τέ-
λεα τά<δε> παρ' ἥ τί φῶ;
τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἥ πόνον πόνων
δόμων ἐφέστιοι;

ἀλλὰ γόων, ὦ φίλαι, κατ' οὖρον

expressive. **830** ἐργάσασθ', M without question-mark. Corr. *ed. ψ. For ἡ-
see Meisterhans² 135 sqq. **831** ἀπιστον Schütz, ἀελπτον Wecklein. **833** πρῶτος
M (presumably from πρῶτος), corr. m'. **834** sqq. διπλαῖν μερίμναι διδύμ' ἀνορέα |
κάκ' αὐτοφόνα, δίμοιρα τέ<δε>λεα τὰ πάθη· τί φῶ; M. διπλαῖ μερίμναι διδύμ' κ.τ.λ., m.,

alone, but to that of all the kings, Laius, Oedipus and Eteocles. All these were patriotic enough and watched the good of the country, but no amount of such μερίμνα will (ever) prevent oracles from finding effect with the same trenchancy. The pres. tense makes the remark one of general application.

830 sqq. τόδ' ἡργάσασθ' ἀπιστον; a rhetorical question, which is answered by 833 sqq., when the dead are seen approaching.—ἀπιστον is either proleptic or at least = ἀπιστον ὄν.—οὐ λόγῳ: ἄλλ' ἔργῳ (as in Thuc. 6. 18, Hdt. 5. 24). Cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 5 οἶδα δ' οὐ λόγῳ μαθῶν. More fully οὐ λόγῳ μόνον (Soph. *El.* 1453, *Aj.* 813), ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ (P. V. 352), ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ (P. V. 1114), οὐ λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐμφανῶς (*Ar. Nub.* 611). The λόγος consisted in the oracular warning and the curse of Oedipus, by which these πῆματα were foretold.

833 τάδ' αὐτόδηλα κ.τ.λ.: 'Yonder it is, self-evident; a messenger's news is foreseen,' i.e. there is no need of an ἄγγελος to announce what is approaching. The Chorus thus informs the audience of the coming procession (a παραχορήγημα). With the general treatment of the situation cf. the entrance of the corpse of Neoptolemus in Eur. *Andr.* 1166 sqq. and of the dead chieftains in Eur. *Suppl.* 794 sqq. (*ibid.* 1115 sqq.). An Athenian audience found a tragic pleasure in 'contemplating a funeral.'

834 sqq. The metre can hardly be determined. Hermann makes it iambic

(see crit. n.), and this has some probability, but is by no means certain. Neither can it be decided in what way the words here are to be distributed between members or halves of the Chorus. On the whole it seems best to ascribe them as in the text. The succession of short syllables is a feature of excitement: cf. the resolved dochmiacs in Soph. *O. T.* 1330 ὁ κακὰ κακὰ τελῶν ἐμὰ τὰδ' ἐμὰ πάθεα. The reading of M διπλαῖν μερίμναι διδύμ' ἀνορέα yields no meaning and the διδυμάνορα of recc. is very weak. διπλαῖ μερίμναι (of m) would mean 'double is the care' (for the two brothers). This might be followed by διδύμ' ἀνορέα κάκ' αὐτοφόνα 'twin sorrows of fratricide (wrought) through high courage' (thus putting the more favourable view of the struggle). But the uncertain tradition of the MSS and the peculiar accentuations in M point to the reading given in the text above: 'Here for us to see are the twofold ends—cruel, suicidal, fraught with double fate—of twin objects of care.'—κάκ' is the adj. and τέλεα the noun, the latter combining the meanings 'issues' (of their actions) and 'deaths' (τέλεα βίου: cf. Hdt. 1. 31 ἐν τέλει τοῦτω ἔσονται, Soph. *O. C.* 1720 τέλος βίου, Plat. *Legg.* 740 c τῶν τε ζώντων καὶ θούσων ἀν' ἡδὴ τέλος ἔχῃ).—*μερίμναι διδύμναι: the two princes, regarded as objects of care and grief (cf. μέλημα, μελέδημα, κῆδος applied to persons). Somewhat similarly Eur. *Suppl.* 896 ὡς τῶδ' ἀδελφῶ πλησίον μὰ φλογί, | δισσή μερίμνα μητρί,

Oh lamentable! have ye wreaked this thing passing belief?
Have woes so meet for groans come in very deed?

[*The bearers of the bodies of ETEOCLES and POLYNEICES
are seen approaching (from left).*]

Yon sight tells its own tale; it needs no harbinger. Here is
the end, plain to behold, of twin objects of our care—end cruel,
fraught with double doom by mutual slaying. What other can
I call it? What but griefs born of griefs homing at the
hearth?

Come, friends; down the full wind of sighs ply round your

διδυμάνορα recc. τάδε recc. Corr. *ed. (i.e. διδυμαινονραν and παρη). †. διπλαῖ
μέριμναι, διδυμ' ἀγανόρεα κακά, αὐτοφόνα διμοῖρα τέλεα τάδε πάθη Herm., ἀντιφώνα
Herwerden. I formerly thought of διπλαῖ μέριμναι· διδυμ' ἀνορέε' κάκ' αὐτοφόνα·
διμοῖρα τέλεα τάδε πάθη (assigning each clause to different speakers). 837 Paley
(after Robert.) omits πόνων, thus weakening the passage. 839 γόνον M, corr. recc.

κρυφθῆτον χθονί.—διμοῖρα: since the end
of each involved the end of the other in
'a double fate.'—τέλεα is subject to *πάρ',
not object to *δῶν: cf. *Pers.* 422 θά-
λασσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἦν ἰδεῖν. Hence the
nom. πόνον in the answer.

837 sq. τί δ' ἄλλο γ' κ.τ.λ. sc.
πάρεστιν ὄραν.—δ' in such (responding)
questions = 'nay' (French *mais*).—πόνον
πόνων: 'troubles, the children of troubles.'
Join in grammar δόμων ἐφέστιοι (Soph.
Aj. 796 σκηρῆς ὑπαυλος).

839 sqq. This highly figurative pas-
sage (cf. *Cho.* 32—36 (n.) and the passage
there quoted from *Ag.* 445 sqq.) is per-
fectly clear in meaning and construction,
the text being doubtful only at one point
(842), which does not affect either the
general interpretation or the syntax.
The Chorus metaphorically prepares to
aid in wafting or ferrying the spirits of
the dead brothers over the waters of
Acheron to the sunless land. The man-
ner of this will be by performing the
ritual of mourning, which consists in
lamentations and beatings of the hands
upon the head. The sighings of lament
are for the wind; the beating of the
hands is for the stroke of the oars; and
these together carry the boat with its
melancholy freight across the water. To
the Greek mind this sustained similitude
is made the easier by (1) the words ἐφέ-
σσει' and πύτυλος, each of which has a
special nautical application as well as the
wider use, (2) the accepted notion that
the dead are only admitted to Charon's
boat to make a speedy passage when they

are buried with due rites. While ponder-
ing this notion the Chorus fancies it sees
the boat departing across the water to the
sunless land, and there springs to its mind
a contrast of this boat—black-rigged and
melancholy—departing to 'Pluto's gloomy
reign,' with the ship which puts forth in
circumstances and with a destination so
different, viz. the mission-ship (θεωρίδα)
which proceeds with bright sails and in
festive trim to Delos. Delos is the
'bright' island (δῆλος, εὐδείελος), while
Hades is the 'dark' (αἰδής, αἰδηλος, ἀφα-
νής): Delos is the land of Apollo, while
Hades is a land ἀστειβῆς Ἀπόλλωνι;
Delos is therefore loved of the sun, while
Hades is ἀνήλιος. At Delos on these
festal days only the pure are welcomed,
to Hades (πάνδοκος) all classes are ad-
mitted; Delos is an island, Hades is a
χέρσος. Aesch. is thinking of the same
antithetic terms as those in Plut. *Mor.*
394 Α λέγεται γὰρ ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλων ὁ δὲ
Πλούτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν Δῆλιος ὁ δ' Αἰδυοεύς,
καὶ ὁ μὲν Φοῖβος ὁ δὲ Σκότιος. It should
also be observed that in the Delian θεωρίαι
there went a chorus to chant προσόδια,
and the Chorus here is thinking of such
a service as contrasted with the present
song of γόοι (Eur. *Suppl.* 976 αἰοδαί θ' ἄς
χρυσοκόμας Ἀπόλλων οὐκ ἐνδέχεται).

A chief mistake of interpretation has
lain in joining τὰν ἀστειβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι to
θεωρίδα instead of to χέρσων. With this
error rectified there remains no perplexity
except that of the reading in v. 842.
There M gives τὰν ἀστονον μελάγκρο-
κον ναύστολον θεωρίδα. It is obvious

ἐρέσσει' ἀμφὶ κρατὶ πόμπιμον χεροῖν
 πίτυλον, ὃς αἰὲν δι' Ἀχέροντ' ἀμείβεται
 τὰν ἄστολον μελάγκροκον θεωρίδα,
 τὰν ἄστιβῇ Ἀπόλλω-
 νι, τὰν ἀνάλιον

840

πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῇ τε χέρσον.

845

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤκουσ' αἶδ' ἐπὶ πρᾶγος
 πικρὸν Ἀντιγόνη τ' ἡδ' Ἰσμήνη,
 θρήνον ἀδελφοῦν· οὐκ ἀμφιβόλως

οὔρων M, corr. m'. 841

841 ἔτ in marg. M.

842 sq. τὰν ἄστονον μελάγκροκον |

ναῦστολον M, ἄστολον recc. Thom. Mag. (181, 102) quotes ναῦστολον μελάγκροκον θεωρίδα (and so Dind., with τὰν). The original ταναστολον appears to have been read variously as ταναστονον and ταῦναστολον. ↓. A possibility is *ἀνόστιμον or

that ἄστονον is impossible in sense, while ναῦστολον enfeebls the whole expression. Later MSS have the excellent ἄστολον for ἄστονον, and it is highly probable that ταναστονον and ταῦναστολον are both misreadings of ταναστολον, and that, of these, the ναῦστολον of one copy has become (from a marginal note) incorporated into a text containing ἄστονον. Thom. Mag. quotes the line with τὰν ναῦστολον μ. θ., and this bears out the above theory. [If this is not, as it would appear to be, the true explanation, we might suggest ἀμείβεται ἀνόστιμον. The sense would be that of an unusual kind of θεωρία, which does not bring back its passengers, since they have gone to *That undiscovered country from whose bourn | No traveller returns* (Hamlet. 3. 1. 79), across the *irremeabilis unda* (Verg. *Aen.* 6. 425) ἐς τὸν ἀνόστιπον χώρον...ἐνέρω (Anth. Pal. 7. 467). Hades is proverbially ἀδίαυλος (Eur. fr. 868), ἀνέξοδος, ὅθεν πάλιν οὐκέτι νόστος (Theoc. 17. 120). For the actual word in this connection cf. Eur. *H. F.* 430 τὰν δ' ἀνόστιμον τέκνων | Χάρωνος ἐπιμένει πλάτα | βίου κέλευθον.]

839 γόνω κατ' οὔρον: 'along (with) a full wind of sighs'; i.e. let our sighs be full and deep, forming an οὔρος to fill the sails. The notion of sighs as a 'windy suspiration' is not confined to Aeschylus, but is much played upon in Elizabethan conceits, e.g. Shak. *T. G. of Ver.* 2. 3 *If the wind were down, I could drive the boat with my sighs*, *Ant. and Cl.* 1. 2 *winds and waters, sighs and tears*, *R. and J.* 3. 5 *the winds, thy sighs*.

840 sq. ἐρέσσει'. The word is used

specially of rowing, but is applicable to any regular or measured motion. Cf. *Pers.* 1047 ἐρεσσ' ἐρεσσε καὶ στέναζε. Dionys. *arr.* Ath. 443 D κυλίκων ἐρέτας, Eur. *I. A.* 139 10' ἐρέσσων σὸν πόδα.

ἀμφὶ κρατὶ κ.τ.λ. Beating of head and breast was part of the funeral ceremonies. Cf. *Cho.* 424 ἀπρικτόπλακτα πολυπλάνατα δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν | ἐπασσυντεροτριβῇ τὰ χερὸς ὀρέγματα | ἄνωθεν ἀνέκαθεν, κτύπῳ δ' ἐπιρροεῖ | κρότητον ἄμῳν καὶ πανάθλιον κάρα, Eur. *Tro.* 788, *Phoen.* 1351, *Andr.* 1210.—πόμπιμον: 'rapid' or 'vigorous' (*sup.* 358): cf. Soph. *Tr.* 560 οὔτε πομπίμοις | κώπαις ἐρέσσων οὔτε λαίφεσιν νεύς.

χεροῖν πίτυλον. The gen. defines or identifies as in 64 κύμα στρατοῦ (n.). The usual πίτυλος is κωπών, but that application was not primary. With the present use cf. Hesych. πιτύλους· οἱ ἀλειπταὶ τὰς ἐν περιόδῳ καταβολὰς τῶν πληγῶν, Eur. *Tro.* 1235 ἄρασσε κράτα | πιτύλους διδοῦσα χεῖρας.

841 αἰὲν: i.e. the ritual is always required, or always used, to enable the vessel to cross.—ἀμείβεται is causal (cf. ἀμβλύνεται 829). So Pind. *N.* 3. 26 θυμέ, τίνα πρὸς ἄλλοδαπὰν | ἀκραν ἐμὸν πλὸν παραμείβεται; ('make to change its course').—δι' Ἀχέροντ': whereas the Delian θεωρία goes across the Aegean. The sense of ἀχος is realised in the word: cf. Melanipp. *fr.* 3 καλεῖται δ' ἐνὶ κόλποισι γαλὰς | ἄχρα <βροτ>οῖσι προχέων Ἀχέρων, Eur. *Alc.* 443 and context.

842 τὰν ἄστολον: 'the undecorated, undressed' (cf. στολή, στέλλεσθαι). Of the θεωρία to Delos Plato says (*Phaed.* 58 c) ἀρχὴ δ' ἐστὶ τῆς θεωρίας, ἐπειδὴν

heads that oar-stroke of your hands, whereby across the Acheron the unbedecked black-mantled mission-ship is ever borne into the land that Apollo may not tread, the sunless land, the land that welcomes all into the dark.

[The sisters, who have heard the news, appear (from the right).

Stay! yonder is come Antigone; Ismene too. Bitter their business—the deathsong of two brothers. In no questionable

(with change of metre) *τὰν ἄνοστον. ↓. μελάγκροκον ναῦν ἄστολον Sidgwick. νεκρόστολον Casaub. (to which a schol. might point), νεκρόστολον Blomf., ἀγαστόνον Weil. **844** ἀσπιβεῖ Μα. παιῶνι H. L. Ahrens. ↓. **845** Dobree ejects τὰν ἀνάλιον. ↓. **847** ἀχανῇ (Meineke) destroys the passage.

ὁ ἱερὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος στέψη τὴν πρῶμ-
ναν τοῦ πλοίου. Cf. Soph. Ph. 343 ἡλθὼν
με νηὶ ποικιλοστέλῳ μέτα ('with gaily-
decked prow' Jebb), Pind. P. 2. 62
εὐανθέα δ' ἀναβάσομαι στέλῳ. The dress-
ing was with flowers and probably with
bunting.

μελάγκροκον. κρέκειν (cf. κρόκη)=
'weave' (Eur. El. 542, Pind. O. 6. 16 φοι-
νικόκροκον ζῶαν). The 'black woof' here
is the mourning garb accompanying the
bier. On the Delian ship the sails would
be white and the garments festal. Cf.
Eur. Suppl. 97 κούραι δὲ καὶ πεπλώματ'
οὐ θεωρικά, Hec. 1105 τὸν ἐς Αἶδα | μελα-
νοχρῶτα πορθμόν, Leonidas in Anth. Pal.
7. 6 τοῦτ' Ἀχέροντος | ὕδωρ θς πλώεις πορθ-
μίδι κνανέη. Athenaeus (535 D) describes
how Alcibiades entered the Peiraeus
ἀλουργοῖς ἱστίοις.—θεωρίδα: see Plat.
Phaed. 58 A, B. [Some have under-
stood the word of a sacred road, after
one interpretation of Hesych. λέγουσι
δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν, δι' ἧς ἱασιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά,
θεωρίδα. But of course no such road
existed to Delos.]

843 sqq. τὰν ἀσπιβῇ Ἀπόλλωνι:
with χέρσον. The dat. Ἀπόλλωνι differs
from the gen. as 'not to be trodden
by Apollo' from 'untrodden by....' It
is a land which he may not tread. Cf.
Suppl. 570 ὕδωρ νόσοις ἀθικτον ('which
no disease may touch'). Delos is the
land of Apollo, who is also to Aesch.
the Sun-god (the notion to the contrary
is entirely mistaken; see notes to Cho.
984, Suppl. 186 (=218)). Yet ἀνάλιον
is not merely synonymous with, or ex-
planatory of, ἀσπιβῇ Ἀπόλλωνι. The
thought is that Hades is neither trodden
by Apollo as the god of health and
brightness, nor shone upon by him as the
Sun-god, whereas Delos is favoured in
both ways (cf. Hor. Od. 1. 14. 19 nitentes

Cycladas). The contrast between Delos
and Hades is elaborated in each of the
four epithets, as well as in χέρσον (opposed
to νῆσον; cf. χερσόνησος). The usual
interpretation of Δῆλος was naturally that
of 'clearly-seen,' the exact antithesis of
ἀφανῇ. Hades is αἰδηλος (Soph. Aj.
607), its πλάκες are ἄσκοποι (O. C. 1681):
cf. Hermesanax ar. Ath. 597 η ἐπλευσαν
δὲ κακὸν καὶ ἀπενυθέα χώρον. On the
other hand the Δῆλος of men is called by
the gods τηλέφαντος (Pind. fr. 87. 4) and
in the riddle (Ath. 455 D) ἐν φανέρα
γενόμεαν is to be interpreted ἐν Δῆλῳ. So
πάνδοκον is opposed to the purity main-
tained at Delos and the exclusion of dis-
ease and the dead from the island. Ha-
des is proverbially πάγκοινος (Soph. El.
137), παγκευθής (O. C. 1562), πανδοκεύς
(Lycoph. 655), πολυδέκτης, πολυδέγμων
(Hymn. Dem. 17). So Suppl. 163 τὸν
πολυξενώτατον | Ζῆνα τῶν κεκηκότων.

847 ἥκουσ' αἰδ'. The procession
has already entered; next the sisters,
who have heard the news, appear from
the other wing. As usual the new cha-
racters are introduced by name for the
benefit of the audience (cf. 6).—πράγος:
'business,' cf. 2 (n.).

849 θρήνον ἀδελφοῖν may either
explain πράγος πικρὸν, or may be joined
with the following ἦσαν, ἄλγος being in
apposition. The former is the simpler.
The 'bitterness' is brought out by the
stressed ἀδελφοῖν.

οὐκ ἀμφιβόλως: i.e. 'sincerely.' The
tragedians often make their characters
insist upon the sincerity of their funeral
lamentations. The professional ἡλεμ-
ίστριαι, when beating their heads and
breasts, tearing their hair &c., naturally
spared themselves; their groans and tears
were of course artificial: Hor. A. P. 431
ut qui conducti plorant in funere dicunt |

οἶμαί σφ' ἐρατῶν ἐκ βαθυκόλπων
στηθέων ἥσειν ἄλγος ἐπάξιον.

850

ἡμᾶς δὲ δίκη πρότερον φήμης
τὸν δυσκέλαδόν θ' ὕμνον Ἑρινύος
ἰαχεῖν Ἀίδα τ'
ἐχθρὸν παιᾶν' ἐπιμέλπειν.

855

ἰώ. δυσασαδελφώταται πασῶν ὅποσαι
στρόφον ἐσθήσιν περιβάλλονται,
κλαίω, στένομαι, καὶ δόλος οὐδεὶς
μὴ κ φρενὸς ὀρθῶς με λιγαίνειν.

854 sq. M writes the two lines as one. ἡχεῖν Elmsley, ἀχεῖν Lachmann. Ἀτδρ

et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo, Lucil. 22. 1, Juv. 13. 131 *nemo dolorem | fingit in hoc casu, vestem adducere summam | contentus, vexare oculos umore coacto: | ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia veris*. So (Ath. 259 E) the tyrants of Erythrae compel the citizens στερνοτυπεῖσθαι μετὰ βίας καὶ βοᾶν ὀξὺ καὶ μέγα. It is therefore necessary, where the grief is heartfelt, to assert the reality (*Khes*. 894 *ἰαλέμω αὐθυγενεῖ...σ' ὀλοφύρομαι*). Cf. 858 sq., 899 sqq., and see notes to *Cho*. 23—31. In *Soph. El*. 89 πολλὰς δ' ἀντήρεις ἦσθον | στέρνων πληγὰς αἰμασσομένων there is emphasis on the participle, 'the blows fetch blood.' The situation is clear in *Plut. Timol*. 39. 2 φωναὶ δὲ καὶ δάκρυα συγκεκραμένα τῷ μακαρισμῷ τοῦ τεθνηκότος οὐ τιμῆς ἀφοσίωσιν οὐδὲ λητουργίαν ἐκ προβουλεύματος, ἀλλὰ πόθον δίκαιον ἐπεδείκνυντο καὶ χάριν ἀληθινῆς εὐνοίας. [The sense 'in two tones,' i.e. differently for the two brothers, is difficult to get from the word and is not likely to have been in the mind of the Chorus.]

850 sq. ἐρατῶν ἐκ βαθυκόλπων στηθέων. The adjectives set the soft charms of the tender breasts in contrast with the bitter sighs which rend them.—*βαθύκολπος* and *βαθυζώνος* imply *ἀβρότης* (*Cho*. 168 n.), to which sorrow is so unfit. Cf. *Hom. Il*. 18. 339 *Δαρδανίδες βαθύκολποι | κλαῖσονται νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας δάκρυ χέουσαι*, *ibid.* 122 καὶ *τινα Τρωιάδων καὶ Δαρδανίδων βαθυκόλπων | ἀμφοτέρῃσιν χερσὶ παρειῶν ἀπαλάων | δάκρυ ὁμοξαμένην ἀδινὸν στοναχῆσαι ἐφείην*. Leaf remarks that 'κόλπος itself always indicates in Homer the breast itself (bare or clothed), not the loose bosom of the robe.' Deep bosoms are, however, thought of as going

with luxurious nurture, and the dress of the non-working classes would emphasise this point of charm. The word therefore often describes the Greek 'lady': cf. *Hom. Od*. 3. 154 *κτήματά τ' ἐντιθέμεσθα βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας* (as prizes), *Lycophronidas fr.* 1 *παρθένων | τῶν χρυσοφόρων οὐδὲ γυναικῶν βαθυκόλπων*. In [*Hes.*] *Scut*. 31 *ἱμεῖρων φιλότητος ἐνζώνοιο γυναικὸς the attractions of figure and the elegance of dress are considered together*. *Hesych.* explains *βαθυκόλπων* ἡρωίδων, ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους, and, though this is too precise, the feature may have been a racial characteristic of the feudal la of epic times, like her *ξανθότης*.

851 ἄλγος ἐπάξιον: i.e. worthy of the occasion and of their relationship. Cf. *Pers.* 549 *καγὼ δὲ μόνον τῶν οἰχομένων | αἶρω δοκίμους πολυπενθή*, *Cho*. 329 *γῶος ἐνδίκος*.

852 ἡμᾶς: emphatic.—*δίκη*: 'the right course' (in duty or etiquette). See 585 *δίκαιον* (n.).

πρότερον φήμης: 'before any utterance (of theirs).' This is part of the ritual. The words serve as an explanation of the prolonged silence of the sisters after appearing upon the scene. The Chorus will act like the *θρήνων* *ἐξαρχοί* in *Hom. Il*. 24. 720.

853 sqq. *τὸν δυσκέλαδον ὕμνον* Ἑρινύος κ.τ.λ. The qualification in adj. and gen. is of exactly the same kind as in *κῆμα χερσαῖον στρατοῦ* of v. 64 (n.). Here there are oxymora. 'It is the Erinyes who has achieved, and our hymn is hers—but one of bitter sound: it is Hades who is victor, and our paean is his—but one hateful to utter.' The demonst. *τὸν* = 'that (only too well known)....' In appraising *δυσκέλαδον ὕμνον* we must

way, methinks, will they give forth from their breasts, so lovely and deep of bosom, grief due and full.

But 'tis our part, ere word be uttered, to raise loud the dismal hymn of the Avenging Spirit, and to chant thereto the loathed paean of the Lord of Death.

Ah! ye least blest in your brothers of all women who bind their robes athwart the breast! I weep, I sigh; in all guileless truth 'tis from out my heart my shrill cry comes.

Victorius. **855** ἐχθρῶν M, corr. m'.

856 M prefixes τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ χοροῦ.

remember the common use of *κελαδεῖν* in celebrating glories, and of *ὕμνος* in connection with victories (*ὕμνος καλλίνικος*, *Ὀλυμπιονίκης*). The same point occurs in Eur. *Ion* 1090 *δυσκελᾶδοισιν* | ...*ἀεῖθε* ὕμνοις | *ἀμέτερα* λέχεα. With the oxymoron *Ἄϊδα παῖα* cf. *Ag.* 650 *παῖα τόνδ' Ἐρινύων*, *Cho.* 151 *παῖα τὸν θανόντος*, Eur. *Alc.* 424 *παῖα τῷ κάτωθεν...θεῷ*, Eur. *Tr.* 578 *παῖα... στενάγεις*. Strictly speaking *Ἄϊδας ὕμνεί διχα παίδων* (Eur. *I. T.* 182). [On the paean see Smyth *Gk. Mel. Poetry* pp. xxxvi sqq.]

ἐπιμέλπειν: i.e. ἐπὶ τῷ ὕμνῳ. They are to sing the words of the ὕμνος and then add the *παῖαν* of Hades, viz. cries of lamentation as a *παιανικὸν κέρρημα*.

856 sq. *δυσασελφότατα κ.τ.λ.* For the form of expression cf. 911 sq. Some treat the present passage as meaning no more than 'of all women,' others as 'of all maidens.' The objection to the latter is that there is no sign of the use of the *στρόφος* (or *στρόφιον*) being restricted to maidens. Nonius (p. 538. 7) indeed calls it in its Latin form *fascia brevis quae virginalem tumorem cohibet papillarum*, but this, even if it really implies a limitation, was not a limitation for the Athenians. In Ar. *Thesm.* 638 *χάλα ταχέως τὸ στρόφιον* (cf. *ibid.* 139, *Lys.* 931) married women are in question. The *στρόφιον* (the popular word), as distinguished from the *ζώνη*, was in particular a twisted band or sash round the bust under the breasts (Catull. 64. 65 *tereti strophio lactentes vincta papillas*). (That it is thought of as worn outside is clear from *περιβάλλονται*, since *περιβλήματα* are outer wear.) It appears however that at least the form *στρόφος* was used of any 'sash,' and it is only in direct opposition to *ζώνη* (*Suppl.* 466, Ar. *Thesm.* 255) that it specially belongs to the breast. See *Dict. Ant.* II. p. 720, Rich p. 625.

On the other hand it is quite unlike Aeschylus to use such a periphrasis for 'of all women.' He would have used some such natural expression as that in Eur. *Heracl.* 570 *τλημονεστάτην δὲ σὲ* | *πασῶν γυναικῶν εἶδον ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγώ*, or *Hipp.* 679 *κακοτυχεστάτα γυναικῶν ἐγώ*. We could defend the periphrasis only on the ground that it might be part of an old allusive phraseology of dirges and the like. But there is no evidence of this, and it seems more likely that the allusion is similar to that in *βαθυκόλπων* (850). The wearing of the *στρόφος* is probably part of the attire of ease and elegance, not of working-dress. She who *στρόφον περιβάλλεται* is the same who is *εὐζωνος*, *βαθύζωνος*, *καλλίζωνος* (Bacchyl. 5. 89).

858 sq. *κλαίω, στένομαι*: see 60 (n.), 643 (n.).

δόλος οὐδεὶς μὴ κ.τ.λ. It is true that *μὴ οὐ* is the more regular idiom after the negative, but the simple *μὴ* is very frequent. Cf. *Ag.* 1169 *οὐκ ἐπήρεσαν* | *τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν*, *P. V.* 1089 *τί γὰρ ἐλλείπει μὴ παραπαλεῖν*; *Soph. Aj.* 950 *οὐκ ἂν τάδ' ἔστη τῇδε μὴ θεῶν μέτα*, 96 *κούκ ἀπαρνοῦμαι τὸ μὴ*, *Phil.* 348 sq., *Tr.* 90, Eur. *Or.* 1033 *οὐχ οὖν τε μὴ στένειν κακά*. It is surely unscientific to substitute *μὴ οὐ* wherever synizesis would permit of it. Doubtless the copyists might sometimes omit *οὐ* (as in *Soph. Tr.* 622 where A has *τὸ μὴ οὐ* and rec. *τὸ μὴ*), but the copyists were capable of erring in the other direction. In *P. V.* 812 *οὐκ ἐναντιώσομαι* | *τὸ μὴ γεγωνεῖν* has *οὐ* superscript, and the same addition occurs *ibid.* 950, but it is impossible to say whether *οὐ* had been omitted or whether some reader is noting the usual combination. Fortunately the metre rejects *οὐ* in the present instance. [Under whatever name we classify this infin. (e.g. 'exegetic') it is equal in effect to *ὥστε μὴ...* and is in strict grammar the locat. of a verbal noun, i.e. 'in re-

στρ. α'.

ἰὼ ἰὼ δύσφρονες,
 φίλων ἄπειστοι καὶ κακῶν ἀτρυμονες,
 δόμους πατρώους ἐλόν-
 τες μέλαιοι σὺν ἀλκᾷ.

860

μέλαιοι δῆθ', οἱ μελέους θανάτους
 εὗροντο δόμων ἐπὶ λύμα.

865

ἀντ. α'.

ἰὼ ἰὼ δωμάτων
 ἐρειψίτοιχοι καὶ πικρὰς μοναρχίας
 ἰδόντες, ἤδη διήλ-
 λαχθε σὺν σιδάρῳ.

κάρτα δ' ἀλαθῇ πατὴρ Οἰδιπόδα
 πόντι' Ἐρινὺς ἐπέκρανευ.

870

860—940 The parts are marked in M sometimes with the paragraphus (viz. at 860, 864, 866, 878, 879, 880, 883, 895, 899, 910), sometimes with the indication of the person, viz. for Χο. at 900, 923, Ἡμυχ. at 906, 12. at 917, 933, ΑΝ. at 929. At 860, 864 the sign for Ἡμυχ. comes from m, and at 895, 896, 898 the signs have been erased. It is impossible to tell upon what evidence the ascriptions are based, but they manifestly lack probability or adequacy. Any modern division must rest on subjective grounds. In view of the necessary uncertainty, and to avoid confusion, the present text leaves much of the distribution an open question. It has seemed sufficient to indicate the change of speaker without further identification. For

spect of my not lamenting.'] For the sentiment cf. 849 οὐκ ἀμφιβόλως (n.).

Λιγαίνειν. The cry of lamentation, as of intense feeling, was shrill. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 19. 5 κλαίοντα λιγέως, *ibid.* 284 λιγ' ἐκώκυε. So 1014 ὀξύμολπος, Soph. *Aj.* 630 ὀξύτῳ φῶδας θρηνήσει, *Cho.* 818 (n.).

861 φίλων ἄπειστοι κ.τ.λ. The gen. follows privative compounds not only when it is fundamentally partitive (as in ἄσκειος ἀσπίδων, ἀμυγῆς ὕδατος, μνηῶν ἀνῆριθμος &c.), but (from the analogy of these) when the adj. is verbal and the gen. stands for either the object of the active verb (as in *P. V.* 432 μάχας ἀτρεστοί=οὐ τρέουσαι μάχην, Soph. *Tr.* 23 ἀταρβῆς τῆς θέας=οὐ ταρβῶν τὴν θέαν) or the subject of the passive (e.g. Soph. *Ph.* 867 ἐλπιδὼν ἄπιστον, 'not credited by my hopes,' *Ant.* 1034 μαντικῆς ἀπρακτος, Bacchyl. *fr.* 60 ἀδματες νόσων, Eur. *Hipp.* 949 κακῶν ἀκήρατος). Here φίλων ἄπειστοι=οὐ πεπεισμένοι ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, while κακῶν ἀτρυμονες may either be (1) οὐ τετρυνόμενοι ὑπὸ κακῶν ('never wearied by troubles'= 'ever ready for more': cf. *Il.* 20. 2 μάχης ἀκώρητον), or (2) 'inexhaustible in (creating) troubles' (the gen. being really partitive). ἀτρυτος

is applied to πόνος (Pind. *P.* 4. 178) and κακόν (Soph. *Aj.* 788) in the sense of 'unfailing,' and one who is 'unfailing' in creating troubles may very well be called κακῶν ἀτρυμων. [Hesych. ἀτρυμονος· πολύπονος.] There is a deliberate antithesis of φίλων) (κακῶν.

862 sq. δόμους πατρώους κ.τ.λ.: i.e. 'what their prowess has caught is the house of their fathers.' There is a play upon the senses of words.—ἐλόντες = (a) 'obtain,' (b) 'overcome' (as in αἰρεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους, and in the legal use). So *Suppl.* 794 (n.) πατὴρ σκοπαὶ δ' ἐμ' εἶλον ('and it is I that my father's watchings have caught'). The surface meaning here is 'get possession of their father's house (and substance, 635 (n)).' The underlying sense is 'overthrow (πορθήσαντες schol.) the house of their fathers,' viz. by slaying each other and leaving the house childless (813).—μέλαιοι is aptly placed in the midst of the phrase ἐλόντες σὺν ἀλκᾷ. 'They showed prowess—a misguided prowess.'

ἀλκῇ is quite sound. Cf. *Cho.* 236 ἀλκῇ πεποιθὼς δῶμ' ἀνακτῆσθαι πατρός, Eur. *Phoen.* 421 ('fight'), and even κύματος ἀλκῇ (poet *ap.* Plut. *Mor.* 818 A).—μέλαιοι is disyll., as *inf.* 929.

(A) Ah, ye perverse, to friends so stubborn, in mischiefs so^{1st} weariless, whose prowess hath o'ercome—the pity of it!—your^{strophe.} father's house.

(B) The pity in truth! 'Twas to ruin their house that they won themselves a pitiable death.

(A) Alas! Ah ye, who beat down walls—the walls of^{1st anti-} your own house: who gat sole sway—and gat it to your sorrow!^{strophe.}—your quarrels are here ended with help of steel.

(B) Yea, right true is the fulfilment of the great Vengeful Spirit of Oedipus their sire.

various arrangements see Wecklein (Appendix). **861** ἀπιστοι M, ἀπειστοι Hartung.

862 πατρώους δόμους, corr. Schütz.

863 ἀλκαῖ M, γρ. αἰχμαῖ m (which many editors unfortunately adopt). ↓.

865 εὔροντο M. The augment is not demanded in lyric anapaests.

867 ἐρριψίτοιχοι M, ἐρριψίτοιχοι m'. Corr. recc. **868** ἰδόντες, τί δὲ Lachmann (see str. 862). The schol. (q.v.) may point to the dual *ἰδόντ', ἴση δὴ. Transcribers often altered the unfamiliar dual (see MSS at Soph. *Phil.* 533, *Ar. Av.* 36, 43, 44, 97, *Eq.* 71, *Xen. Mem.* 1. 2. 24, *Ath.* 180 D).

869 Following this line there is an interpol. οὐκ ἔτ' ἐπὶ φιλία, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ φόνῳ διεκρίθητε (ejected by Triclinius). This might suggest that the original of M was a copy with some few scholia already written between the lines, and that the copyist of M read one such schol. as part of the text itself.

870 ἀληθῆ M. ἀληθῆς Schütz. καταρὰς δὴθ' ἡ

864 sq. μέλει δὴθ', οὐ κ.τ.λ. μέλει had conveyed the moral sense of 'misguided,' 'foolish' (see 804 n.). The reply plays upon that meaning and the more common one of 'wretched' (μελέους θανάτους). The plur. θανάτους is not used simply because there were two to die, whose deaths are considered separately. Rather as in Soph. *El.* 205 τοὺς ἐμὸς ἰδε πατήρ | θανάτους αἰκεῖς, *ibid.* 778 ἐγκαλῶν δέ μοι | φόνους πατρώους, the plur. is allusive. The use is frequent in the case of 'death' and its synonyms, where the exact English would be 'sort of death,' 'process (or operations) of slaying,'—εὔροντο: 'won for themselves' (*P. V.* 283).

δόμων ἐπὶ λύμῃ: (1) 'the ruin of the house' (repeating the notion of 862) is put sarcastically as if it were the aim of the struggle. It was the sure result, and they seemed to be bent upon it. Cf. *Hdt.* 2. 121 τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμῃ πάντων ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιάς παρηίδας: or (2) 'over and above the ruin of the house.' The latter is distinctly less vigorous.

866 sq. δωμάτων: not only takes up δόμων but is needed to limit and define ἐρριψίτοιχοι (see 64 n.). The cognates of that word are generally used in compliment upon might and prowess in breaking down the walls of towns by siege as conquerors. In this instance they are only ἐρριψίτοιχοι of their house.

For the word cf. *Bacchyl.* 5. 56 ἐρεψι-πύλαν | παῖδ' ἀνίκατον... Διός. In the same writer 12 (13). 134 Ἀλακιδᾶς ἐρεψίτοιχοις is one suggestion for filling the gap, but, since τοῖχος is the wall of a house and not of a city, perhaps ἐρεψί[πύργοις] may be more approved. The plurals are allusive, ἐρριψίτοιχοι referring to Polyneices, who was seeking to break down the walls of Thebes, while πικρὰς μοναρχίας ἰδόντες refers to Eteocles, who had grasped μοναρχία (instead of dividing with his brother) and had done so to his cost (πικρὰς). With πικρὰς cf. *Hom. Od.* 17. 448 μὴ τάχα πικρὴν Ἀλγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἴκηαι, *Pers.* 476 πικρὰν δὲ παῖς ἐμὸς τιμωρίαν | κλειῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἦρε, *Eur. Bacch.* 357 ὥς ἂν... | θάνῃ πικρὰν βάκχευσιν ἐν Θήβαις ἰδών, *Eubul. ar.* *Ath.* 25 ε πικρὰν στρατείαν δ' εἶδον, *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 373 &c. Similarly *Od.* 1. 266 πικρογάμοι (context).

868 sq. ἦδη διήλλαχθε: 'your quarrels are ended here.' The words σὺν σιδάρω come with stress and the tone of a παρὰ προσδοκίαν '—(yes), with the steel.'

870 sq. κάρτα δ' ἀλαθῆ κ.τ.λ. The sense runs on with the preceding words: 'and so your father's curse has proved true.'—πατρός belongs either to ἀλαθῆ or to Ἐρινός, but 'the Erinyes of your father has accomplished the very truth'

στρ. β'.

δι' εὐωνύμων τετυμμένοι,
 τετυμμένοι δῆθ', ὁμο-
 σπλάγχχνων τε πλευρωμάτων
 ○○○○○○ —

αἰαῖ δαιμόνιοι,
 αἰαῖ δ' ἀντιφόνων
 θανάτων ἀραί.

875

διανταίαν λέγεις δόμοισι καὶ
 σώμασιν πεπλαγμένους
 ἀναυδάτω μένει
 ἀραίῳ τ' ἐκ πατρὸς
 <οὔ> διχόφρονι πότμῳ.

880

ἀντ. β'.

διήκει δὲ καὶ πόλιν στόνος,
 στένουσι πύργοι, στένει
 πέδον φίλανδρον· μένει

885

Weckl. (after Burgard). †. τὰ πρὸς Οἰδιπύδα Francken.
 ὁμοσπύρων Heinsoeth. †. The division of M is τετυμμένοι δῆθ', | ὁμοσπλάγχχνων, but
 for some evidence of a truer division see 896. Lachmann first marked a lacuna after

873 sq. δῆτα M.

(which she foretold in dreams; cf. 709 n.) is more natural than 'the Erinys has accomplished right truthful (words or prophecies) of your father.'—πότνι': see 963 (n.), Soph. *O. C.* 84 πότνιαι δεινῶπες. Originally the title was one of respectful propitiation applied to a dread power: 'lady.'

873 δι' εὐωνύμων: the side which would naturally be pierced by the spear in the enemy's right hand. Not only is it the side of the heart, but there is also an implied antithesis to the usual manner of reconciliation, viz. διὰ δεξιῶν. It is a reconciliation not διὰ δεξιῶν (and χειρῶν) but (with a different force of διὰ) δι' εὐωνύμων (and πλευρωμάτων). Also they are not reconciled ἀπασσάμενοι but τετυμμένοι.

873 sq. τετυμμένοι δῆθ': 'smitten indeed!' is a cry called forth by the sight of the actual wounds. τετυμμένοι seems to the speakers almost too weak. The words may either be given to other speakers or may be a repetition in the emphasis of horror.

ὁμοσπλάγχχνων τε πλευρωμάτων: 'sides born of the same parent.' Cf. 1022 δεινὸν τὸ κοινὸν σπλάγχχνον οὐ πεφύκαμεν, Soph. *Ant.* 511, 1066, Hom. *Il.* 24. 47 κασιγνήτων ὁμογάστριον. If εὐωνύμων

is to be taken as adj. with πλευρωμάτων the τε is difficult. It can scarcely serve as a connective between the two epithets, which have no kinship of meaning. It is better to regard εὐωνύμων as substantive (cf. ἐπ' ἀριστερά, πρὸς δεξιὰ &c.), the τε-clause being exegetic: 'yes, through those sides &c.' [Yet, as a line was apparently lost here, we cannot be sure of the exact sequence of grammar.]

875 sqq. αἰαῖ δαιμόνιοι is answered by αἰαῖ δ'...ἀραί and we have two aspects or causes of the deed. The blame lies partly on their own frenzy, partly on the curses invoking this mutual slaying (cf. 773 sq.). It appears therefore necessary to assume different speakers. For the plur. θανάτων see 864 (n.). The gen. is objective, representing ἀρᾶσθαι (τινι) θανάτους.

878 sq. διανταίαν...πεπλαγμένους. The manifest interpolations of the MSS (crit. n.) are easy to explain. πλῆγαν speaks for itself. ἐννέπω was also written because some reader imagined λέγεις to be provided with an accus. διανταίαν, but sought a verb to govern πεπλαγμένους. Since however a reader so unready with idiom must have been of somewhat late date, it would at first sight appear as if ἐννέπω would hardly be the kind of

(A) Smitten through the left—Smitten indeed! through ^{2nd} sides from the selfsame loins! Alas! their frenzy! ^{strophe.}

(B) Alas the curse that doomed a mutual death!

(A) Aye, with home-thrust to house and body were they smitten, through rage too dire for words—

(B) And through impartial doom brought by a father's curse.

(A) Through the land too hath gone the pang of mourning. ^{2nd anti-} The stronghold groans, and the soil that loves its men. ^{strophe.}

this line, to answer to v. 886.

878 sq. *διανταλαν λέγει σπληγάν | δώμοισι καὶ σώμασιν | πεπλαγμένους ἐνέπω* M^a (λέγεις πλαγάν m, δώμοισι M, ἐννέπω m). The manifest glosses *πλαγάν* and *ἐννέπω* were removed by Elmsley. ↓. **882** <οὐ> add. Wecklein. The loss is not rare: cf. Stob. *Ecl.* 185. 19 <οὐ> τοῦ δοκεῖν μοι, τῆς δ' ἀληθείας μέλει (Gaisford). <σὺν> *διχόφροσι* Hermann. **885** *μενεῖ* M (with

word which he would supply. Yet in Soph. *El.* 676 precisely this interpolation has occurred (in A) through a gloss which appears as such in L. With *διανταλαν* cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1307 τί μ' οὐκ ἀνταλαν ἐπαίσεν τις;

δίομοισι καὶ σώμασιν: dat. incomm. (or of reference) with *διανταλαν*: 'a blow which goes right home to....' *σώμασιν* might indeed have been the loc. (or the instrumental) dat. which is interchangeable with the accus. of respect (e.g. Eur. *Ph.* 683 *σώμασιν παρειμέναι*, Herond. 3. 32 γέρον ἀνὴρ ὥσιν τε κόμμασιν κάμνων, *Cho.* 510), but *δίομοισι* must stand on another footing.

880 sqq. *ἀναυδάτω μένει κ.τ.λ.*: 'through unspeakable (=wicked) temper.' This is followed (cf. 875 sqq.) by another view, 'and through the fate brought on by their father's curse.'

διχόφροσι of MSS, apart from the metrical question, makes no reasonable sense.—<οὐ> *διχόφροσι*='treating both alike' (cf. *ἀντιφρόνων* 876).

883 sqq. *καὶ πόλιν*. After speaking of the brothers themselves and their house (*δίομοισι καὶ σώμασιν*) the Chorus turns to the effect on the realm.—*διήκει* takes up *διανταλαν*. It might seem that the *πόλις* as a whole is first said to mourn, and then the *στένος* is divided between the walled town (*πύργοι*) of Thebes and the country. But for this *πέδιον* would be required, not *πέδον*. The line in the strophe has a spondee corresponding to *πέδον*, and it is not impossible that we should read *πέδιον*, which would supply the above antithesis (cf. 257, where the *πολισσοῦχοι* are divided into *πεδιονόμοι*

and *ἀγορᾶς ἐπίσκοποι*). *πέδον*, however, is more comprehensive ('soil,' Soph. *O. C.* 380 τὸ Καδμείων πέδον, *Ph.* 69 τὸ Δαρδάνου πέδον) and the antithesis is between the built town and the native soil of the whole *πόλις* underlying all, ἡ Καδμεία γῆ.

φίλανδρον. A country loves population and especially one of (brave) men. Its greatest misfortune is to be *κένανδρος* (*Pers.* 122, 732 Σούσων μὲν ἄστυ πᾶν *κενανδρίαν στένει*) or *ἀνδρῶν χηρωθῆναι* (Solon *fr.* 25. 26, Hdt. 6. 83). Destitute of any prince the land is a widow who has just lost her beloved spouse.

885 sq. *μένει κ.τ.λ.*: see crit. n. A direct reference to the Epigoni is manifestly out of place. The Chorus cannot be specifically prophetic, and though a general utterance might prove to be a prophecy, it is clear that Aesch. thinks of no issue left by the brothers (see 813 *ἀτέκνους*). *ἐπιγόνους* has a more natural sense. The word is not the Greek for 'sons' or 'children' (*ἐκγονοί*), but *ἐπι-* in compounds has a force of 'after,' 'in addition' which is relative to the context. *ἐπίγονοι* are born 'in addition to' or 'after' the natural heirs (cf. Plat. *Legg.* 740 c), or (like *agnati*) those who are birth-connections (collateral) standing in the next relation to such heirs. Here they are the new successors (whoever they may prove to be) to whom the possessions will now pass. There is no heir apparent (the sisters not being regarded), and the *ἐπίγονοι* will now come in. Cf. the use of the word in Diodorus 1. 3.—*κενά*: 'without an owner' (lit. 'unoccupied': cf. the

κενὰ τὰδ' ἐπιγόνους,
δι' ὧν αἰνομόροις—
δι' ὧν νεῖκος ἔβα
θανάτου τέλος.

ἐμοιράσαντο δ' ὀξυκάρδιοι
κτάμαθ', ὥστ' ἴσον λαχεῖν·
διαλλακτῆρι δ' οὐκ
ἀμεμφεῖα φίλοις,
οὐδ' ἐπίχαρις Ἄρης.

στρ. γ'.

σιδαρόπλακτοι μὲν ᾧδ' ἔχουσιν,
σιδαρόπλακτοι δὲ τοὺς μένουσι
λαχαὶ πατρώων—τίνες;
τάχ' ἂν τις εἴποι—τάφων.

ὁδ' ἐμῶν μάλ' ἀχέτας τοὺς

the next line).

886 κτέανά τ' M. Corr. *ed. κτέανα τὰδ' Weil. Some (with C. G. Haupt) omit the line, assuming no lacuna at 874. **889** καὶ θανάτου M, corr. C. G. Haupt. †. **891** κτήμαθ' M. ὥσθ' M (τ superscr. m). ἴσον M. Apparently there was some notion of ὥσθ' ἦσσαν (for the corruption see Ar. Pol. 1307 a 18 ἦττον

frequent use of *bona vacantia* and of *vacuus*, e.g. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 9. 26 *praedia vacua*), glancing also at the sense 'bereaved' (e.g. Bion 1. 55 *χήρα δ' ἅ Κυθήρηα, κενοὶ δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' Ἔρωτες*).

887 sq. The repeated δι' ὧν shows that different speakers are concerned. The gen. (instead of δι' ἃ) regards the motive as an agency rather than as an object. See Kühner-Gerth 1. p. 485 (Anm.).

888 sq. νεῖκος ἔβα θανάτου τέλος: 'the quarrel went on to an issue which was—death.'—καὶ was interpolated by a reader who did not understand the construction of τέλος, for which cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 526 ἐμὴν ἀρσένα τάνδε βᾶθι νηδύν, *Hipp.* 1371 καὶ νῦν ὀδύνα μ' ὀδύνα βάλνει, *fr.* 1011 τί χρέος ἔβα δῶμα; (burlesqued by Aristoph. *Nub.* 30).

890 sq. ὀξυκάρδιοι: stressed. They were sharply determined to get their full rights. Legally exact division would be made ὀξεὶ νόφ (intelligence), but in this case there was a sharpness in the temper and feeling.—ἴσον. The rule of Athenian division of an inheritance was that of *ισομοιρία* between sons, and, though primogeniture must determine succession to the throne, yet where sons were twins (as apparently in this case), there might be a sharp dispute and a claim for equality even in that respect.

892 sqq. διαλλακτῆρι δ' οὐκ κ.τ.λ. The division has in truth been equal, but it has not been natural nor kindly. The διαλλακτῆρ (χρηματοδαίτης 716, νεικέων 924) has indeed been πικρός the ὠμόφρων σίδaros. He has deprived them of their proper inheritance, assigning to each only enough land to be buried in (718). So the Ἄρης, who is the same arbitrator under another name (regarded as the destructive power which directed the sword), has been πικρὸς χρημάτων κακὸς δατητής (926 sq.). Hence the 'friends' (on either side) blame the arbitrator for the cruelty of his decision and Ares for the same temper. Ares and the sword have been impartial, but they have not been just; they have treated both alike, but both cruelly. This sense is so clear that it is surprising to find editors emending the text.—φίλοις: 'in the eyes of their friends.'—ἀμεμφεῖα: cf. 389, 672, 811 and Ionic forms like ἀληθειή, ἐπιπειθειή (Semon. 1. 6).

οὐδ' ἐπίχαρις Ἄρης: 'nor did Ares come (or act) in welcome fashion.'

896 sqq. τοὺς=αὐτοὺς: 372 (n.). The order of the MSS τάχ' ἂν τις εἴποι, τίνες; τάφων πατρώων λαχαί is surely absurd. How would anyone be likely to ask τίνες; before the speaker had attached

890

895

Ownerless, waiting new heirs, are these possessions, through which, for these cruelly slain—

(B) Through which the quarrel went to its end—in death!

(A) With keen hearts, jealous for equal share, did they divide their substance. Not blameless do their friends hold him who made the peace—

(B) Nay, the Wargod earns no thanks.

(A) By blows of iron are they brought to this; and by ^{3rd} blows of iron there awaiteth them the parting of that which ^{strophe.} was their sire's—'What parting?' is it said?—of their sire's tomb.

(B) Right loud this dirge of ours that thus attends them,

ἔχοντες (Rb) for ἴσον (cett.) and Ath. 410E ἰσοῦσθαι (i.e. ἡσοῦσθαι) for the ἑσοῦσθαι of Herodotus). 892 δ' οὖν for δ' οὐκ Wecklein. ↓. 893 ἀμεμφία M, corr.

Hermann. ↓. (Cf. *Suppl.* 38 πατραδελφίαν M for -εian Pauw.) 895 σιδηρόπλακτοι M, corr. Robortello. 896 After this verse M interpolates τετυμμένοι δὴθ' ὁμοῦ,

the eye having wandered to τετυμμένοι δὴθ' ὁμο- of 873. Om. recce. 897 sq. M

has the order τάχ' ἂν τις εἴποι, τίνας; | τάφων πατρῶν λαχαί. Corr. *ed. ↓. 899 δόμων μάλ' ἀχέσσα τοὺς προπέμπει | M. μάλ' ἀχῶ (ἀχήν) ἐς (ἐπ') αὐτοὺς recce.

The error arose through ἀχέσας. Corr. *ed. ↓. See schol. and antistr. 910. δεινὰν for δόμων Brunck, δόμων μάλ' ἀχὰν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Hermann, μάλ' ἀχέσας ἰὰ δόμων τοὺς

any noun to σιδαρόπλακτοι? The play upon the meanings of λαχαί is also destroyed. That there was something with the eye of the copyist at this is clear from the interpolation recorded in cr. n. If the expression σιδαρόπλακτοι μένουσι λαχαί had occurred it would be natural enough for another to ask τίνας; 'what sort of σιδ. λαχαί do you mean?', and then the answer would come "λαχαί in the sense of 'digging,' the digging of a tomb (λαχαί τάφων), not in the sense 'apportionings' of property (λαχαί κτημάτων)." But to make this effective it is obvious that πατρῶν should precede τάφων. The words λαχαί πατρῶν are intentionally ambiguous: the deciding, or 'surprise,' word is given in τάφων. λαχαί πατρῶν would first suggest a division of τὰ πατῶα: the addition of τάφων suddenly converts πατρῶν into an adjective and startlingly changes the meaning of λαχαί. [The confusion was probably due, in part at least, to the similarity of λαχαί and τάχ' ἂν at the beginnings of the lines.] λαχή or λάχη (but cf. λαβή, ἀφή) = λῆξις (Hesych.), but the same word is connected with λαχαίνω and the schol. here says αἱ σκαφαί· τὸ φυτὸν ἀμφελάχαινε (*Od.* 24. 241).

σιδαρόπλακτοι: the 'blows with the

iron' prove to be those of the δίκελλα or other instruments which open the family tomb for a new occupant. Cf. *Soph. Ant.* 249 οὔτε του γενῆδος ἦν | πληγμ', οὐ δίκελλης ἐκβολή. The brothers will not σιδήρῳ διαλαγχάνειν τὰ πατῶα κτήματα but σιδήρῳ διαλαχαίνειν τοὺς πατῶους τάφους.

899 The metre of M cannot be related to that of the antistrophe, which has every appearance of being sound. There are also manifest objections to the words as they stand in M. In δόμων there is no point. It is not the abl. gen. of the place from which the bodies are brought (i.e. δόμων προπέμπει), since they come from the city gate. Nor does it suit any description of the Chorus, who are not women of the house. There is also nothing to agree with the fem. ἀχέσσα. The first syllable of the line being of either quantity we may read *δδ' ἄμων. The appearance of ἀχέσσα is due to ἀχέσας glossed by ἀχέσις. This was followed by αὐτοὺς as a gloss upon τοὺς, and the total gloss αχαιοαντοὺς caused the confusion of the text. The Chorus is once more emphasising the genuineness of its own manifestations of grief (849 n., 858 sq.). In ἀχέσας the ἡχώ is that both of the voice and of the κτύπος (Eur. *Suppl.* 72 ἀχοῦσιν προπάλων χέρες).

προπέμπει δαϊκτῆρ γόος αὐ-
τόστονος αὐτοπήμων,
δαϊόφρων δ' οὐ φιλογαθῆς, ἐτύμως
δακρυχέων δ' ἐκ φρενός, ἃ
κλαιομένας μου μινύθει
τοῖνδε δογῖν ἀνάκτοιν.

900

ἀντ. γ'.

πάρεστιν εἰπεῖν ἐπ' ἀθλίουσιν
ὥς ἐρξάτην πολλὰ μὲν πολίτας
ξένων τε πάντων στίχας
πολυφθόρους ἐν δαί.

905

δυσδαίμων σφιν ἃ τεκοῦσα
πρὸ πασᾶν γυναικῶν ὀπόσαι
τεκνογόνοι κέκληνται.
παῖδα τὸν αὐτὰς πόσιν αὐτᾷ θεμένα

910

Westphal. 900 sq. M divides with αὐτό|στονος. 902 δαίφρων M^a, δαίφρων M.
Corr. Blomfield. δ' οὐ M, οὐ Ald. †. 903 δ' ἐκ M, δ' om. rec. †. 905 δοιοῖν
M, corr. recc. (τοῖν διδοῦμαι is possible.) 906 sq. M divides with ἐπ' ἀ|θλίουσιν

900 sq. δαϊκτῆρ: 'rending' the heart or breast. Cf. *Suppl.* 806 δαϊκτορος γάμου (which is βία καρδίας), Shak. *Hamlet*. 3. 4. 153, and schol. We should not take it of the rending of the cheeks (*Cho.* 24 &c.). —αὐτόστονος. The sigh (1) 'comes of itself,' and not factitiously (cf. αὐτοδαῆς, αὐτόνομος, αὐτοδίδακτος), and (2) is 'its very self,' i.e. no counterfeit (cf. αὐτοπρόσωπος and the philosophical αὐτοάνθρωπος &c.). The two senses run into each other, 'spontaneous and genuine.'

902 sq. δαϊόφρων. The primary sense of δαίος implied here is plainly that of misery (*Pers.* 283 ἀποτομν βοᾶν | δυσαιανῇ Πέρσας | δαίοις, *Soph.* *Aj.* 784 ὦ δαῖτα Τέκμησσα, δύσμορον γένος), though it is highly probable that, using it so near to δαϊκτῆρ, the poet had the feeling of a relationship with δαῖζω. The lament δαῖζει τὴν φρένα in the physical sense of φρήν (for which cf. *Eum.* 158 and the next line here). It is not to be supposed that differences of meaning as tabulated in our dictionaries were consciously realised by Greek writers with every use of a word, and the sense of 'cruel' is superadded to that of 'wretched.' So *Bacchyl.* 5. 137 δαίφρων | μάτηρ κακόποτος ἐμοί | βούλευσεν ὀλεθρον. The appearance of δ' is explained only by breaking up the clauses between different speakers.

οὐ φιλογαθῆς. An enforced lament,

e.g. of a detested master or ruler, might be a performance of joy. The γόος in itself is but a ceremony.—φιλο- livelier than πολυ- (163 n.).

Ἐν ἐτύμως δακρυχέων δ' κ.τ.λ. This title makes antithesis to φιλογαθῆς. tears come truly from the heart and not merely from the eyes ('deep in heart-wrung tears' Burns); cf. 859. Headlam quotes the proverb αἵματι κλαίνει.

904 μινύθει. The wasting away is that of the φρήν in the physical sense. Cf. *Hippocr. Art.* 796 μινύθουσι αἱ σάρκες, *Theogn.* 361, *Hom. Od.* 4. 374 μινύθει δέ τοι ἦτορ ἐταίρων. In *Eum.* 371 μινύθουσι is joined with τακόμεναι, and the body is said τῆκεσθαι in *Plat. Rep.* 609 c. Weeping is considered as an actual melting away (cf. *Ar. Ran.* 1089 ἐπαφηνάνθη γελῶν of tears of laughter taking all moisture from the body), and when the tears come 'in very truth' from the φρήν, the φρήν μινύθει. (Verrall also finds this physical sense in the words.)

905 τοῖνδε δυοῖν ἀνάκτοιν: the fullness of this dual is deliberate. The lament is for two at once, both kings, and dead together.—τοῖνδε with a pathetic demonstration: 'lying here.' The gen. is causal (*Hom. Od.* 24. 425 τοῦ δακρυχέων, 22. 424 τῶν πάντων οὐ τόσσον ὀδύρομαι, *Eur. H. F.* 1114 πρόσσω δ' ἐγὼ τί λυπρόν, οὐ δακρυροεῖς;).

and it rends us with the very groan of unforced grief. Yes, from suffering minds—no gladness there!—and with tears poured truly from a heart that wastes, as we melt in tears for the two lords lying here.

(A) Poor souls! Thus may one say of them. For their 3rd anti-
own citizens, and for strangers—come one, come all—they did strophe.
much with loss and waste...in slaying.

(B) Ill-starred was she who bore them, beyond all women that bear the name of mothers. Her own child she took for

ὡς ἐρέατην | . παρέστιν M, corr. Burgard. παρέστι δ' al. 907 οἱ Heimsoeth.
πολίτας M, corr. rec. †. 908 δὲ rec. †. τ' ἐπακτῶν Meineke. †. 910 δι-
σάων Dind. (to fit his reading in stroph. 899). ἡ M. 911 προπασάν M, προπασών
m. 913 αὐτᾶς M, perhaps rightly (see Cho. 110 n.).

906 παρέστιν εἰπεῖν: all that one can say in terms of the usual funeral *ἔπαινος* is this. In the keening the virtues of the deceased were enumerated. Here *εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ*... turns out to mean a reproach.

907 sqq. ὡς ἐρέατην πολλὰ μὲν πολίτας κ.τ.λ. [The dat. comm. πολί-
ταις of M is by no means impossible in itself after *εἶραι* or *ποιῆσαι* (see Jebb on Soph. O. T. 1373); but it cannot be retained here before the accus. *στίχας*.] The usual *αἶνος* might set forth that a benefactor to the citizens and *φιλόξενος* to *ξένοι* of all kinds (*πάντων*), no matter in what numbers or 'ranks' (*στίχας*) they came. Cf. Xen. Oec. 2. 5 *ἔπειτα ξένους προσήκει σοι πολλοὺς δέχεσθαι καὶ τοῦτους μεγαλοπρεπῶς· ἔπειτα δὲ πολίτας δειπνίζειν κ.τ.λ.* The Chorus plays upon this customary language: 'we can say in the case of these unhappy men that they wrought much for the citizens and for ranks of all manner of *ξένοι*—,' and then comes the *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, 'viz. *ἐν δαί*.' From a translator's point of view the expression is complicated by sundry *nuances* which are sufficiently apparent in the Greek and eminently characteristic of the Aeschylean fondness for play upon meanings. Thus *εἶραι* *πολλὰ* may bear either a favourable or an unfavourable meaning; *ξένων* may mean guests and also foreigners; *στίχας* may have a military and a non-military sense. But further, *πολυφθόρους* has (a) an active meaning, 'causing much waste of property' (cf. *δωματοφθορεῖν*, *οἰκοφθορεῖν*), which is well suited to express the loss caused by lavish entertainment; (b) a passive meaning, 'destroyed in great numbers.' Mean-

while *ἐν δαί* should be regarded as suggesting *ἐν δαίτι*. In the hospitality of feasting the *πολίται* and the *ξένων στίχας* are *πολυφθόροι ἐν δαίτι*; in war they are *πολύφθοροι ἐν δαί*. [In the accus. *πολυφθόρους* the accentuation becomes identical.]

μὲν is not answered by *τε* (although that correspondence is not rare: cf. Eur. Or. 22—24, *Phoen.* 57, Jebb on Soph. Ant. 1162, Bury on Pind. *Isth.* (App. p. 153)), but *τε* simply connects the *ξένων στίχας* with *πολίτας*, while *μὲν* is answered by the thought only: i.e. *πολλὰ μὲν* (*κακὰ δέ*) takes a shape which is virtually *πολλὰ μὲν...ἀλλ' ἐν δαί*. The speaker keeps his surprise word till last; until then the phrase is apparently a true *αἶνος*: 'did for them much, and at great cost, in—destroying them.'

For the credit of the *φιλόξενος* cf. Hom. Od. 13. 202, Bacchyl. 1. 12 *ξένων φιλόξενον τιμῆ*, 3. 16 *βρύουσι φιλοξενίας ἀγνυῖα*, Pind. I. 2. 39 *οὐδὲ ποτε ξένων ὄϊρος ἐμπνεύσαις ὑπέσται* | *ἱστὶν ἀμφὶ τράπεζαν*, N. 1. 22 *θαμὰ δ' ἄλλοδαπῶν | οὐκ ἀπειράτοι δόμοι ἐντί*, 9. 2 *ἀναπεπταμέναι ξένων νενίκανται θύραι &c.* With *ξένων τε πάντων* cf. Ar. *Leinn.* fr. 4 *ἀνδρῶν ἐπακτῶν πᾶσα γάργαιρ' ἐστία* (where probably we should read *πάντα γάργαιρ' ἐστία*).—*πάντων*: no matter whence or why they came. In hospitality (*ἐν δαίτι*) or in battle (*ἐν δαί*) 'come one, come all.'

913 αὐτᾶ θεμένα: the unusual addition of the reflexive pronoun to the middle verb emphasises the incest. The use is only allowable at all when, without such emphasis, the verb would be naturally used in the middle (as in 'take' a wife or husband: cf. Bacchyl. 5. 169 *τάν κεν λιπαρὰν ἐθέλων θέλμαν*

τούσδ' ἔτεχ', οἱ δ' ὦδ' ἔτελεύ-
τασαν ὑπ' ἀλλαλοφόνους
χερσὶν ὁμοσπόροισιν.

915

στρ. δ'. ὁμόσποροι δῆτα καὶ πανώλεθροι
διατομαῖς οὐ φίλαις
ἔριδι μαινομένα
νείκεος ἐν τελευτῇ.

920

πέπανται δ' ἔχθος, ἐν δὲ γαίᾳ
ζῶα φονορῦτῳ
μέμεικται· κάρτα δ' εἷς' ὄμαιμοι.
πικρὸς λυτῆρ νεικέων ὁ πόντιος
ξεῖνος ἐκ πυρὸς συθεῖς
θακτὸς σίδαρος· πικρὸς δὲ χρημάτων
κακὸς दाτητὰς Ἀρης, ἀραῖα πα-
τρὸς τιθεῖς ἀλαθῇ.

925

ἀντ. δ'. ἔχουσι μοῖραν λαχόντες, < ὦ > μέλαιοι,

914 M writes as one line τούσδ'...ἀλλ'αλοφόνους.

917 συνώλεθροι Weil. ↓.

918 διατομαῖς Weil, διαρταμαῖς E. A. I. Ahrens. ἀφλοῖς H. Voss. ↓.

920 The

second ε of νείκεος has been erased in M.

922 M writes ζῶα φονορῦτῳ μέμικται as

ἀκοῖν, Hes. Th. 937 Ἀρμονίην θ', ἣν
Κάδμος ὑπέρθυμος θέτ' ἀκοῖν. For the
added reflexive cf. Ar. Eccl. 402 δὲ αὐτὸς
αὐτοῦ βλεφαρίδ' οὐκ ἐσώσατο (q.v.), Eur.
fr. 256 κέρδος αὐτῷ τοῦτο ποιεῖται ('con-
siders') μέγα, Soph. Tr. 245 ἐξείλεθ'
(‘chose’) αὐτῷ κτήμα.

917 sqq. ὁμόσποροι δῆτα: ‘ὁμόσποροι
indeed!’ i.e. ὁμόσποροι in a special and
novel sense, defined or specified by καὶ
πανώλεθροι. The responding speakers
play upon the sense by etymologising
(ὁμοῦ σπαρῆναι). The brothers were
‘sown together’ in birth, and they have
been ‘sown together’ in death, since their
blood was shed upon the ground and
commingled. The notion (carried on by
ἐν γαίᾳ 921) recurs in ὄμαιμοι 923 (n.).—
καὶ πανώλεθροι: ‘yes, in utter destruc-
tion.’ παν- denotes that their family
ends with them.

διατομαῖς οὐ φίλαις: ‘through a
division made in hatred,’ an improper
spirit and manner of dividing an estate.
Since the form of τὸ διαλαχεῖν τὰ κτήματα
was ‘hostile,’ viz. σιδήρῳ, and since the
division in question was performed upon
their own bodies, διατομαῖς has also the
physical meaning: i.e. in one sense
διατομαί is the cleaving of the estate, in

another it is the cleaving of their bodies
(cf. Eur. Hec. 782 ὦδε διατεμνόμενοι).
It is for this reason that the poet
prefers the word to e.g. διανομαῖς. The
point of οὐ φίλαις is that an ideal appor-
tioning would have been carried out μετὰ
φίλλας; in this case it was done in fight.
For further definition ἐριδι μαινομένα
(causal) is added to the instrumental, but
μαινομένα has its own force. The dispute
—which might in itself be pardonable—
went to mad extremes. Cf. Eur. fr. 453.
11 μαινομέναν ἔριν | θακτῷ τερπομένην
σιδάρῳ.

νείκεος ἐν τελευτῇ: with πανώλεθροι
διατομαῖς; ‘when it came to a final
decision of their quarrel.’

921 sqq. πέπανται δ' ἔχθος takes up
νείκεος ἐν τελευτῇ, while ἐν δὲ γαίᾳ κ.τ.λ.
qualifies the present words. ‘The enmity
has ceased (indeed), but in the shape that
it is their life’s blood which has met and
blended in amity.’—μέμεικται: cf. [Eur.]
Rhes. 431 συμμηγῆς φόνος (of Thracian
with Scythian enemy).

923 κάρτα δ' εἷς' ὄμαιμοι: ‘and of
one blood are they in truth,’ i.e. their blood
is now mingled into one upon the ground.
This meaning was appreciated by a modern
man of letters (J. R. Lowell in *Shakespeare*

her own spouse, and brought forth these; and they have died like this 'neath one another's hands, hands made with the self-same sowing.

(A) With selfsame sowing! Yes! So have they wholly ^{4th} perished, ending their quarrel by a cleaving made in hate and strophe. frenzied jealousy.

(B) Their enmity is done. Their life is mingled in the earth in streams of gore. Of one blood are they, yea indeed! Harsh settler of quarrels is the alien from the sea, sprung from fire—the sharpened steel. And harsh is the cruel apportioner of goods—the Wargod, who makes true the father's malisons.

(A) They have their portion, poor souls! according to their ^{4th anti-} one line (but with *φονορῦτω*, corr. Seidler). 926 *θηκτὸς* M. 927 sq. M writes

and divides *ἀρὰν* | *πατὴρς τιθεῖς ἀληθῆ* (*ἀρὰ* M^a). Corr. *ed. †. *ἀρὰν πατρῶ|αν* Bothe, *ἀρὰν γε πατὴρς* Schütz. 929 *ὦ μέλει* recc. The scansion is *μέλει* (cf. *θεοί*, *πόλεως*).

Once More). This further defines *ὁμόσποροι* (917). Somewhat similar in picture is Hom. *Il.* 18. 329 *ἀμφω γὰρ πέπρωται ὁμοίην γαῖαν ἐρεῦσαι*. [There may also be an allusion to the old custom of two parties to a contract mingling their blood. In this case it is their lifeblood (*ζῶα*) that is shed, not in agreement, but in death (*φονορῦτω*).] For *κάρτα* in such reference cf. 400 (n.), 402.

924 sqq. *πικρὸς λυτὴρ κ.τ.λ.*: cf. 714 sqq. The present words indicate more clearly than any elsewhere that the original terms of the cryptic prophecy were *πικρὸς δατητής* (or its equivalent) *ξένος πόντιος πυριγενής*: 'a harsh arbitrator, a stranger, πόντιος, born of fire.' The word *πόντιος* would naturally be interpreted 'of the sea.' The apparent contradiction of this to *πυριγενής* was a mystification. It turns out that the meaning is iron, which is *ξένος*, as a new metal to early Greece; *πόντιος*, as coming (not from the sea but) from *Πόντος* (since pronunciation and ancient script have nothing to do with a difference between capitals and cursives); *πυριγενής* (here *ἐκ πυρὸς συθείς*) as being wrought by fire or even supposed to be produced by fire (see 191 n.). The construction is *πικρὸς* (*γέγονε* or *ἐστὶ*) *λυτὴρ κ.τ.λ.*, the words *θακτὸς σίδαρος* being in explanatory apposition, 'viz. the sharpened steel.' The addition of *θακτὸς* is not idle. It refers to senses of *πικρὸς* and *λυτὴρ*; 'the sharp undoer (of knots)' is 'the sharpened steel.'

926 sq. *πικρὸς δὲ κ.τ.λ.*: another presentation of the same thought (cf.

892—894), but here the consideration is of the property (*χρήματα*) rather than the quarrel. The construction is again *πικρὸς δὲ* (*γέγονεν*) *ὁ χρημάτων 'κακὸς δατητής'*, (viz.) *Ἄρης*. For *δατητής* see 697 (n.) and Suid. *δατεῖσθαι*: *δατηταὶ κυρίως οἱ τὰ κοινὰ διανεμότες τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις*.

**ἀραῖα*: see crit. n. The word is substantial. The *παρήχησις* with *Ἄρης* is of course intentional.

929 sqq. *ἔχουσι μοῖραν λαχόντες*. We must not join *ἔχουσι λαχόντες* (as = *ἐλαχον*). For *μέλει* cf. 863 sq. *μοῖραν* is not 'fate,' but 'portion,' and that portion is defined by the next words. Unfortunately *ἀχέων* of MSS is as feeble in sense as it is bad in metre. The thought seems certainly to be 'as their portion of the land they have the share which will suffice to bury them (718—720), but *under* their bodies there will be abundance in depth.' The *βάθος* is thus opposed to the *μήκος*. If **πάχων* is right, the corruption may be due in part to the unrecognised α for η. The share of land which they receive is the measure of their own length, 'the cubits given by the gods.' Cf. Shak. *Henry IV.* 5. 4. 91 *But now two paces of the vilest earth | Is room enough*. On Soph. *O. C.* 790 Jebb quotes the offer of Harold of England to Harold of Norway, *Seven foot of the ground of England, or more perchance, seeing he is taller than other men*. The notion of *πῆχυς* in stature (the 'cubit' of the Bible) appears in *ἀνὴρ τετράπηχυς* and the *ἀνὴρ τρισκαδὲκάπηχυς* of Theoc. 15. 17.

διοδότην πάχεων·
ὑπὸ δὲ σώματι γᾶς
πλοῦτος ἄβυσσος ἔσται.

930

ἰὼ πολλοῖς ἐπανθίσαντες
πόνοισι γενεάν·
τελευτᾷ δ' αἰδ' ἐπηλάλαξαν
Ἄραι τὸν ὄξυν νόμον, τετραμμένον
παντρόπῳ φυγᾷ γένους.
ἔστακε δ' Ἄτας τροπαῖον ἐν πύλαις,
ἐν αἷς ἐθείνοντο, καὶ δυοῖν κρατή-
σας ἔληξε δαίμων.

935

940

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ.

παισθεῖς ἔπαισας.

ΙΣΜΗΝΗ.

σὺ δ' ἔθανες κατακτανών.

930 διοδότην M, corr. Bothe. θεοδότην C. G. Haupt. ἀχέων M. Corr. *ed. ↓. ἀχ-
θέων Schwenk, ἀλγέων Blomfield. 931 χώματι Blomfield. ↓. 933 ἐπανθήσαντες
M, corr. Bothe. ἐπανθήσαντες Hartung. 934 Omitted by recc. After this verse
M has the interpolation πόνοισι γε δόμους (δόμοις m'), which Hermann removed. The

933 ἐπανθίσαντες = στεφανώσαντες; an oxymoron. The wreaths of victory or flowers of festal decoration are in this case *πόνοι*. That is the only wreath with which they have glorified their family.

935 sqq. *τελευτᾷ* depends on *ἐπηλάλαξαν*. ἀλαλή may be the war-cry or (as here) the cry of victory (Soph. *Ant.* 133 *νίκην ὀρμῶντ' ἀλαλάσαι*, Ar. *Av.* 1763 ἀλαλαί, ἢ Παιήων, | τήνελλα καλλίνικος). The fact seems to be that the war-cry is uttered as a presage, or in confidence, of victory, and thus also in the victory itself. —αἰδ': 'in this instance' it was the *Arai* who sang the song of victory; and the trophy is one to Ate. Ἄραι = *Ἐρινύες*: cf. *Eum.* 420 Ἄραι δ' ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὑπαι κεκλήμεθα. —τὸν ὄξυν νόμον. The art. implies the choice of one νόμος as distinct from another. The Ἄραι, in uttering their triumphant cry, have chosen to do so in the style which is ὄξυν, i.e. the note of a dirge (cf. 859 *λιγαίνειν* n.). —παντρόπῳ: the race is routed beyond recovery, since all the males are dead. —Ἄτας is stressed. The trophy is not that of either brother, dedicated to Zeus (Eur. *Phoen.* 572) or some other god (Plut. *Sull.* 19. 5 τοῖς

τροπαίοις ἐπέγραψεν Ἄρη καὶ Νίκην καὶ Ἀφροδίτην). —ἐθείνοντο: reciprocal middle; the tense as in 796 *ἠναίροντο* (n.). —δυοῖν: the winner in the end was the evil genius who (αὐτός of 798) overcame both.

941 sqq. Here commences the *θρήνος* proper on the part of the two sisters. It is to be understood as accompanied throughout by weeping and gestures of mourning. Since Antigone is the elder and the more important character, being regularly mentioned first in the story and in this play itself (848), it is natural to assign to her the opening words. Since also it is she who subsequently undertakes the cause of Polyneices, it is natural to imagine her as standing at the head (Hom. *Il.* 23. 136) of the bier of that brother, while Ismene is at the head of Eteocles'. It should not, however, be supposed that each sister addresses herself always to one corpse at the expense of the other. It is true that the special sympathy of Antigone goes out to Polyneices when burial is refused to him, but this is rather because her sense of right is outraged along with her affection than because her affection belongs in the first instance chiefly to the exile. Their

share of God-given cubits; but under their bodies will be an unplumbed wealth of earth.

(B) Ah, ye who have crowned your race with crown of many sorrows! Lo, 'tis the Curses who here sang triumph o'er the issue with the shrill-voiced strain, now that the house is routed in utter flight. It is to Ruin that the trophy stands at the gates whereat they smote each other, and 'tis the bad Genius who hath mastered both ere he would cease.

[The sisters, one at the head of each corpse, chant the formal dirge.

ANTIGONE. Smiter and smitten!

ISMENE. Slayer, but slain!

two readings seem to have arisen from ^{δόμους} πόνοισι γενεάν. 935 τελευτᾷ δ' αἰδ' M. †. τελευτᾷ δ' Hermann. 938 ἔστακεν M^a, ἔστακε δ' (superscr.) M. τρόπαϊον M. 939 sq. κρατήσας' rec. ἐλῆξ' ὁ δαίμων rec. 941—995 The distribution here adopted was first hinted by the Aldine. In M the paragraphus stands before each line except 949—952, 963 sq., 978 sq., 983, 989. But 941, 953 are marked as belonging to Ismene. 942 κτανών rec. Enger is probably right in transposing and sub-

language is intended to apply impartially, even if one corpse is more directly addressed by each in turn. The equality of the brothers' fate and the equality of their perverse action are realised by both women. While each is in a measure blamed, each is in a measure excused.

The arrangement here adopted is in the main that of Wecklein, but it requires somewhat audacious changes to support his notion of complete syllabic correspondence as between each utterance and its reply and between strophe and antistrophe. His text is therefore not here accepted.

vv. 941—949 consist of brief couplets, in which the second speaker answers the first. vv. 950—979 consist of a system forming a strophe and antistrophe. Within the system the couplet arrangement is maintained, and each portion ends with a joint or choric ephymnium (962—964, repeated 977—979). Then follows another series of independent couplets, the whole ending (992—995) with four lines arranged in the form *a b d a*, assigned as in the text. The difficulty of metrical correspondence is considerable, but some at least of the discrepancies are explainable as due (1) to the freedom of the anacrustic syllable, (2) to the part played by interjections, which are not always faithfully recorded.

941 παισθεὶς ἔπαισας: synchronous. This and the next line not only state a fact; they also extenuate. 'If thou didst

smite, thou wert smitten too'—'And if thou didst slay, thou wert also slain.' Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 170 ἐκείνοι πρὸς διπλῆς μοίρας μίαν | καθ' ἡμέραν ὦλοντο παίσαντές τε καὶ | πληγέντες.

942 The MSS have σὺ δ' ἔθανες κατακτανών, a line which is left without metrical relation. At v. 949 M has προ-κείσεται κατακτάς, which Hermann rightly emended to πρόκεισαι. But the words come somewhat strangely there, whereas at the present place they would be a natural answer to παισθεὶς ἔπαισας, and (except for προ-) would be metrically what is needed. If we transfer them (with Enger) to the present place we may perceive that κατακτάς would readily beget the gloss κατακτανών. Again, while πρόκεισαι is good in itself, even without pressing a reference to the formal sense of the πρόθεσις (cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1059 θανόντες ἀν' προῦκείμεθ' αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ), yet it is not so simple an antithesis to κατακτάς as κείσαι alone would be. κείσαι κατακτάς = κατέθανες κατακτάς. In response therefore to παισθεὶς ἔπαισας it is extremely probable that the transposition should be made, and in that form. If the line was glossed by ἔθανες κατακτανών, and then ousted, it might easily be afterwards written in the margin and thence inserted at the wrong place. It should be noticed further that σὺ is better absent. The words should be (like those which follow) applicable to either brother.

- AN. *δορὶ δ' ἔκανες*
 ΙΣ. *δορὶ δ' ἔθανες*
- AN. *μελεόπονος.* 945
 ΙΣ. *μελεοπαθής.*
- AN. *ἴτω γόος.*
 ΙΣ. *ἴτω δάκρυ.*
- AN. *πρόκεισαι*
 ΙΣ. *κατακτάς.* 950
- στρ. AN. *ἦέ.*
 ΙΣ. *ἦέ.*
- AN. *μαίνεται γόοισι φρήν.*
 ΙΣ. *ἐντὸς δὲ καρδία στένει.*
- AN. *ἰὼ τὸ πᾶν δάκρυτε σύ,*
 ΙΣ. *σὺ δ' αὖτε καὶ πανάθλιε,* 955
- AN. *πρὸς φίλον ἔφθισο.*
 ΙΣ. *καὶ φίλον ἔκτανες.*
- AN. *διπλᾶ λέγειν*
 ΙΣ. *διπλᾶ δ' ὀράν*
- AN. *ἄχεσι τοῖς τάδ<ε γ'> ἐγγύθεν.* 960
 ΙΣ. *πέλας <τάδ'> ἀδελφέ' ἀδελφεῶν.*
- XO. *ἰὼ Μοῖρα βαρυδότειρα μογερά,*
πότνια τ' Οἰδίπου σκιά,
μέλαιν' Ἐρινύς, ἥ μεγασθενής τις εἶ.

stituting here v. 949 in the shape *κεῖσαι κατακτάς*. †. 943 *ἐκτανες* M, corr. Hermann. 948 *δάκρυα* M, corr. Lachmann. 949 *προσκέσεται* M^a (the first σ erased M), corr. Hermann. Lachmann's AN. *πρόκεισαι* || ΙΣ. *κατακτάς* is given in the

text above, but see 942 (c.n.). 952 <ἦ> *μαίνεται* Lachmann. <ᾶ> would be equally good, but most probably no added syllable is necessary. 953 *ἐν δὲ* Burney. *ἔσω δὲ* Heimsoeth, but the first syllable is indifferent. 954 *ἰὼ πανδάκρυτε* M. *ἰὼ*

943 sqq. *δορὶ δ' ἔκανες*. The sentence is completed with *μελεόπονος*. The working of mischief by slaying is answered by the suffering of it by dying (*μελεοπαθής*). Each brother is spoken of from two points of view.

952 *μαίνεται γόοισι φρήν*. Here *φρήν* is as physical as *καρδία*, and *μαίνεται* possesses the same half-physical sense as in *αἰθὴρ δ' ἐπιμαίνεται* of 140 (n.). *φρήν* is stressed. The grief is no mere outward demonstration. So *ἐντὸς* in the reply.

953 *ἐντὸς δὲ κ.τ.λ.* The metre agrees with the antistr. (968), and differs from that of the previous line only in the anacrustic syll., which that line omits.

We might doubtless insert an interjection in 952 and 967, e.g. <ᾶ> *μαίνεται κ.τ.λ.*, but there is doubtless no necessity.

958 *διπλᾶ λέγειν*. This line and the next should not be stopped as if completed in sense.

960 **ἄχεσι τοῖς κ.τ.λ.* See crit. n. The metre is uncertain, but the corresponding *δύστονα κήδε' ὁμώνυμα* (975) appears sound, whereas here the *τοίων* of M is feeble. The sense (following *διπλᾶ*) is manifestly that the sufferings, or motives for grief, are equal in the two cases. The text = 'to answer to those griefs (*τοῖς = τούτοις*) there are these.' The remark is accompanied by explanatory gesture. — *γ' has an obvious force:

ANT. With the spear thou didst kill—

ISM. With the spear thou didst die—

ANT. Cruel in deed.

ISM. Cruel in doom.

ANT. Spare not the cry.

ISM. Spare not the tear.

ANT. Dead corse—

ISM. That hast slain!

ANT. Ah me! my breast maddens with sighs!

strophe.

ISM. Yea! my heart groans within!

ANT. Ah! thou all-lamented—

ISM. Thou too, and all-wretched—

ANT. By thine own thou didst die.

ISM. And thine own thou didst slay.

ANT. Twofold to tell—

ISM. Twofold to see—

ANT. These griefs hard by those!

ISM. These anigh, twin with them!

CHO. Ah! Fate, who givest with heavy and cruel hand, and thou dread shade of Oedipus, black Vengeful Spirit, of a truth thy strength is mighty!

πολυδάκρυτε recc. Corr. *ed. πόλει δακρυτέ Lachmann (but note the following καὶ πανάθλιε), πάνδυρτε Ritschl. 955 αὐ recc., Blomfield. 956 φίλον γ' M, corr. Bothe. 960 ἀσχεὼν τοῖων M, γόων recc. Corr. *ed. ↓. See antistr. 975, which is probably sound. ἀχέσι τοῖς τὰδ' <ισ'> ἐγγύθεν is less likely. ἀχέα δοῦα τὰδ' Hermann, ἀχέα τῶνδε τὰδ' Weil, Oberdick, ἀχέα δυοῖν τὰδ' Enger. 961 πέλας δ' αἰδ' ἀδελφαὶ ἀδελφεῶν M, corr. Heimsöeth. ↓. πέλας ἀδελφὰ δ' Hermann. 962—964 M has ἐφύμνιον before these lines. Hermann assigns them to the sisters (AN. 12.), Blomfield to the Chorus. 964 μέλαινα τ' M, corr. Porson.

'if that brother has suffered, so also has this.' The construction implies ἔστι to be supplied. In its absence ἀχέσι was drawn to the gen. usual with ἐγγύς.

961 πέλας κ.τ.λ. The πέλας δ' αἰδ' ἀδελφαὶ ἀδελφεῶν of M does not answer to either the previous line or the antistrophe (976). πέλας is upheld by ἐγγύθεν; the rest is emended by Weil. The words, however, mean 'near by are (griefs), sisters of sisters,' i.e. griefs on this side which are the counterpart of those. The reference is not to ἀδελφεαί, the sisters themselves, but ἀδελφεῶν is neut. (sc. ἀχέων). Each set of griefs are ἀδελφὰ of the other (cf. μόνος μόνῳ, φίλος φίλῳ &c.). For ἀδελφὰ = παραπλήσια cf. Soph. *Ant.* 192 ἀδελφὰ τῶνδε κηρύξας ἔχω, Plat. *Phaedr.* 276 D ὅσα τούτων ἀδελφὰ, *supr.* 481, 563 (n.).

962 sqq. βαρυδότεια: for the formation cf. σεμνοδότεια (Bacchyl. 2. 1).—πότνια: cf. 871. This title of timid respect was frequently applied to the Erinyes (e.g. *Eum.* 952, Soph. *O. C.* 84 πότνιαι δεινώπες). Here the 'haunting' (σκιὰ) of Oedipus is identified with the Erinyes (or his Ἀρά: cf. 70, Soph. *El.* 111 πότνι' Ἀρά). 'The Erinyes is, in fact, an angry ghost' (Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.* p. 217, comparing the phantom of Argus in *P. V.*). The dead themselves are σκιαί: Hom. *Od.* 10. 495, Eur. *H. F.* 494 ἀρηξον, ἐλθέ, καὶ σκιά φάνηθι μοι (of Heracles, supposed dead), *fr.* 532 κατθανών δὲ πᾶς ἀνὴρ | γῇ καὶ σκιά, *fr.* *adesp.* 95. For the ghostly influence cf. the ψυχή of Patroclus appearing to Achilles (*Il.* 23. 65). Hermann rather strangely explains as 'simulacrum Oedipi

ἀντ. AN. ἤέ.

965

IS. ἤέ.

AN. δυσθέατα πῆματα

IS. ἐδείξατ' ἐκ φυγᾶς ἐμοί.

AN. οὐδ' ἴκεθ' ὥς κατέκτανεν.

IS. σωθεῖς δὲ πνεῦμ' ἀπώλεσεν.

970

AN. ὤλεσε δῆτ' ἄπο.

IS. καὶ τοῦ ἐνόσφισεν.

AN. τάλαν γένος.

IS. τάλαν παθόν.

AN. δύστονα κῆδε' ὁμώνυμα.

975

IS. δίνυγα τριπάλτων πημάτων.

XO. <ἰὼ> Μοῖρα βαρυνδότεира μογερά,
 πότνια τ' Οἰδίπου σκιά,
 μέλαιν' Ἑρινύς, ἥ μεγασθενής τις εἶ.

AN. σὺ τοίνυν οἶσθα διαπερῶν,

980

IS. σὺ δ' οὐδὲν ὕστερος μαθών,

965 sqq. M writes ἤέ...πῆματα as one line.
 but see 952 (c.n.).

968 ἐδειξας Paley, ἐδείξατ' ἐκ φυγᾶς μολῶν Heimsoeth, τόνδ' ἐδείξατ' ἐκ φυγᾶς Weil (ἐμοί having been already ejected by Robortello). One might suggest ἐδειξε τάκ, but the text is probably sound. ↓.

969 δδ' ἴκεθ' ὥς κατακτενῶν Halm. ↓.

970 σωθεῖς Stanley. ↓.

971 ἀπώλεσεν δῆτα M. Corr. G. C. W. Schneider. ὤλεσε δῆτ' ἄγαν Weil, δῆτα ναί Hermann, δῆτά τοι Halm.

972 καὶ τόνδ' M. Corr. *ed. (τόν G. C. W. Schneider). τόνδε δ' Hermann.

973 μένος Weil. 974 τάλανα καὶ παθόν M. Recc. have τάλανα παθόν οἱ τάλαν

quod Eteocli in somniis apparuit.—μεγασθενής was a recognised epithet of the Erinys (cf. 70). Hence ἤ: 'indeed,' while τις has the accentuating force which it shares with *quidam* after adjectives.

968 ἐδείξατ' ἐκ φυγᾶς ἐμοί. It is not to be supposed that Antigone uttered the words δυσθέατα πῆματα with any notion of their being completed in this fashion. To her exclamation a conclusion is fitted by Ismene. ἐμοί (*patheticum*) belongs to δυσθέατα. If ἐδείξατ' is correct it must be causal mid. (cf. 829 n.) and the subject is Polyneices, to whom alone ἐκ φυγᾶς can refer. For this reason, as well as the following singular, we cannot regard it as ἐδείξατε. The notion is that of acquisitions brought back from abroad to be produced at home. In this case they are but δυσθέατα πῆματα. This accounts for the choice of the verb δεικνυμι. [If the middle is somewhat obscure we may perhaps amend with

the slight transposition ἐδειξε τάκ for ἐδείξατ' ἐκ.]

969 οὐδ' ἴκεθ' κ.τ.λ.: i.e. and Polyneices did not 'get home' (*arriver*), i.e. gain his object (τὸ κατιέναι), when he slew. He slew Eteocles, but his own restoration was not achieved thereby.

970 σωθεῖς δὲ κ.τ.λ.: a play upon contradictories. The reference is to Eteocles: 'and though he escaped (the threatened deposition), he lost his life.' In other words, the defeat of the Argives and the slaying of Polyneices was so far σωτηρία (τὸ σωθῆναι) that he did not lose his μοναρχία, but meanwhile he lost the breath of life.

971 sq. ὤλεσε δῆτ' ἄπο: see crit. n., and cf. 873. There is a play upon the senses 'lose' and 'destroy.'—καὶ *τοῦ ἐνόσφισεν: sc. τὸ πνεῦμα. (τόν is flat.)

973 sq. τάλαν γένος κ.τ.λ. Two senses of τάλαν are blended: (1) 'reckless,' 'perverse,' (2) 'miserable.' τάλαν γένος presents the former, while τάλαν

ANT. Ah me! Sorrows ill to behold—

ISM. Brought he me from his exile!

ANT. He won not his way when he slew.

ISM. Though upholden, he lost his life's breath.

ANT. Aye, lost it in truth!

ISM. And robbed him of his!

ANT. Unhappy sort!

ISM. Unhappy lot!

ANT. Grief uttering the selfsame lament!

ISM. Raining tears for a threefold blow!

CHO. Ah, Fate, who givest with heavy and cruel hand, and thou dread shade of Oedipus, black Vengeful Spirit, of a truth thy strength is mighty!

ANT. Now thou knowest thy step was wrong—

ISM. And thou learnedst the lesson as soon—

anti-
strophe.

καὶ πάθος. *τάλαν πάθος* Schütz; but *τὰ καὶ παθόν* (*ed.) may be correct (*i.e.* *ταῦτα καὶ παθόν*, sc. *τάλανα*, by which *τὰ* was glossed). ↓. 975 *δίπωνα* Hermann. Metrical error (which many editors suspect here) more probably lies in the strophe (960). *ὁμαιμόνων* Sidgwick. ↓. 976 The text may be sound (↓), but the schol. seems to have had *e.g.* **χλωρά*, of which *δίλυγρα* may be a gloss. ↓. *λυγρὰ* Dindl., *δίλυγρα πήματα παλμάτων* Hermann, *διερὰ πάλματα πημάτων* Heimsoeth. After this verse M has the interpolation *ὀλοὰ λέγειν ὀλοὰ δ' ὀράν* from 984 (the copyist's eye perhaps wandering from *ῶ* of 977 to *ῶ* of 986). *ῶ* (omitted by M) appears in recc. 979 *μέλαινα τ'* M, corr. Porson. 980 *τοὶ νιν* rec. 981 *ὕστερον* recc.

παθόν presents the latter as a plea in extenuation. *γένος* is not the whole race of Laius, but describes the brothers, as a kind of men. [The true reading may be *τὰ καὶ παθόν*, where *τὰ*=*ταῦτα* (*viz.* *τάλανα* which occurs as a gloss). Cf. 1057, Pind. *I.* 7. 15 *λατὰ δ' ἐστὶ βροτοῖς σὺν γ' ἐλευθερίᾳ* | *καὶ τά*, Hom. *Od.* 5. 259 *ὁ δ' εὖ τεχνήσατο καὶ τά*.]

975 *κῆδε* ὁμώνυμα: 'sorrows demanding' (to be described in) the same words.' The *κῆδεα* on the two sides are identical in kind. *κῆδεα* is moreover used of persons (relatives) to be mourned, and in this case they bear the same name, sc. 'brothers.'—*δύστονα*=*δύσ-στονα*: cf. Hom. *Il.* 1. 445 *Ἀργείοισι πολύστονα κῆδε* ἐφῆκεν and see *Cho.* 467 (n.). It should be noted for this derivation that *δύ(σ)-στονα* is answered by *δί-λυγρα* as *γῶτος* by *δάκρυ* (947 sq.).

976 *δίλυγρα*: *i.e.* 'bewept,' with the same notion as in *τέγγομαι* or *δάκρυσι μυδαλέα* (Soph. *El.* 166). The following gen. is causal (cf. 905). For the scansion *δίλυγρα* see Append. to v. 115.—*τριπάλτων*: a term of intensification. As *δίπαλτος*, used of that which is wielded in both hands (Jebb on Soph. *Aj.* 408), comes to lose its literal sense and to mean

'with double force,' so *τριπάλτος*, expressive of still more vehemence, is coined for 'with triple force.' *δίπαλτος* may also be used of an attack from two sides at once (Eur. *I. T.* 323), and the same notion in *τριπάλτος* would once more amount to 'with triple onset.' Though the *πήματα*, consisting only of the sad end of the brothers, may in themselves be spoken of in the heightened way usual with *τρίς* (*e.g.* *τρίς ἄθλιος*), there may also be an allusion to the three generations (cf. 730) on which disaster has fallen.

980 *σὺ τοίνυν κ.τ.λ.*: 'thou knowest that thou wert trespassing,' *i.e.* crossing the border of right and wrong. Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 155 *περὰς γάρ, περὰς* ('thou goest too far'), Aesch. *fr.* 22 *τό τοι κακὸν ποδώκες ἐρχεται βροτοῖς* | *καὶ τὰμπλάκημα τῷ περὶντι τὴν θέμιν*.—*τοίνυν* is resumptive.—*διαπερῶν* is imperf., as the context explains, *viz.* *διεπέρασ ἐπεὶ κατήλθες*. [Though *δὴ περῶν* would be an easy suggestion, *δια-* is correct and answers to the long syll. of the next line.] The line is addressed to Polyneices.

981 *σὺ δ' κ.τ.λ.*: *i.e.* *σὺ δ' οἶσθα διαπερῶν, μαθὼν οὐδὲν ὕστερος*. They learned at the same moment, by being slain together.

- AN. ἐπεὶ κατήλθες ἐς πόλιν,
 ΙΣ. δορός γε τῷδ' ἀντηρέτας.
 AN. ὀλοὰ λέγειν.
 ΙΣ. ὀλοὰ δ' ὀράν.
 AN. ἰὼ πόνος.
 ΙΣ. ἰὼ κακά.
 AN. δώμασι καὶ χθονί.
 ΙΣ. καὶ τὸ πρόσω γ' ἐμοί.
 AN. ἰὼ ἰὼ δυστάνων κακῶν ἄνα.
 ΙΣ. ἰὼ πάντων πολυπονώτατοι.
 AN. ΙΣ. ἰὼ <ἰὼ> δαιμονῶντες ἐν ἄτα.
 AN. ἰὼ ποῦ σφε θήσομεν χθονός;
 ΙΣ. ἰὼ ὅπου <εφί> τιμιώτατον.
 AN. ΙΣ. ἰὼ ἰὼ πῆμα πατρὶ πάρευνον.

985

990

995

ΚΗΡΤΞ.

δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντ' ἀπαγγέλλειν με χρῇ
 δήμου προβούλοις τῆσδε Καδμείας πόλεως.

983 ἀντηρέτας M (with H over the second a by m). 987 sqq. ἰὼ ἰὼ κακά δώμασιν | —καὶ χθονί· προπάντων δ' ἐμοί· | —καὶ τὸ πρόσω γ' ἐμοί M. The interpolation (a gloss πρὸ πάντων δ' = τὸ πρόσω δ') was removed by G. C. Haupt. 990 ἄναξ M. Corr. *ed. ↓. δυστόνων, δυστήνων, δυσπότμων and πημάτων are variants in recc. δύστανε τῶν κακῶν ἄναξ Wecklein. 991 πολυπονώτατοι or πολυπονώτατε recc. Qu. *παμ-

982 sq. ἐπεὶ κατήλθες: viz. ἐκ φυγῆς. It was rather the manner than the fact of his κάθοδος which was wrong. This is brought out by γε: 'yes, in coming as spear-opponent to him here (viz. a brother).'

990 δυστάνων κακῶν ἄνα. The objections to ἄναξ are (1) the meaning: 'Lord of sorrows' is not similar to e.g. κώπης ἄναξ, since ἄναξ there means the 'handler' or 'controller.' Nor can the notion 'who, as king, hast been but king of sorrows' be regarded as plausible: (2) as the next line shows, both brothers are addressed, and the sing. is scarcely possible. The marginal note ἐτεόκλεις ἀρχηγέτα should be read Ἐτεόκλεις ἀρχηγέτα. The two words are two explanations of ἄνα, which was taken for the vocative. Aeschylus meant it for ἀνῆ (700 q.v.), the meaning being 'the end (or consummation) of miseries.'—δυστάνων includes folly (see 804 n.).

992 δαιμονῶντες ἐν ἄτα perhaps differs from δ. ἄτα as 'acting like madmen in their perversity' from 'possessed by Ate.'

995 πῆμα πατρὶ πάρευνον: lit. 'as a trouble to the father by whose side they sleep.' The preceding line is seen to

imply burying them in the πατὴρ ἀρχαῖος τάφος (Soph. *El.* 893). But the father has cursed them, and to him, lying in the same grave, they will be a πῆμα. There is a manifest allusion to the proverb πῆμα κακὸς γέλτων (Hes. *Opp.* 346). For πῆμα elsewhere of a person vexatious to another cf. Hom. *Od.* 17. 446 τίς δαίμων τόδε πῆμα προσήγαγε, δαιτὸς ἀνίην; so *pestis, pernicies* &c. In the conception of Aesch. Oedipus is buried at Thebes. He has no thought of the legend of the *Oed. Col.* of Sophocles. Cf. Paus. 1. 28. 7. 996 sqq. The dramatic situation is made effective by the sudden prohibition just as the procession is moving off.

The part of the κῆρυξ is taken by the previous ἀγγελος, while that of Antigone is taken by 'Eteocles,' the corpse being represented by a lay figure. (See notes to the 'Dramatis Personae'.)

It should be observed that the sympathies of the audience are to be gained for the bold action of Antigone not merely by the moral rightness of her conduct (which some might question) but also by the character and tone of the κῆρυξ. He not only delivers the harsh

ANT. When thou camest back to the land—

ISM. To cope with this other in fight.

ANT. Baleful tale!

ISM. Baleful sight!

ANT. Ah! the grief—

ISM. Ah! the wrong—

ANT. To the house and the land.

ISM. And e'en more to me.

ANT. Ah, the mischief's wretched end!

ISM. All-mournful beyond all men!

ANT. Alas, possessed by mad sin!

ISM. Where lay them in earth?

ANT. Where their honour is most.

ISM. Alas! to sleep beside their father to his grief.

[Enter HERALD (from right).]

HERALD.

In duty I proclaim the pleasure and decree of the regents for the people of this Cadmean realm.

πονύωτατοι? πολυστοιώτατοι Robortello (-τε Weil). 992 *lō lō* recc. *έν om.* recc. ↓. *δαμονώντ' έν Paley* (cf. 868 c.n.). 993 *lō* ποῦ M, with a second *lō* above the line (m). 994 *δπον τιμιώτατον M.* *δπον' στ' Dindorf.* I have preferred *σφι. *δπον τι Heimsoeth.* *ένθα τιμιώτατον Sidgwick.* 996 The sign for the *κῆρυξ* comes from m. *δόξαντα και δοκοῦντ' Weil.* ↓. *δοκοῦντα και δόξοντ' Headlam.* *ἀπαγγέλειν M^a.* *ἀπαγγέλλαι recc.* ↓. 997 *χθονός* for *πόλεως* rec.

orders of the πρόβουλοι; he is himself—and behaves as—one of a class upon whom the Athenians habitually looked with contempt. There existed toward the Greek κῆρυξ something of the feeling formerly displayed towards the English beadle. Pollux (6. 128), in reckoning the pursuits ἐφ' οἷς ἂν τις ὀνειδισθῇ, includes κήρυκες (cf. Gilbert *Gk. Const. Ant.* p. 230 n., Eng. Trs.). Arcestr. *ap.* Ath. 92 E has τοὺς κήρυκας δ' ἐπιτρίψαι | ὁ Ζεὺς τοὺς τε θαλασσογενεῖς (i.e. the fish of that name) και τοὺς ἀγοραίους. This character appears in the dramatists in e.g. Eur. *Or.* 895 ἐπὶ τὸν εὐτυχῆ | πηδῶσ' αἰ κήρυκες· ὅδε δ' αὐτοῖς φίλος | ὅς ἂν δύνῃται πόλεος ἐν τ' ἀρχαῖσιν ἦ, *ibid.* 888 Ταλθύβιος...ὐπὸ τοῖς δυναμένοις ὦν αἰ, *Tro.* 425 κήρυκες, ἐν ἀπέχθημα πάγκοιρον βροτοῖς, | οἱ περὶ τυράννοισ καὶ πόλεις ὑπέρεται. Much of this would be conveyed by the manner, the delivery containing an offensive pomposity.

The proclamation here made under the orders of the πρόβουλοι answers to that issued by Creon in Soph. *Ant.* 23 sqq., where the expressions are very similar (e.g. 26 τὸν δ' ἀθλίως θανόντα Πολυνείκους πέκυν | ἀστοῖσι φασιν ἐκκεκρηχῆσθαι τὸ μὴ | τάφῳ καλῆναι μηδὲ κωκυθαί τινα, | ἐὰν δ'

ἀταφον ἀκλαντον, οἰωνοῖς γλυκύν | θησαυρὸν εἰσπορώσι πρὸς χάριν βορᾶς, and more fully *ibid.* 192—206).

996 *δοκοῦντα και δόξαντ'*: a perfectly natural part of the language of formality, especially in the mouth of a professional κῆρυξ. Formularies are often marked by a somewhat tautological comprehensiveness. *ἀ δοκεῖ τῷ δήμῳ* = 'the people's pleasure,' while *ἀ ἐδοξε* = 'its resolve.' The πρόβουλοι 'think fit and have decided,' *hoc sentiunt et censuerunt. δοκοῦντα* alone would not necessarily convey the fact that the opinion had been formally adopted as a resolution to be put in force; *και δόξαντα* adds the expression of finality. Doubtless the pres. *δοκεῖ* is often (cf. *inf.* 1011) used in less precise or technical speech for the resolve itself, but in the strict language of the publicists *ἐδοξε* is the unequivocal term. Less formally therefore Eur. *Hec.* 505 ἀρα κᾶμ' ἐπισφάξαι τάφῳ | δοκοῦν Ἀχαιοῖς ἦλθες; Soph. *Aj.* 1049 TET. *τίνος χάριν τοσόνδ' ἀνήλωσας λόγον; | MEN. δοκοῦντ' ἐμοί, δοκοῦντα δ' ὅς κραίνει στρατοῦ.*

ἀπαγγέλλειν: the pres. signifies 'do my best to announce' or 'proceed to announce.' Gildersleeve *Gk. Synl.* § 192.

997 *δήμου προβούλοις κ.τ.λ.* Once

Ἐτεοκλέα μὲν τόνδ' ἐπ' εὐνοία χθονὸς
 θάπτειν ἔδοξε γῆς φίλαις κατασκαφαῖς.
 στυγῶν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς θάνατον εἶλετ' εἰ πόλει, 1000
 ἱερῶν πατρώων δ' ὅσιος ὦν μομφῆς ἄτερ
 τέθνηκεν οὐπὲρ τοῖς νέοις θνήσκειν καλόν.
 οὕτω μὲν ἀμφὶ τοῦδ' ἐπέσταλται λέγειν.

998 εὐναίαι M, corr. rec. ἐπ' εὐναίας χθονὸς might be suggested, but ↓. 999 φίλης Blomfield. ↓. 1000 στέγων Wakefield, ἐργων Hartung. ↓. ἐν πόλει M, corr. *ed. ↓. (For confusion of ἐν, ἐμ, ἐν in MSS cf. *Pers.* 28 ἐν τλήμονι for εὐτλήμονι, *Suppl.* 970 εὐθυμείν for ἐνθ' ὑμῖν, Theogn. 1211 δ' εὐναζε for δένναζε, Eubul. ap. Ath.

more there is full ceremony of style, particularly brought out in τῇσδε. We should perceive in (the otherwise unnecessary) δήμου a rather aggressive announcement that, the princes being dead, there is now a δῆμος of 'this Cadmean state,' which has elected πρόβουλοι (see 1017 n.). Doubtless this contains an anachronism, about which Aesch. would not concern himself. The δῆμος is not, indeed, a fully constituted democracy, and therefore it is not a case of δῆμῳ δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντα as if in a regular ἐκκλησία. But in the emergency the people have chosen a 'committee of public safety,' somewhat of the kind described in Thuc. 8. 1 ἐδόκει...ἀρχήν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐλέσθαι, οἵτινες περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἂν καιρὸς ἢ προβουλευσούσι (after the news of the Sicilian disaster B.C. 413). The function of these πρόβουλοι was not like that of the ξυγγραφῆς of B.C. 411 (Thuc. 8. 67), viz. to advise the people καθ' ὃ τι ἄριστα ἢ πόλις οἰκήσεται, but to bridge over an interregnum in the administration: cf. Arist. *Ath. Const.* c. 29 § 2 (probouloi) οἵτινες...συγγράψουσι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας. In Arist. *Pol.* 4. 14 πρόβουλοι are spoken of as ἀρχεῖον, ὅσον ἐν ἐνιαῖς πολιτείαις ἐστίν. Such committees must often have existed in Greek states within the knowledge of Aeschylus, but he would also remember the Panhellenic πρόβουλοι during the Persian war (Hdt. 7. 172).

Here the resolution of the πρόβουλοι is treated as final in itself, and it would manifestly become necessary for such committees to be invested with 'power to act' in all cases of urgency. In the present case their action must be taken at once, or it would be too late.

998 τόνδ'. Throughout this speech the varying application of ὅδε is made clear by pointing on the part of the

actor.—ἐπ' εὐνοία χθονὸς: 'for his loyalty to the land.' ἐπ' expresses the basis or occasion of the resolution: cf. Theogn. 29 μήτ' αἰσχροῖσιν ἐπ' ἐργμασι... | τιμὰς... ἔλκεο, Thuc. 1. 138 ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ φεύγειν. The εὐνοία is that of Eteocles himself, the public benefactor (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 212 τὸν τῇδε δῶσανον καὶ τὸν εὐμενῇ πόλει, Ath. 519 D τοὺτους ἀνακηρύττουσιν... προσκηρύττοντες οὐκ εὐνοίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα χορηγίαν), and we should not render 'with goodwill on the part of the land.' Moreover, though ἐπὶ is treated by grammarians (e.g. Kühner-Gerth 1. p. 502) as used with dat. 'of accompanying circumstances,' the statement is not supported by the instances quoted (cf. Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 759). The real sense of the latter rendering would have to be 'with a view to the goodwill of the land,' i.e. so as to receive it. But this is manifestly far-fetched.—χθονὸς = πόλεως, while the following γῆς is the literal soil.

ἐπ' εὐναίᾳ of M is impossible. The schol. interprets εὐναία as ὁ τόπος τοῦ τάφου (cf. εὐναί of a grave, *Cho.* 317 n.), and in Eur. *Ion* 172 ὑπὸ θριγκοῦς εὐναίας | καρφῆρὰς θάσων τέκνοισι the word (if the text is sound) is used as a noun. Eustath. (*Il.* p. 474. 45) explains a noun εὐναία as a tragic term for ἄγκυρα (so Hesych.). But ἐπ' becomes practically unintelligible, and the repetition of the notion in γῆς φίλαις κατασκαφαῖς pointless. One might suggest ἐπ' εὐναίας χθονὸς, εὐναίος having the sense indicated in ἐνὴ (Cho. l.c.); but the tautology would remain. Moreover in a formal resolution (which is being quoted as such) the phrase of justification (ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ) would surely occur, while the peculiar εὐναία would be hardly likely.

999 θάπτειν: includes cremation, when that rite is practised. The pres. (as distinguished from βαλεῖν 1005) im-

For this Eteocles, it is resolved that for his loyalty to the land we bury him in a grave dug kindly in its soil, since in hatred of the foe he chose death for the country's good, and, guiltless towards the temples of his fathers, he hath found death without reproach where it befits the young to die. Thus, as for him, am I charged to give command; but that his brother

663 F ἐμφαινέτω for εὐφρανέτω, and so very frequently.) ψ. ἐν πόλεις Francken, ἐν τέλει Jacobs. ἱλητὸν πόλει Verrall. 1001 πατρώων M^a, πατρώων δ' M. Paley omits δ' here and reads μομφῆς δ' ἄτερ | τέθνηκεν. 1002 ὥσπερ Blomfield. οἷσπερ ὀρνέους Verrall ingeniously, but fancifully, from schol. ψ. θνήσκειν m.

plies a series of ceremonies.—κατασκαφαῖς: verbal in sense, and instrumental or modal in case.—φίλαις: such as are given by τὰ φίλα to τὰ φίλα. The thought is of reciprocity for his εὐνοία (i.e. φίλαι κατασκαφαῖ φίλον ἄνδρα δέξονται). Cf. fr. trag. adespr. 281 ἐν γῆς φίλης (al. φίλοις) μυχοῖσι κρυφθῆναι καλόν. For φίλαις rather than φίλης cf. 1069. The notions as in Eur. *Hel.* 852 εὐψυχον ἄνδρα πολεμίων θανόνθ' ὑπο | κούφη καταμπίσχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονί, | κακοῦς δ' ἐφ' ἔρμα στερεὸν ἐκβάλλουσι γῆς.

1000 στυγῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.: 'While showing his hate of (her) enemies he chose death for the good of the realm.' στυγῶν is unimpeachable for action demonstrating hatred (221 n.), and the εἰργων δηλονότι of schol. (q.v.) in no way proves στέγων. That word may be used, in a nautical metaphor, of a bulwark or rampart (202, 782) which 'keeps water-tight,' but it could scarcely be transferred (and without a nautical context) to a person.—ἐν πόλει (M) is hopelessly feeble, and is generally condemned. Moreover it would rather suggest to the Athenian ear 'on the acropolis.' His service to the country is the salient matter, and *εὖ πόλει answers to e.g. *Cho.* 820 πόλει τὰδ' εὖ | αἰὼν αἰὼν κέρδος αἰεταί τόδε. For the dat. after the adv. cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 529 ἡμῖνασθε πολεμίους καλῶς, | αἰσχροῖς δ' ἐκείνοις. The expression brings out more clearly the two reasons assigned for approving of his burial: (1) he met his death in the service of the state, (2) he died without an ἄγος in respect of the gods.—εἰλετ'. The sense of preference is that he would rather die than weaken in his feeling towards the public enemy. Less well we might regard εἰλετ' as simply 'took' or 'took up': cf. 786 (n.), Hes. *Th.* 833 Ζεὺς...εἰλετο δ' ὅπλη. 1001 ἱερῶν πατρώων δ' κ.τ.λ. The gen. depends upon the combined notion

δοῖος ὦν μομφῆς ἄτερ, i.e. with μομφῆς ἄτερ exegetic of δοῖος (cf. *Soph. Ph.* 31 ὁρῶ κενὴν οἰκισιν ἀνθρώπων δίχα, *Ant.* 445 ἔξω βαρელας αἰτίας ἐλεύθερον). δοῖος in itself might take the construction of e.g. ἀμεμπτος (*Pers.* 694 τάχυνε δ', ὡς ἀμεμπτος ὦ χρόνον), καθαρὸς ('pure of touching...'), as the opposite of ἐναγῆς τινος (*Thuc.* 1. 126, *Aeschin.* 60. 13). μομφή ἱερῶν again is easy Greek: cf. *Soph. Aj.* 180 μομφὰν ἔχων ξυνοῦ δορός, *Hom. Il.* 1. 93 οὐτ' ἄρ' ὁ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμεται οὐθ' ἐκατόμβης, 5. 178 ἱρῶν μνησίας. Here the two constructions coalesce. [Less satisfactorily we may join ἱερῶν δοῖος, and construct μομφῆς ἄτερ with τέθνηκεν.] The conduct of Eteocles is thus contrasted with that of Polyneices (569, 1009): cf. *Soph. Ant.* 285 ὅστις ἀμφικίονας | ναοὺς πυρώσων ἦλθε κάναθήματα, 198.

1002 τέθνηκεν: rather than ἔθανεν: 'he lies here dead without any ἄγος upon him.' Hence τέθνηκεν οὐπὲρ κ.τ.λ. = κεῖται, θανὼν οὐπὲρ κ.τ.λ.—οὐπὲρ τοῖς νέοις κ.τ.λ.: viz. in the forefront of battle for their country (hence the schol. quotes εἰς οἰωνὸς ἀριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης). The sentiment *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* is frequent in Tyrtaeus; e.g. (*Hiller*) 8. 1 τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα | ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἧ πατρίδι μαρναμένον, *ibid.* 27 νέοισι δὲ πάντ' ἐπέοικεν, | ὄφρ' ἐρατῆς ἥβης ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχη | ...καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσὼν, 10. 13 ἡδ' ἀρετῆς, τόδ' ἀεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἀριστον | κάλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίγνεται ἀνδρὶ νέῳ. See more in Headlam *On Edit. Aesch.* pp. 92 sqq.—νέοις = *iuventuti* (fit for war). The word is emphasised as in Eur. *I. T.* 123 μόχθος γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοῖς νέοις σκῆψιν φέρει. The notion is not that young men ought to die in battle, but that, if they are to die young, battle is the most honourable place.

τούτου δ' ἀδελφὸν τόνδε Πολυνείκους νεκρὸν
 ἔξω βαλεῖν ἄθαπτον, ἀρπαγὴν κυσίν, 1005
 ὡς ὄντ' ἀναστατήρα Καδμείων χθονός,
 εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις ἐμποδὼν ἔσται δορί
 τῷ τοῦδ'. ἄγος δὲ καὶ θανὼν κεκτήσεται
 θεῶν πατρώων, οὓς ἀτιμάσας ὅδε
 στράτευμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβάλων ἦρει πόλιν. 1010
 οὕτω πετηνῶν τόνδ' ὑπ' οἰωνῶν δοκεῖ
 ταφέντ' ἀτίμως τοῦπιτίμιον λαβεῖν,
 καὶ μῆθ' ὁμαρτεῖν τυμβοχόα χειρώματα
 μῆτ' ὀξύμολποις προσσέβειν οἰμώγμασιν,
 ἄτιμον εἶναι δ' ἐκφορᾶς φίλων ὕπο. 1015
 τοιαυτ' ἔδοξεν τῷδε Καδμείων τέλει.

1011 πετεινῶν recc.

1015 M had apparently first written ἄτιμον δ', but has

1004 τούτου...τόνδε. As the κῆρυξ turns from Eteocles to Polyneices the former becomes οὗτος, the latter ὅδε.—Πολυνείκους νεκρὸν = 'the dead Polyneices,' and hence ἀδελφὸν is still easier to the Greek than if we could only regard the expression strictly as 'his brother corpse' (Soph. *Ant.* 26 τὸν δ' ἀθλίως θανόντα Πολυνείκους νέκυν). On Soph. *Aj.* 1177 Jebb observes 'under Athenian law a person put to death for treason (προδοσία) or sacrilege was not to be buried in Attica (Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 22).' Polyneices had committed both these crimes.

1005 βαλεῖν: perhaps rather follows λέγειν ('I am ordered to bid you cast...') than ἐπισταταί, but the point is immaterial.—ἀρπαγὴν κυσίν: a common-place; Hom. *Il.* 1. 4 αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεύχε κόνεσσιν | οἰωνοῖσι τε δαῖτα, 8. 379, *Od.* 14. 133, Soph. *Aj.* 830 μὴ...ῤηφθῶ κυσὶν πρόβλητος οἰωνοῖς θ' ἔλωρ, *Suppl.* 800, Eur. *Ion* 503, *Hec.* 1076.

1006 ὡς ὄντ' ἀναστατήρα. Since ἦν ἀναστατήρ, εἰ μὴ...(*erat...nisi*) is lively idiom, it is natural to find the same absence of ἄν with the participle. Rutherford's ὡς ὄντ' ἄν ἀναστατήρα only weakens the passage.

1007 εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις κ.τ.λ.: 'if some god had not stood in the way with (by means of) the spear of *this* man (his brother).' In pronouncing τοῦδ' the speaker addresses himself with a gesture towards the body of Eteocles. He then turns back and in the next line speaks

again of Polyneices as ὅδε. As written, the words are somewhat perplexing, but there is no ambiguity in them as delivered. They show how naturally Aesch. performed the dramatist's part of visualising the action (πρὸ δμμάτων τιθέμενος *Ar. Poet.* 16 (17). 1). Precisely similar is Soph. *O. T.* 947 τοῦτον Οἰδίπους πάλαι τρέμων | τὸν ἄνδρ' ἔφευγε μὴ κτάνοι, καὶ νῦν ὅδε | πρὸς τῆς τύχης δλωλεν οὐδὲ τοῦδ' ὕπο. [To render as 'if some god had not stood in the way of this man's (Polyneices') spear' is to make τῷ τοῦδ' a useless tag.]

1008 ἄγος δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ.: 'and even though dead, he will keep a pollution.' If alive, Polyneices would be under an ἄγος or taboo, which ἤδη κέκτηται, for his sacrilege, and it does not disappear with his death. Therefore he is not to be buried in the country. For the thought cf. *Suppl.* 234 οὐδὲ μὴ 'ν' Αἰδου θανῶν | φύγῃ ματαῖον ἀτίας πράξας τᾶδε, *Eum.* 175 ὑπὸ τε γᾶν φυγῶν | οὐ ποτ' ἐλευθεροῦται, *ibid.* 340.

1009 sq. ὅδε: stressed and with contempt, in contrast to the other (τοῦδ'): 'this (reckless) being.'—ἀτιμάσας: synchronous with ἐμβάλων; 'in contempt of whom he....'—ἐπακτόν: 570 n.—ἦρει: conative.

1011 sq. οὕτω: 'and so,' *i.e.* in accordance with his guilt (1006 sqq.). We can hardly interpret by 'in the same way (as he acted),' thus connecting ἀτίμως with ἀτιμάσας (1009). This would require a nearer position of οὕτω to ἀτίμως.

here, dead Polyneices, be cast outside unburied, a prey to dogs, in that he was the o'erthrower of the land of the Cadmeans, had not some God stood in his path with this other's spear. Even in death he shall keep the ban of his sin against his fathers' Gods, whom he—behold him!—flouted, when he hurled an alien host upon the land to overcome it. So 'tis resolved that he find for recompense a burial of shame by winged fowl, with neither following of slaves to build his tomb nor honours of shrill tunes of lamentation; but that his own deny him obsequies. This, touching him, is the resolve of the Cadmean powers that be.

erased δ'. εἶναι δ' ἄτιμον Brunn. ψ. 1016 τῷ γε rec. ἔδοξ' ἐν τῷδε Lachmann, ἐς τόνδε Halm. ψ. τέλλει M (probably a dittography τέλλει had occurred).

—**πτηνῶν**. The point of the epithet is that the tomb of Polyneices will be nowhere. His body will be dispersed, carried this way and that by creatures 'on wings' and therefore vagabond. In Soph. *Ant.* 1082 πτηνὸς οἰωνὸς φέρων | ἀνέσιον ὁσμὴν ἐστιοῦχον ἐς πᾶν there is a manifest point of another kind in the adjective; but in [Eur.] *Rhes.* 515 στήσω πετεινοῖς γυψὶ θοινατήριον the epithet is otiose.—**ὑπ' οἰωνῶν ταφέντ'** suggests the γυψες ἐκψυχοὶ τάφοι of Gorgias, so much disapproved by Longinus (3. 2) and Hermogenes (*de Id.* 3. p. 226), though adopted by Lucretius (5. 993 *vino sepeliri viscera busto*) after Ennius (*Ann.* 142). But here it is **ταφή** and not **τάφος** which is in point, and **ταφέντ'** = 'buried, in so far as he can be said to be buried.' His only **ταφή** will be performed by birds (cf. Soph. *El.* 1487 where they are the **ταφῆς**)—a **ταφή** ἄταφος.—**τούπιτίμιον**: the payment for his offences. The sing. is rare in words of this class, yet cf. *μήνυτρον* (*Hymn. Herm.* 264), *νικητήριον* (Eubul. *ap.* Ath. 668 D), *λύτρον*, τὸ *καλλιστείον* (Eur. *I. T.* 23). There is an intentional play upon the sound and sense in *ἀτρίως ἐπιτίμιον*.

1013 sq. **καὶ μῆδ' ὁμαρτεῖν κ.τ.λ.** These two lines express the usual double deprivation: Hom. *Il.* 22. 386 ἀκλάντος ἀθαπτος, *Od.* 11. 72, Soph. *Ant.* 29 εἶν ἄταφον ἀκλάντος, *ibid.* 203 μήτε κτερίζει μήτε ἐκκύσαι τινα. Cf. also the request of Orestes Eur. *I. T.* 701 πρὸς δεξιᾶς σε τῆσδ' ἐπισκῆπτω τάδε | τύμβον τε χῶσον *καί* πῆδες μνημεῖά μου, | *καὶ* δάκρυ' ἀδελφῇ *καὶ* κόμας δόντω τάφῳ.

ὁμαρτεῖν: i.e. go in procession.—**χειρώματα** is quite sound in the sense of 'slaves' (σώματα *χειρωμένα*). There is practically no limit to the coinage of

passive neuters in -μα to express persons. Cf. *παιδεύματα* (Eur. *Hipp.* 11), *συγκοιμήματα* (*Andr.* 1273), *παραγκάλισμα* (Soph. *Ant.* 650), *κῆδευμα* (*O. T.* 85), *μελιγμα* (*Cho.* 15 n.). In Soph. *O. C.* 923 ἀγοντα φωτῶν ἀθλίῳν ἰκτήρια (= φῶτας ἰκτηρίους) the defining gen. corresponds to the adj. **τυμβοχόα** (= *τύμβον χῶσσοντα*) here. For the heaped *τύμβος* cf. Soph. *Ant.* 80 ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ τάφον | χῶσσουσ' ἀδελφῷ φιλτάτῳ πορεύσομαι with *ibid.* 1203 *τύμβον...χῶσαντες*, Eur. *Suppl.* 54 τάφῳ χῶματα γάλας, *Rhes.* 414 ἐν χῶστοις τάφοις. The original process is described in Hom. *Il.* 23. 255 *τορνώσαντο δὲ σῆμα θεμελιά τε προβάλλοντο | ἀμφὶ πυρῆν*: εἶθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχευαν. Aeschylus is expressing epic, not contemporary, notions.

In the building of the *τύμβος* the work was done either by the soldiers of a leader (*Od.* 24. 80) or by captives (Eur. *Suppl.* 939 οὗτος μὲν ἤδη δμῳσὶν ἂν μέλοι πόνος, viz. the *μήμα* of Capaneus). The more conspicuous the mound and the more persons employed upon it, the greater the distinction: see *Cho.* 350 *πολύχωστον ἂν εἶχες τάφον διαποντίου γᾶς* and note. So, with the mourners, the number counted for honour (Pind. *I.* 7. 64 ἐπὶ θρήνον ... πολύφαμον ἔχευαν).—**ὀξύμολποις**: 859 *λεγαίνειν* (n.).

1015 **ἄτιμον εἶναι δ' κ.τ.λ.** *ἐκφορᾶς* follows *ἄτιμον* (861 n.).—**φίλων ὑπο** belongs not simply to the verbal noun *ἐκφορᾶς* but to the whole notion *ἄτιμον εἶναι ἐκφορᾶς*. The sense is thus οἱ φίλοι ἐάσουσιν αὐτὸν *ἄτιμον ἐκφορᾶς*.

1016 **τοιαῦτ' ἔδοξεν τῷδε κ.τ.λ.**: **τῷδε** cannot be joined to *τέλλει* with any satisfactory result. The body of *πρόβουλοι* is not present. The sense is that sought by Lachmann's *ἔδοξ' ἐν τῷδε* ('in the

AN. ἐγὼ δὲ Καδμείων γε προστάταις λέγω·
 ἦν μὴ τις ἄλλος τόνδε συνθάπτειν θέλη,
 ἐγὼ σφε θάψω, κἀνὰ κίνδυνον βαλῶ
 θάψας· ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐμόν· οὐδ' αἰσχύνομαι 1020
 ἔχουσ' ἄπιστον τήνδ' ἀναρχίαν πόλει·
 δεινὸν τὸ κοινὸν σπλάγχνον, οὗ πεφύκαμεν
 μητρὸς ταλαίνης καπὸ δυστήνου πατρός.
 τοιγὰρ θέλουσ' ἄκοντι κοινώνει κακῶν,
 ψυχῇ, θανόντι ζῶσα, συγγόνῳ φρενί. 1025
 τούτῳ δὲ σάρκας οὐδὲ κοιλογαστορες

1017 γε om. rec. προστάταισι Καδμείων (missing the tone) Blomfield. †. 1018 θέ-
 λοι M, corr. recc. 1020 τιμῶσ' for θάψας' Heimsoeth. †. 1024 ἐκόντι rec. †.
 κοινώνει κακῶ. (or κακῶ.) M, κακῶι m (and a schol.), κακῶν recc. If κοινώνει is right

case of Polyneices'), but the dat. of reference (or incommodi) may bear precisely the same meaning. Though it may seem awkward to a reader to separate τῷδε from τέλει, it is evident from other places that such ambiguity of the written words did not strike the poet, who mentally heard his own lines spoken with the proper dramatic intonation. See 407, where φίλων does not belong to ὀλομένων, and 424, where τῷδε is to be separated from κέρδει. Cf. Jebb on Soph. Tr. 815. —τέλει. The πρόβουλοι now form 'the authority' in Thebes. Had there been various bodies to consider, we should have had τέλεσι or τοῖς ἐν τέλει. The κῆρυξ chooses the word with the sense 'the order comes from those whose bidding is final.'

1017 ἐγὼ δὲ Καδμείων γε κ.τ.λ.: 'and I tell the προστάταις of your Cadmeans.' The suggestion of γε is that of contemptuous sarcasm. The princess of the royal house adopts the natural tone towards these new authorities of the δῆμος (997). It is scarcely possible that in προστάτης Aesch. has in mind any notion akin to that of the later προστάτης τοῦ δήμου. The term is indefinite and non-committal. In Eur. *Heracl.* (ad fin.) τοῖς τῆσδε χώρας προστάταισιν οὐ δοκεῖ the reference is to Demophon. The κῆρυξ may call them, with all respect to an accepted position, πρόβουλοι, but Antigone recognises only that there are leaders of some sort.

1019 sq. κἀνὰ κίνδυνον βαλῶ. From the literal ἀναβάλλειν, ἀναρρίπτειν κύβους comes this metaphorical extension, in which, strictly speaking, κίνδυνον is con-

tained accus., the 'risk' consisting in the nature of the cast. Cf. Hdt. 7. 50, Thuc. 4. 85, and the simple verb ῥίπτειν κίνδυνον Eur. *Heracl.* 148, *Rhes.* 154. The tense of θάψας should be noted. The burying is antecedent to the 'chance.' 'I will bury him, and I will stand my chance (of what may happen) for having—buried my own brother.' This rendering will show that θάψας is anything but redundant, and will explain the articular τὸν ἐμόν: 'my own brother (who is more to me than all the orders of the Cadmeans).' So Soph. *Ant.* 44 12. ἡ γὰρ νοεῖς θάπτειν σφ', ἀπόρρητον πόλει; | AN. τὸν γοῦν ἐμόν, καὶ τὸν σόν, ἦν σὺ μὴ θέλῃς, | ἀδελφόν.

1021 ἔχουσ' ἀναρχίαν: not 'labouring under the charge of ἀναρχία' (as if αἰτίαν ἔχουσ' ἀναρχίας: cf. μωρίαν ὀφλισ-
 κάνειν), but 'showing disobedience' (= οὐ πειθαρχοῦσα). Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 540 παρυσίαν ἔχειν, 564 δυσμενῶν θήραν ἔχων, *Ant.* 300 πανουργίας... ἔχειν, Hom. *Il.* 18. 495 βοῖν ἔχε, 16. 105 πῆλξ καναχὴν ἔχε, *Od.* 1. 368 μηστῆρες... ὕβριν ἔχοντες, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 255 τετράπουν | μῖμον ἔχων... | θηρός, the familiar φυλακὴν ἔχειν, and e.g. Shak. *Hamlet*. 1. 5. 65 hold enmity, *K. L.* 3. 2. 45 keep this dreadful rother. —ἄπιστον = οὐ πειθουμένην: sup. 827 (n.). Hesych. quotes from Soph. ἀπιστος· ἀπειθής; so ἀπειτεῖν = ἀπειθεῖν.—πόλει is stressed in antithesis to ἀδελφόν. If she perceives a divided duty she decides wholly for her brother. The dat. depends on the whole line.

1022 sq. δεινὸν τὸ κοινὸν σπλάγχ-
 νον: 'a powerful tie—the common loins from which we are sprung.' Cf. *P. V.* 39 τὸ συγγενὲς τοι δεινὸν ἢ θ' ὁμίλια, Eur.

ANT. And I say to them who take lead of your Cadmeans; if none other will help in burying him, I will bury him, and if to bury mine own brother be danger, I will take my risk. Nor have I any shame to shew this stubborn disobedience to the state. Mighty the bond of the common loins whence we are sprung—from unhappy mother and from ill-starred sire. Therefore, my soul, gladly—though no voice hath he—make common cause in misery with him, the living with the dead, as loyal sister should. The flesh of him—no! no hollow-

the reading of M is difficult to account for. Probably the true reading is **κοίν' αίνει κακά*. †. 1026 *τούτω* M, *τούτου* recc. My previous suggestion *τόργοι* is scarcely needed. †. *οὔτι* Blomf., for *οὐδέ*.

Phoen. 355. The *σπλάγγχον* is that of the father as well as the mother (*Soph. Ant.* 1066).—*μητρός ταλαίνης κ.τ.λ.* Though it is possible (1) to run on *τὸ κοινὸν σπλ. μητρός ταλαίνης* and to take *κάπὸ δυστήνου πατρός* as 'an afterthought' (*Sidgwick*), or (2) to construe *οὐ πεφύκαμεν μητρός τ. κάπὸ δ. π.* in the sense 'from which we are sprung of a common mother and from an ill-starred sire,' it is far simpler (3) to supply *ἀπὸ* with the earlier noun, *i.e.* *ἀπὸ μητρός τ. κάπὸ κ.τ.λ.* This construction is extremely common: cf. *Soph. O.T.* 733 *σχιστὴ δ' ὁδὸς | ἐς ταῦτ' ἀελφῶν κάπὸ Δαυλίας ἀγει*, *Ant.* 1176 *πότ' ἐρα πατρῶας ἢ πρὸς οἰκίας χερὸς*; *Trach.* 765, *Eur. Hel.* 863 *Τροίας δὲ σωθεὶς κάπὸ βαρβάρου χθονός*, *Pind. N.* 10. 37 *ἐφέπει... | ...τιμὰ Χαρτεσσὶ τε καὶ σὺν Τυνδαρίδαϊς*, 9. 13, *I.* 1. 29 *ρεέθροισι τε Δίρκας ἔφανεν καὶ παρ' Εὐρώτα*, *Alcman fr.* 22, *Archestr. ap. Ath.* 302 A; cf. *Verg. Aen.* 5. 512 *illa notos atque atra volans in nubila fugit*.

1024 *βέλουσ' ἄκοντι*: explained by *θανόντι ζῶσα*. The sense of *ἄκοντι* is not that of unwillingness, but of absence of wish or will at all. He has no say in the matter. *βέλουσ'* = 'zealously' (449 n).—*κοινῶναι κακά*. of M is hard to account for if *κακῶν* is right. Probably *Aesch.* wrote **κοίν' αίνει κακά*: 'make common cause in trouble.' He uses *αίνειν* and *ἐπαινεῖν* of 'accepting a view' (*censere*, cf. *Cho.* 191, *Ag.* 1369, *inf.* 1063) and of 'acquiescing in' or adopting a situation (*Cho.* 79, *Suppl.* 914, 1081).

1025 *ψυχῇ*. Such apostrophe to the heart or courage is frequent. Cf. *Hom. Od.* 20. 17 *στῆθος δὲ πλῆξας 'κραδίην ἤνικαπε μύθω*, | *τέτλαθι δὴ, κραδίη*, *Il.* 21. 552, *Archil. fr.* 62. 1 *θυμέ, θύμ', ἀμη-*

χάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε, | *<ἀντέχου>*, *Theogn.* 1029 *τόλμα, θυμέ, Sopater ap. Ath.* 160 c *θάρσει, θυμέ*, *Soph. Tr.* 1259, *Eur. Med.* 1242 *ἀλλ' εἴ' ὀπλίζου, καρδία*, *Pind. N.* 3. 26, *O.* 1. 4, *P.* 3. 61, and the burlesque in *Ar. Vespr.* 756 *σπεῖδ', ὦ ψυχῇ· ποῦ μοι ψυχῇ*; So *Shak. Haml.* 1. 2. 257 *Sit still, my soul*.—*συγγόνῳ φρενί*: with *κοινῶναι*.—*φρενί* is stressed. She is *σύνγονος* and would have her heart prove that the kinship goes thus deep.

1026 sq. *τούτῳ δὲ κ.τ.λ.* See crit. n. If *πάσσονται* is read, *τούτου* is preferable, while with *σπάσσονται* the dat. incomm. is somewhat better than the genitive. The appearance of *τούτου* in recc. is probably due to the alteration to *πάσσονται*, while *τούτῳ* of M indicates the original reading. Also on the whole the notion of the birds tearing the flesh appears somewhat stronger as a tragic picture than that of eating. Either expression or thought is found: *e.g.* (1) *Hom. Il.* 15. 351 *ἀλλὰ κύνες ἐρύουσι πρὸ δαστεὸς ἡμετέροιο*, 22. 335 *κύνες ἡδ' ὀλῶνοι | ἐλκήσουσ' αἰκῶς*, *Soph. Ant.* 1198 *κυνοσπάρακτον σῶμα Πολυνέικους*, *Chaucer Clerkes Tale* 570 *Burieth this litel bodie in som place | That bestes ne no bridides it to-race*; (2) *Il.* 18. 271 *πολλοὺς δὲ κύνες καὶ γῦπες ἔδονται*, 4. 237 *τῶν ἦ τοι αὐτῶν τέρενα χροῖα γῦπες ἔδονται*: or both are combined, *e.g.* *Il.* 22. 66 *κύνες... ὠμῆσται ἐρύουσιν*.—*οὐδέ* is used idiomatically: 'and, as for his flesh, wolves shall not tear it, either.' Cf. *Plat. Rep.* 328 c *καὶ εἶπεν Ὁ Σώκρατες, οὐδὲ θαμίξεις ἡμῖν καταβαλῶν*. The full thought is (*οὐκ ἔσται ἀπαφως*) *οὐδὲ κ.τ.λ.*—*κοιλογαστρος*: not strictly 'empty-bellied,' but 'hollow-bellied' (the 'belly-pinched wolf' of *King Lear* 3. 1. 12 is somewhat different). The concavity is that of the outside aspect

λύκοι σπάσονται· μὴ δοκησάτω τινί.
τάφον γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ κατασκαφὰς ἐγώ,
γυνή περ οὔσα, τῷδε μηχανήσομαι
κόλπῳ φέρουσα βυσσίνου πεπλώματος,
καὺτὴ καλύψω· μηδέ τῳ δόξῃ πάλιν.
θάρσει· παρέσται μηχανὴ δραστήριος.

1030

KH. αὐδῶ πόλιν σε μὴ βιάζεσθαι τάδε.

AN. αὐδῶ σέ μὴ περισσὰ κηρύσσειν ἐμοί.

KH. τραχὺς γε μέντοι δῆμος ἐκφυγῶν κακά.

1035

AN. τράχυν· ἄθαπτος δ' οὗτος οὐ γενήσεται.

KH. ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στυγεί, σὺ τιμήσεις τάφῳ;

AN. ἤδη τὰ τοῦδ' οὐ διατετίμηται θεοῖς;

1027 σπάσονται M^a, * πάσονται M. †.

1028 αὐτῷ M, αὐτῇ Pierson (but τῷδε belongs to κόλπῳ). †. The true reading may, however, be *αὐτοῦ ('on the spot').

1031 καὶ γῇ Dobree.

1032 θάρσει· παρέσται M. θάρσει παρέσται Porson. †.

1033 τῷδε rec., but τάδε is more characteristically impatient ('in ways like this').

(cf. τὰ κοῖλα τῶν ποδῶν, τὰ κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας, and Soph. *O.T.* 1261 ἐκ δὲ πυθμένων | ἐκλινε κοῖλα κληῖθρα, where the sense is of bending them inward). The shape of a wolf suggests the starving, and the word here implies that sense, but it is not primary.

μὴ δοκησάτω τινί: 'let none resolve it,' is much more pointed than 'let none think it.' Antigone is alluding sarcastically to the Herald's repeated phrase, δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντα (996), ἔδοξε (999), δοκεῖ (1011), ἔδοξεν (1016). She means 'I care nothing for your δοκεῖ and ἔδοξε.' —τινί is allusive, the πρόβουλοι being meant: cf. 389 (n.). There is no difference between δόξαι and δοκῆσαι in this meaning: cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 186 ψήφῳ δοκῆσαν, *Suppl.* 129 ἰδίᾳ δοκῆσαν σοὶ τὰδ' ἡ πόσις πόλει; see 1031.

1028 sqq. κατασκαφὰς: not in the full sense. The κῆρυξ has spoken of κατασκαφαί for Eteocles (999). She will 'contrive' for Polyneices a tomb and some equivalent of κατασκαφαί. She will scrape up the dust and earth and lay him in such hollow as she can make, and then carry earth in her robe to cover him.—τῷδε...κόλπῳ κ.τ.λ. Despite the fine work of her costly garment she will thus use it. The precise nature of βύσσης is uncertain, but it appears to have been linen from a fine species of flax (*Dict. Ant.* 1. 319).—πεπλώματος is more expressive than πέπλου, as drawing atten-

tion to the cost or labour in making it.—κόλπῳ = 'fold' or 'lap' (*sinu*). With φέρουσα we must supply some word naturally suggested by the context, e.g. γῆν or κόνιν (Soph. *Ant.* 429), or perhaps more strictly a vague τὸ δέον.

1031 καὺτῇ: 'and by myself.'—δόξῃ: 1027.—πάλιν: 'otherwise'; see 244 (n.).

1032 θάρσει: apostrophising herself. The word has, however, become an interjection: 'Courage!' θάρσει is similarly followed in Soph. *Ph.* 667, *O.C.* 726.—παρέσται κ.τ.λ. = 'where there's a will there's a way.' [Others make θάρσει dat. and read θάρσει παρέσται κ.τ.λ.]

1033 sq. αὐδῶ πόλιν σε κ.τ.λ. σε is more formal, because less direct, than σοι.—πόλιν is stressed: an individual cannot flout a whole state.—βιάζεσθαι, like κηρύσσειν, is conative (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 663 νόμους βιάζεται). The retort, which repeats αὐδῶ, requires σὲ rather than σε, both in reply to his own σε and also in antithesis to ἐμοί. For repetition in retort cf. Soph. *O.T.* 547 ΚΡ. τοῦτ' αὐτὸ νῦν μου πρῶτ' ἀκουσον ὡς ἐρῶ. | ΟΙΔ. τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μὴ μοι φράζ', ὅπως οὐκ εἰ κακός, *P.V.* 53 sq., *ibid.* 69 ΗΦ. ὀρέσθαι δυσθέατον ὄμμασιν. | ΚΡ. ὀρῶ κυροῦντα τόνδε τῶν ἐπαξιῶν, Eur. *H.F.* 713 ΑΜ. δοκῶ μὲν αὐτὴν.... ΑΤ. τί χρήμα δόξης τῆσδ' ἔχεις τεκμήριον;—κηρύσσειν: 'play the κῆρυξ.'

1035 τραχὺς. In Soph. *Ant.* 35 sq.

bellied wolves shall rend it; let no man 'resolve' it. For, woman as I am, 'tis I will compass him burying and a grave, carrying it in this lap of finest drapery, and alone I will cover him; and let none 'resolve' otherwise. Courage! I shall find means to do!

HER. I warn thee, pursue not this flouting of the state.

ANT. I warn thee, deliver no useless commands to me.

HER. Harsh, mind thee, is a people escaped from evil case.

ANT. Harsh as thou wilt! He shalt not lack his grave.

HER. Wilt thou honour with burial one whom the state abhors?

ANT. Honour? Have not the Gods already fixed his share?

1034 σε M. Corr. *ed. ↓. **1035—1044** Each line is marked with the paragraphus. **1036** γενήσεται M^a. **1037** κοσμήσεις rec. (The next line alone proves τιμήσεις.) **1038** The line requires no emendation beyond the mark of interrogation. ↓. Casaubon wrote ἡ δὴ τὰ τοῦδ' κ.τ.λ. (as question). δυστετίμηται Hermann, δίχα τετίμηται Wieseler. In his τοῦδε for τοῦδ' οὐ Weckl. is mistaken in thinking that he has the support of the schol.

the consequence is to be stoning (the people's punishment, 181 n.). The statement is here general and δῆμος is emphasised ('a δῆμος'). For the sentiment (with a difference) cf. *P. V.* 35 ἅπας δὲ τραχὺς ὅστις ἂν νέον κρατῇ. The implication is that it has escaped troubles brought upon it by others, its former rulers. The conduct of the French after the Revolution is an extreme illustration of the γνώμη.

1036 τράχυν': lit. 'make it harsh' = 'make it out as harsh as you will.' This peculiar application of a word in retort, by which a man is represented as actually doing or causing that which he names as being done, appears also in Alexis *ap.* Ath. 516 E A. τὸ τοιοῦτον γὰρ αἰέτως μέρος | ἐπιπαίζεται... | B. ἄνθρωπον', ἐπιπαίξει (already cited by Headlam). Cf. *sup.* 467 κόμπαζ' ἐπ' ἄλλω (for τοὺς κόμπους ἄλλου τινὸς λέγει).

1037 ἄλλ' ὅν κ.τ.λ. The rhythm throws upon both πόλις and σὺ their effective emphasis. 'Are you to set yourself against a (whole) country?' For στυγεῖ cf. 1000 (n.).

1038 ἤδη τὰ τοῦδ' οὐ κ.τ.λ. The addition of the interrogation-sign gives to this line an entirely simple and appropriate sense (which is that of schol.).—διατετίμηται takes up τιμήσεις. 'Have not the questions of his honour or dishonour been already settled by a higher

power—the Gods?' οὐ is put rather late in the question in order to allow the emphatic ἤδη to come first. The force of δια- may be (1) that of discrimination, whether as between the two sides of the question or between Polyn. and his brother. They are both dead, and both in the same way. Such has been the pleasure of the Gods, who have thereby shown their judgment upon the rights of the question. The sense of τιμᾶν here includes that of 703 (n.), but further recalls the law-courts, in which the dicast τιμᾷ τὴν δίκην (βλάβην &c.) τιμᾷ or τιμᾷ τινὶ τινος in the way of assessment. The Gods have decided the award (in distinction from that of Eteocles, or as between two alternatives, δια-). Otherwise (2) δια- denotes not discrimination but finality (= 'thoroughly'): cf. *fr.* 265 διαπεφρούρηται βίος, explained by Hesych. as ἡ διὰ τοῦ βίου φρουρὰ συντετέλεσται ('its watching is over and done with'). Similarly Eur. *Suppl.* 528 εἰ γὰρ τι καὶ πεπόνθατ' Ἀργείων ὄπο, | τεθνᾶσιν, ἡμῖνασθε πολέμους καλῶς, | ἀσχαρῶς δ' ἐκέλευς, χῆ δίκη διώχεται, and (with the simple verb) Eur. *Hipp.* 1456 ΘΗ. μὴ νυν προδῶς με, τέκνον, ἀλλὰ καρτέρει. | ΠΙ. κεκαρτέρηται τὰμ' ὀλωλα γὰρ, πάτερ. If we have absolutely to choose between one sense of δια- and the other, the latter is preferable; but it is doubtful whether the two meanings were kept distinct in the Greek consciousness.

KH. οὐ πρίν γε χώραν τήνδε κινδύνῳ βαλεῖν.

AN. παθὼν κακῶς κακοῖσιν ἀντημείβετο.

1040

KH. ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντας ἀνθ' ἐνὸς τόδ' ἔργον ἦν.

AN. Ἔρις περαίνει μῦθον ὑστάτη θεῶν.

ἐγὼ δὲ θάψω τόνδε· μὴ μακρηγόρει.

KH. ἀλλ' αὐτόβουλος ἴσθ', ἀπεννέπω δ' ἐγώ.

XO. φεῦ φεῦ.

1045

ὦ μεγάλαυχοι καὶ φθερσιγενεῖς

Κῆρες Ἐρινύες, αἶτ' Οἰδιπόδα

γένος ὠλέσατε πρυμνόθεν οὕτως,

τί πάθω; τί δὲ φῶ; τί δὲ μῆσωμαι;

πῶς τολμήσω μήτε σε κλαίειν

1050

μήτε προπέμπειν ἐπὶ τύμβῳ;

1042 sq. Some (for the sake of the *στιχομυθία*) suspect either a lacuna or an interpolation. But ↓. 1045—1064 M indicates *ἡμιχόρια* at 1045 and 1064, and marks

1039 οὐ πρίν γε κ.τ.λ.: '(yes, but) not before...', i.e. there is a further question to be considered. Had this (equal) *διατίμησις* occurred in other circumstances, before Polyneices had invaded us, the matter would doubtless have been regarded as settled. So far as concerns the quarrel between the brothers, or the curse of Oedipus, we have nothing to say. They were, in this respect, on the same footing. But the πόλις has its own say in the further matter of the invasion. Hence τήνδε: 'there is this state's point of view.'—κινδύνῳ βαλεῖν. The dat. is not that of the instrument or missile which smites the πόλις, but the dat. of that into or upon which the country is cast (whether recipient or locative). Cf. *P. V.* 732 θυμῷ βάλλ', *Soph. Ph.* 67 λύπην πᾶσιν Ἀργείοις βαλεῖς, Lat. *demittere ponto* &c. In *Hom. Od.* 13. 142 πρεσβύτατον καὶ ἀριστον ἀτιμῆσιν ἰάλλειν there appears some ambiguity, but ἰάλλειν with accus. is apparently only used of the thing thrown.

1041 ἀνθ' ἐνὸς: a brachylogy, either for (1) ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς ἓνα: 'instead of being aimed against one (viz. Eteocles)'; or for (2) ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑφ' ἐνὸς πεπραγμένου, i.e. 'in return for one man'='for the action of one man.' The latter is the easier. Brachylogy is frequent with ἀντί: cf. *Plut. Mor.* 645 D ἀντὶ τοῦ δαφνίνου τοῖς ῥοδίνου ἀναδήσασθαι (=ἀντὶ τοῦ δαφνίνου ἀναδήσασθαι), *Pericl.* 7. 2 τῷ δήμῳ προσένειμεν ἑαυτὸν, ἀντὶ τῶν πλου-

σίων...τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐλόμενος, *Xen. Hell.* 1. 7. 33.

1042 sq. Ἔρις περαίνει κ.τ.λ. As the speech of Antigone, though not the absolutely last words of the conversation, does end the discussion, we may quite naturally assign both these lines to her. *στιχομυθία* was made for the poet and not the poet for *στιχομυθία*. The thrust and parry are marked as concluded by a departure from the one-line retort.—Ἔρις is personified, as in *Homer*, and ranked among the minor divinities. The line is a γνώμη, whether original or a paraphrase. The dispute is an ἔρις, and Ἔρις is the last of the deities to say her last word. 'We can quarrel for ever; for Quarrel &c.' Cf. the sense of ἡ ἐριστική and ἐριστικοὶ λόγοι. For περαίνει, of speech, cf. *Pers.* 700 ἀλλὰ σύντομον λέγων | εἰπέ καὶ πέραινε πάντα, *Ar. Plut.* 648 πέραινε τοῖνυν ὅ τι λέγεις ἀνύσας ποτέ, *Ran.* 1170. From this came the use of συμπέρασμα for a logical conclusion. The line ἐγὼ δὲ κ.τ.λ. is delivered with slow emphasis.

1045 sqq. The division of the concluding anapaests is best as given or indicated in M and in the text. The parts assigned to various portions of the Chorus are not equal, and this fact does away with the necessity (even if it were otherwise assumed, though the treatment of choric anapaests does not warrant the assumption) of exact metrical equivalence.

1046 sqq. μεγάλαυχοι: in conse-

HER. Nay, not before he imperilled this land of ours.

ANT. He suffered ill, and was answering it with ill.

HER. But his deed was aimed at all because of one.

ANT. Quarrel is the last of Gods to have done with talk.
I will bury this body. Waste no more words.

HER. Well, follow thine own devices: I give my warning.

[Exit HERALD (to right).]

CHORUS.

Alas! Alas! Ye Vengeful Powers of Harm, loudly triumphant in the undoing of a race, who have thus demolished, root and branch, the stock of Oedipus! What must be my case? What must I say? Or what devise?

How can I find the heart neither to weep for thee nor to lead thee forth to burial?

1049, 1054, 1058 with paragraphus.
I. Voss (see 71 n.).

1048 ὠλέσσετε Elmsley, but ↓. πρέμνοθεν

1049 δ' ἐρῶ M, δὲ δρῶ recc. Corr. *ed. ↓. 1051 τύμβον

quence of their victory (cf. 936 sqq.).—καὶ φθερσιγενεῖς explains wherein their victory consists. φθερσ. is a generic epithet, and hence αἶτ'...γένος ὠλέσσετε is no idle tautology. The function of the Erinyes is to be 'destroyers of a race,' and in this case they have won their boast by destroying the race of Oedipus. For this function cf. 707 ὠλεσίκοικον (n.) and Eum. 355 δωμάτων γὰρ εἰλόμαν | ἀνατροπᾶς, όταν' Ἀρης | τιθασὸς ὦν φίλον ἔλῃ, Hom. Od. 15. 234 θαδ' δασπλήτης Ἑρινύς (where δασπλήτης is etymologically 'smiter of houses').

In Κῆρες Ἑρινύς the Erinyes, while by implication distinguished from other classes of Kêres (Harrison *Prol. Gk. Rel.* 165 sqq., 186, 213 sqq.), receive their full title of dread and mischief. Κῆρες is the wider term for spirits of bale. In Hes. *Th.* 217 Night Μοῖρας καὶ Κῆρας ἐγείνατο νηλεοποίνους... | αἶτ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε παραιβασίας ἐφέπονσαι | οὐδέποτε λήγουσι θεαὶ δεινοῖο χόλοιο, | πρὶν γ' ἀπὸ τῷ δώωσι κακῆν ὅπιν κ.τ.λ.—ὠλέσσετε: cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1220 ὑπὸ πλάκα, *O. C.* 180 ἔτι; προβίβατε, *Ani.* 612 τὸ πρὶν. We are prevented from reading ὠλέσσετε (Elmsl.) by the rule that an anapaest is not followed by a dactyl in the same dipodia.—πρυμνόθεν: 71 (n.).—οὕτως: 'in this way' (i.e. 'as ye have done'). We cannot join the word with πρυμνόθεν after the pattern of e.g. ἀπλῶς οὕτως, since this use is confined to combination with words expressive of carelessness or rough-and-ready. The sense of πρυμνόθεν is the exact contrary.

1049 τί δὲ *φῶ; M has τί δ' ἐρῶ; and later MSS τί δὲ δρῶ; The appearance of the fut. itself is by no means objectionable. Cf. *Cho.* 87 πῶς εὐφρον' εἰπω; πῶς κατεύξομαι πατρί; Soph. *Tr.* 973 τί πάθω; τί δὲ μήσομαι; οἰμοί, Eur. *I. A.* 442 οἰμοί τί φῶ δύστηνος; ἀρξομαι πόθεν; *El.* 967 τί δῆτα δρώμεν μητέρ'; ἢ φονεύσομεν; *Ion* 758 εἰπόμεν ἢ σιγῶμεν ἢ τί δράσομεν; The primary notions of subjunct. and fut. were so near that their interchange is sufficiently natural. Perhaps between two aorists subjunct. another might be expected, but uniformity of the kind is not sought by poetry. It is certainly less exceptionable to read the future, which so often appears beside the aor. subjunct., than to interpose the pres. δρῶ. The objection is rather to the sense of ἐρῶ. The question is not what the Chorus is about to 'say,' in the sense of 'utter' (λέγειν), but what it is to 'agree to' or 'decide for' (φάναι). By reading τί δὲ φῶ; we get the three questions 'What is to become of me? What am I to consent to? What course am I to devise?' The meaning of these questions is explained by the more definite one which follows.

1050 sq. σε: turning to Polyneices.—μήτε...κλαίειν κ.τ.λ.: repeating the notions of ἀκλαυτος ἀταφος (1013 sqq.). Cf. further *Cho.* 8 οὐ γὰρ παρὼν ὦμωξα σόν, πάτερ, μόρον, | οὐδ' ἐξέτεινα χεῖρ' ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν νεκροῦ (n.), Sol. *fr.* 21 μηδὲ μοι ἀκλαυτος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φιλοσύν | ποιήσαιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς.—ἐπὶ τύμβῳ: with a view to a τύμβος.

ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι κάποτρέπομαι
δεῖμα πολιτῶν.

σύ γε μὴν πολλῶν πευθητήρων
τεύξη· κείνος δ' ὁ τάλας ἄγοος
μονόκλαυτον ἔχων θρήνον ἀδελφῆς
εἰσιν; τίς ἂν οὖν τὰ πίθοιτο;

1055

HMIX. δράτω <τε> πόλις καὶ μὴ δράτω·
ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἴμεν καὶ συνθάψομεν
αἶδε πρόπομποί. καὶ γὰρ γενεᾷ
κοινὸν τόδ' ἄχος, καὶ πόλις ἄλλως
ἄλλοτ' ἐπαινεί τὰ δίκαια.

1058

1060

HMIX. ἡμεῖς δ' ἅμα τῷδ', ὥσπερ τε πόλις
καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ξυνεπαινεί.
μετὰ γὰρ μάκαρας καὶ Διὸς ἰσχὺν
ὄδε Καδμείων ἥρυξε πόλιν
μὴ ἀνατραπήναι
μηδ' ἄλλοδαπῷ κύματι φωτῶν
κατακλυσθῆναι τὰ μάλιστα.

1065

1070

recc. ψ. **1052** κάποστρέφομαι Paley. ψ. **1053** δόγμα L. Schmidt, λῆμα Meineke. δῆγμα is an obvious suggestion, but the text is better. ψ. **1057** I have added the question mark at εἰσιν; ψ. πείθοιτο M, corr. recc. Recc. have εἰσι with τίς ἂν οὖν (τίς οὖν or τίς ἂν) ταῦτα, whence εἰσιν· τίς ἂν οὖν ταῦτα πίθοιτο; Brunck. But ταῦτα is plainly a gloss. A possible source of the variants is ἀδελφῆς | * <ῆς> εἰσι; τίς οὖν τὰ πίθοιτ' ἂν; (or πίθοιτο alone: see note to *Cho.* 593, where add Herondas 5. 76 τίς

1052 sq. ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι κ.τ.λ. καὶ is explanatory; 'But I am afraid; yes, I shrink from....'—δεῖμα πολιτῶν=τοὺς δεινοὺς πολίτας: cf. Eur. *H. F.* 700 πέρσας δειμάτα θηρῶν, Pind. *N.* 1. 50 ἄμυνεν ἔβριν κνωδάλων ('the wicked brutes'), *Cho.* 766 δεσπότου στύγει (n.), *sup.* 475. δεῖμα πολιτῶν is the citizens who inspire our fear, just as Πειθοῦς σέβας (*Eum.* 886) is the Πειθῶ who inspires our awe.—ἀποτρέπομαι treats this dread thing almost as if it were a demonic power. With ἀποτρέπομαι cf. *Pers.* 220 ἀπότροπην, *P. V.* 24 ἀποκρίψει, 686 θεῶπρόπους. There is the more inducement to the lengthening in this particular word through its connection with ritual. So Eur. *Phoen.* 586 ὦ θεοί, γένεισθε τῶνδ' ἀπότηροισι κακῶν.

1055 sqq. κείνος...εἰσιν; To be read as a question. See crit. n.—ἄγοος: without the ceremonial γόος, which, with the ταφή and the ἔπαινος, was the due of the dead. Cf. Simonid. *fr.* 9. 3 βρωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γῶν δὲ μνάστις, ὁ δ' οἶκτος

ἐπαινος.—τὰ=ταῦτα: 974 (n.). [The readings of recc. perhaps point to <ῆς> εἰσι; τίς οὖν τὰ πίθοιτο; The insertion of ἂν would cause the reading of M. For absence of ἂν with interrog. opt. see *Cho.* 593 τίς λέγοι; and examples there. Add Herond. 5. 76 τίς οὐκ ἐμπτύοι; Mosch. 3. 114 πῶς δ' ἐγὼ οὐ φθονέομαι;]

1058 δράτω <τε> πόλις κ.τ.λ. Whether τε or τι is to be inserted depends on whether the next line in M is genuine or a gloss of the kind which appears after v. 987. The words of 1059 are flat and unnecessary, while the present line is more effective without them. The metrical value of 1058—1063 does not in any case answer precisely to that of 1064—1070, nor, in processional anapaests, should the correspondence be demanded. The usual idiom contains τε, i.e. δράτω τε καὶ μὴ δράτω (cf. 414 sq.) or δράτω τε μὴ δράτω τε (*Suppl.* 385 δρᾶσαι τε μὴ δρᾶσαι τε καὶ τύχην ἐλεῖν, Eur. *I. A.* 56 δοῦναι τε μὴ δοῦναι τε). But if v. 1059 is retained we cannot choose τε. With δράτω

But I am afeared. The citizens affright me, and I shrink.

Thou indeed wilt find many to mourn for thee; and shall he, poor soul! go without lament, with but a sister's solitary dirge? Who could consent thereto?

FIRST HALF-CHORUS.

Let the state do or not do, as it will. We will go, and, in train like this, will share in burying him. For all the race hath part in this affliction, and what a state deems right changes with change of time.

SECOND HALF-CHORUS.

We with this other, e'en as the state and the right take side together. For next to the blessed Gods and the might of Zeus, 'twas he who most of all saved the Cadmean realm from over-turning, to founder beneath an alien wave of men.

[*Exeunt all (to left).*]

οὐκ ἐμπύτοι;). **1058** δράτω M, δράτω τε Canter, δράτω τι anon. ap. Elms. Eur. *Med.* 1224. The idiom commonly includes τε, and the words which follow in M (1059), viz. τοὺς κλαίοντας Πολυνείκη, are almost certainly an interpolation (see schol.). ↓. **1060** μὲν γὰρ recc. μὲν Victorius. **1061** Ritschl adds τῇ Καδμογενεῖ (τῇ Καδμείων Hermann), to produce metrical correspondence with 1068. But see comment. to 1058. ↓. **1064** ὡς ἦ τε πόλις Blomfield. ↓. **1069** ἀλλοδαπῶν recc. ↓. **1070** ταμάλιστ' G. Qu. κατακλυσθῆναι *πανάστον?

αἰσχύλου ῥ' ἐπιθήβας τέλος.

πόλις τοὺς κλαίοντας there must be joined either another accus. e.g. τι or an adverb e.g. κακῶς. The point of πόλις is the same as in 1021.

1061 sq. καὶ γὰρ γενεᾷ κ.τ.λ.: i.e. the grief is common to us by the laws of kindred.—γενεᾷ as in Hom. *Od.* 1. 387 δ τοι γενεῇ πατρώϊον ἔστιν. Less well we might render 'to the nation' (Pind. *I.* 6. 29, *O.* 11. 15). The Cadmeans are represented as literally Καδμογενεῖς (127 n., 290), and the Chorus claims to share with the sisters in the ἄχος. The connection is more intimate than in Eur. *Hipp.* 1462 κοινὸν τόδ' ἄχος πᾶσι πολίταις ἦλθεν. Hence γενεᾷ is stressed.

1062 sq. πόλις: generic, 'a state.'—ἄλλως ἄλλοτ' κ.τ.λ.: 'at different times takes different views of what is right.' For the sense of ἐπαινεῖ ('votes,' *censet*) see 1024 (n.).—τὰ is practically a possessive, 'its decisions as to right.'

1064 sq. ὥσπερ τε πόλις κ.τ.λ. τε is not trajected, but is exegetic: 'Aye, as country and justice agree in (ἐν-) deciding.' Cf. Xen. *Oec.* 7. 16 ἃ τε οἱ θεοὶ ἐφυσάν σε δύνασθαι καὶ ὁ νόμος συνεπαίνει. The second ἡμιχόριον takes up the words πόλις and ἐπαινεῖ. 'In this case the πόλις is right in its view, for τὸ δίκαιον

(right in the abstract) agrees.' The one justice, as philosophy would say, is contrasted with the many.

1066 μετὰ...μάκαρας: the usual reservation; cf. Hdt. 7. 139, Xen. *An.* 7. 7. 22, Ov. *Trist.* 5. 9. 12 (quoted by Blomf. and Paley).—καὶ Διὸς ἰσχύιν: 'and (in particular) the might of Zeus.'

1067 sqq. ὅδε...ἦρνε...τὰ μάλιστα. Though so far separated, τὰ μάλιστα, to have any appropriate sense, must belong to ἦρνε. See crit. n.—ἀνατραπήναι: cf. Alex. *ap.* Ath. 226 F ἂν ἀνατραπῇ τὸ πλοῖον. The play ends, as it began, with a nautical metaphor.—ἀλλοδαπῶ. It is a mistake to alter to ἀλλοδαπῶν, (1) because φωτῶν is simply added to define the metaphor (64 n.), (2) because the attachment of the epithet to the governing rather than the governed noun is favoured by the tragedians. Cf. 591, Cho. 1068 ἀνδρὸς βασιλεια πάθη, Ag. 509 δεκάτῃ σε φέγγει τοῦδ' ἀφικόμην ἔτους, Eum. 292 χώρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυστικοῖς, Eur. *Cycl.* 11 γένος Τυρσηνικὸν ληστῶν. The point of Καδμείων is that of 1061, viz. that all Cadmeans are interested. It is uttered with affection: 'this time-honoured city which is so dear to all Cadmeans': cf. 114.

APPENDIX A.

CONSONANTIZING OF *v* AND *ι*

v. 115 γενῶν. The disyllabic scansion of this word occurs also in Pind. *P.* 4. 225. Similarly Ἐρινῶν Eur. *I. T.* 931, 970, 1456, *Tro.* 457. The fact itself is beyond question, but no modern philologist is likely to write γενῦν, Ἐρινῦν with Dindorf. In Kühner-Blass *Gr. Gr.* 1. p. 228 these examples are classed under the head of synizesis, and it is not surprising if, taking this view of the pronunciation, the writers should declare that in certain other instances, which happen to stand alone, the phenomenon is 'unglaublich.' In [Hes.] *Scut.* 3 (so 16) for Ἠλεκτρώωνος they offer Ἠλέκτρωνος on the strength of a Rhodian inscrip. Ἀλέκτρωνα. Meanwhile they overlook Ἀμφιτρώωνος in Hom. *Od.* 11. 266. In *Il.* 7. 166 they are satisfied to query with Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀργειφόντῃ. The query is justified, since (as will be indicated immediately) the proper scansion there is Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ. In Soph. *O. T.* 640 MSS have δρᾶσαι δικαιοῖ δυοῖν ἀποκρίνας κακοῖν, which editors agree in discarding.

The first step to be assumed in all such instances is the consonantizing of the *v*, and, if we are to attach a sign, it will rather be γενῶν, Ἐρινῶν, δυοῖν, Ἀμφιτρώωνος than γενῦν, δυοῖν &c. The phenomenon is familiar in the Latin *tenuia*, *genua* as adapted to the requirements of verse. To this there exists a *prima facie* objection in respect of the quantity. If Latin says *tēnuia*, *gēnuia*, it would seem that Greek should require a similar lengthening. That argument, however, is fallacious. Though the other examples prove nothing either way, the iambic γενῶν is not doubted for Pindar. The fact seems to be that the consonant was so weakly pronounced as to leave no effect upon the previous syllable. Practically, as a second step, it became inaudible. That there is nothing incredible in the process may be gathered from the fate of ξένος, γόνυ, μόνος, which in Attic became ξένος, γόνατα, μόνος, although 'compensation' is to be seen in other dialects. There is nothing against assuming the steps γενῶν > γενῦν > γεν(μ)ων.

This hypothesis is borne out by the parallel case of *ι*. The consonantizing of that letter is very frequent. Thus Hom. *Il.* 2. 537 Ἰστίαιν, *Od.* 4. 83 Αἰγυπτίους (so 9. 382, *Il.* 17. 432, Hipparch. *ap.* Ath. 393 C), *Hymn. Apoll.* 217 (39) Αἰνιήνας, Eur. *I. A.* 277 Αἰνιάνων (lyr.), *H. F.* 1304 Ὀλυμπίῳ (senar.), *Ion* 285 τιμᾷ σφε Πύθλος ἀστραπαί

τε Πύθιαι, Bacchyl. 17. 39 Κνωσσίων, Archestr. *ap.* Ath. 311 c ἰχθυδίων. In Aeschylus ἀργίας is apparently correct in *Ag.* 117 and αἰφνίδιος is the reading of M in *P. V.* 707. καρδία is frequent as a disyllable (*Suppl.* 74, 807, *S. c. T.* 275). In *S. c. T.* 976 δύνγρα appears to be the scansion, and in 225 ποταίνων does away with all metrical difficulty. In v. 365, where πόρον... Ἰσμηγόν is a remarkable expression (see note), it is quite possible that Aesch. actually wrote Ἰσμήγιον. Considering the comparative rigidity of the Aeschylean senarius, we should probably pronounce Ἀμφιάρῳ in v. 556. In Latin verse *stellio, conubialia, Lavinia, omnia* are well-known examples. In these instances, again, it is true that the previous syllable is naturally long, while it is made so by position in *fluviorum, ariete, abiete* &c. But here again analogy with Latin is no safe guide.

In Hom. *Il.* 21. 567 εἰ δέ κεν οἱ προπάρουθε πόλιος κατεναντίον ἔλθω (so 2. 811) the ε does not make position. The substitution of πόλεος is of course easy, if we adopt the principle of ejecting the unusual as impossible. In *Il.* 7. 166 Ἐνυῶλιῳ ἀργειφόντῃ there is the same ignoring of ε. In *S. c. T.* 160 the lyric φιλοπόλις is given by MSS, and it is not easy to understand why any copyist should have substituted this strange form if φιλοπόλεις had been correct. Of λογίων in the 2nd foot of Eur. *Ion* 602 I should now speak with more diffidence than in the note on *Cho.* 333.

It is usual to speak only of synizesis in the case of ε in -έως, -έα, θεός, ἐκπνέων (*Ag.* 1493), Κρέων (*Soph. Ant.* 155), Αἰνέας (*Rhes.* 85) &c.; but here again it is no less probable that the ε (which in some dialects so readily turned to ι) is consonantized, just as ο (which is equally close to υ) is treated in φοινικέσσαν (*Il.* 10. 133).

When we consider the number of examples, and also the fact that such pronunciations as Τειρεσίας, Ἀμφιάρεως would often assist in normalizing metre, it seems highly probable that more account should be taken of such consonantizing when we are considering correspondence in lyrics.

The trochaic tetrameter from Cratinus *ap.* Ath. 68 c ἐν Πάρῳ σίκνον μέγιστον σπερματίαν ὠνούμενον apparently contains an abnormal dactyl in the 2nd and also in the 5th foot. In the one case the word contains υ, in the other ι. If these are consonantized (σίκνον, σπερματίαν) the abnormality disappears. Similarly the apparent tribachs serving as the sixth foot in a number of comic iambic trimeters may be treated as iambi, viz. Ar. *Ran.* 1203 θυλάκιον, Antiph. Ἀρχ. 3 φειδίτια, Eubul. Ἀμάλθ. 9 δελφάκια, Diph. Ἀπλ. 2 σαρκίδια, Ar. *Ach.* 777 χοίριδιον.

APPENDIX B.

ADDENDA TO NOTES.

- 7 ὕμνοισ': cf. Milton's *I am sung and proverb'd for a fool* | *In every street* (Sams. Agon.).
- 53 "Ἀρῇ δεδορκότων: *How reverend is the face of this old pile, | Looking tranquillity!* (Congreve *Mourn. Br.* 11. 3).
- 64 κύμα...στρατοῦ: Sil. It. 4. 158 *undae Boiorum*. Cf. Hor. O. 2. 7. 15.
- 89 sq. λεύκασπις: Sil. It. 4. 545 *niveis Varenus in armis* (=splendidis).
- 91 sq. τίς ἄρα...θεῶν: Hor. O. 1. 2. 25 *quem vocet divum populus ruentis | imperi rebus?*
- 100 κτύπον δέδωρκα: Lucr. 4. 581 *aut septem loca vidi reddere voces*; Byron C. H. iv. 49 *we inhale* | *The ambrosial aspect*.
- 140 αἰθῆρ...ἐπιμαίνεται: Sil. It. 17. 410 *contremuere aurae rapido vibrantibus hastis | turbine*.
- 161 μέλεσθε...μελόμενοι δ' κ.τ.λ.: 1 Kings 8. 30 *Hear thou in Heaven thy dwelling-place, and when thou hearest, forgive*.
- 213 sqq. παναμάχανον...ὁδοί: Pind. N. 7. 141 *δύνασαι δὲ βροτοῖσιν ἀλκὰν ἀμαχανίαν δυσβάτων θάμα διόμεν*.
- 232 μὴ νυν...ἄκου' ἄγαν: Plaut. M. G. 2. 6. 88 *etiam illud quod scies ne sciveris* (Blomf.).
- 278 sqq. δράκοντας...πελειάς: Claud. R. P. 3. 141 *sic aestuat ales | ... | ne furtum pateant homini ne praeda colubris*.
- 320 ὠμοδρόπων: Theoc. 11. 21 *σφριγανώτερα ὄμφακος ὠμάς*.
- 369 θείνει...ὄνειδε: Shak. K. John ii. 1 *He gives the bastinado with his tongue*.
- 376 sq. πανσέληνος...πρέσβιστον ἄστρον: Ecclesiasticus 43. 9 *The moon, the glory of the stars*.
- 381 ὅστις βοῇν σάλπιγγος κ.τ.λ.: Scott Marm. canto 5 *Marmion, like charger in the stall, | That hears without the trumpet call, | Began to chafe and swear*.
- 386 δάκνουσ': Spenser F. Q. 1. 7. 48 *His biting sword and his devouring spear*.
- 401 ἐν κύβοις: Schiller *Die Schlacht* 5 *zum wilden eisernen Würfelspiel*.
- 415 sq. οὐδὲ τὴν Διδὸς κ.τ.λ.: Ov. Met. 8. 394 *hunc tamen invita peremet mea dextra Diana*.
- 579 οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν κ.τ.λ. Philem. fr. inc. 10. 7 *ἀλλ' ὅστις ἄδολον γρησίου τ' ἔχων φύσιν | εἶναι δίκαιος κοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι θέλει*.
- 580 βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα...καρπούμενος: cf. Wordsworth's *The harvest of a quiet eye*.
- 702 τεθηγγμένον: Hor. A. P. 402 *Tyrtaeusque mares animos in Martia bella | verbis exacuit*.
- 719 ὅποσαν...φθιμένοισιν κατέχειν: Juv. 10. 173 *mors sola fatetur | quantula sint hominum corpuscula*. Cf. *sarcophago contentus erit*.
- 721 sq. αὐτοκτόνους αὐτοδάκτοι: Shak. Rich. III. ii. 4 *Blood to blood, self 'gainst self*.
- 776 καμψίπους: Plaut. Menaech. 5. 2. 115 *facile inflexa sit pedum pernicitas*.
- 819 περιπίπτει κρύος: Shak. R. and J. iv. 3 *I have a faint cold fear thrills through my veins*.
- 846 ἀφανῇ...χέρσον: cf. Byron's *The dim shore*.
- 1026 κοιλολάστρος: Dryden (*Hind and Panther*) *The wolfish race | Appear with belly gaunt and famished face*.
- 1066 μετὰ...μάκαρας: Shak. Hen. VI. Pt. III. iv. 6 *But, Warwick, after God, thou set'st me free*.

THE SCHOLIA OF THE MEDICEAN.

The scholia of the Medicean MS are mainly written by *m*, comparatively few by *m*¹. Of those from the hand of *m* we may distinguish:

(1) a running commentary in the exterior margin, not written in line with the text concerned, but more or less continuously, the notes to a page of the text being found upon that page, but written at the top, down the margin, and along the bottom, as space and convenience determined. For this reason the lemma is frequently included in the scholion. These notes are here registered as *a*.

(2) other notes closer to the text on either side and opposite the passage concerned. These are recorded as *b*.

(3) interlinear notes or glosses, recorded as *gl*.

Of these *a* are the most numerous; they also have the appearance of coming from a first stock of scholia, while *b* are perhaps additions from a second stock. All are written in small uncials.

From *m*¹ (in a much abbreviated and often almost microscopic script) we have

(1) notes close to the text (here called *m*¹*b*),

(2) notes in the extreme margins, outside of those by *m* (= *m*¹*extr.*),

(3) interlinear glosses (= *m*¹*gl*).

The arrangement of the scholia by Wecklein is very inadequate and often misleading.

[In the following recension the lemma, when actually included in the scholion, is printed in the same type; when it is not quoted, but is that passage of text to which an editor must assign the note, it is printed in lighter type before a bracket. When the note is written to an erroneous text the lemma has an obelisk.]

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>a.</i>
<i>rec.gl.</i>
<i>gl.</i>
<i>a.</i>
<i>a.</i>
<i>b.</i>
<i>gl.</i>
<i>b.</i> | 1
2
3
4
5
6
7 | <i>χρῆ</i>] <i>λείπει</i> τὸ ἐκείνον· <i>καίρια</i> δὲ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα· παρακαίρια γὰρ τὰ
† <i>ἄδικα</i> .
<i>δοσις</i>] ἐκείνον.
<i>ἐν πρύμνῃ π.</i>] <i>ἐν ἔξουσίᾳ</i> .
<i>δοσις φυλάσσει κ.τ.λ.</i>] τὸν τῆς πόλεως κυβερνήτην.
<i>εἰ μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.</i>] τῆς εὐπραγίας ἢ αἰτία ἐπὶ τοὺς θεούς, τῆς δὲ
<i>δυσπραγίας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας</i> .
<i>εἰς</i>] ἀντὶ τοῦ μόνος.
<i>πολυρρόθοις</i>] λοιδοροῖς.
<i>ὑμνοῖθ'</i>] τὸ ὑμνεῖσθαι μέσον. |
|---|---------------------------------|--|

1 Either two notes are written as one or τὰ ἄδικα must be an error for *e.g.* τὰ ἄλλα or τὰ μακρά. The former is quite possible, since ἄδικα is an admissible interpretation of τὰ μὴ καίρια: cf. Theogn. 199 εἰ δ' ἄδίκως παρὰ καιρὸν ἀνὴρ...κτῆσεται, *ibid.* 341 ἄλλὰ Ζεῦ τέλεσον μοι Ὀλύμπιε καίριον εὐχὴν. Wecklein reads δίκαια for ἀναγκαῖα, but this is away from the sense.

2 *i.e.* *λείπει ἐκείνον*.

4 Schol. rec. adds ἀναφέρεται after θεούς, but the expression may be brachylogic. If the word was lost, it was probably after αἰτία.

- a. 8 Ζεὺς ἀλεξ.] ἀλεξητήριος Ζεὺς ἐν Θήβαις τιμᾶται· φησὶν οὖν, συμφώνως ἑαυτῷ τιμῶτο.
- a. 10 καὶ τὸν ἐλλείποντ' κ.τ.λ.] καὶ τὸν νέον καὶ τὸν αὖξοντα τὴν βλάστησιν.
 a. σώματος] τοῦ ἰδίου.
 gl. τὸν ἐλλείποντ'] τὸν νέον.
- b. 11 τὸν ἐξήβον] τὸν ἔξω ἡλικίας, τὸν γέροντα.
- a. 12 ἀλδαίνοντα] αὖξαντα † ἀνδρῶν νῦν.
- a. 13 ὡς τι συμπρεπές] οἷον καθὼς ἕκαστος δύναται βοηθεῖν.
 a. ὦραν ἔχονθ' κ.τ.λ.] ὦραν φροντίδα, <ἢ ὦραν> ἡλικίαν, ἢ ὅ οὐς οὕτως, ἕκαστον ὑμῶν ἔχοντα φροντίδα τῆς πόλεως, ἢ ἕκαστον πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν, βοηθεῖν τῇ πόλει ὡς πρέπειν ἐστί.
 gl. συμπρεπές] ἀρμόδιον.
- a. 16 τέκνοις τε...] κοινὸν τὸ ἀρήγειν.
- b. 17 ἦ] αὐτῇ.
- a. ἔρποντας] κυρίως ἐπὶ παῖδων τὸ ἔρποντας.
- gl. 18 πανδοκοῦσα] ἐπιδεχομένη.
- a. ἅπαντα κ.τ.λ.] πάντα πόνον τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας ὑποδεχομένη.
- b. 20 ὅπως γένοισθε] πιστοὶ δηλονότι.
- a. ὅπως κ.τ.λ.] πρὸς κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πρόθυμοι.
- b. 21 ῥέπει] ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ζυγῷ.
- gl. 22 πυργηρουμένοις] φυλασσομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.
- b. 24 βοτήρ] σκοπός, ὁ Τειρεσίας.
- b. 25 πρὸς δίχα] οὐκ ἐμπύροις χρώμενος.
- a. ἐν ὧσ' κ.τ.λ.] ἐξ ἀκοῆς γὰρ τὰς πτήσεις διέκρινεν· οὐχ ὥραν ὁ Τειρεσίας ἐπέβαλλε τῇ τέχνῃ ἑτέρου ὑπαγορεύοντος, οὐκ αὐτὸς ὢν αὐτόπτης τῶν ὀρνέων.
- gl. 26 χρηστηρίους] μαντευτικούς.
- gl. 27 οὗτος] ὁ Τειρεσίας.
- a. 29 νυκτηγορεῖσθαι] ἐν νυκτὶ ἀγορεύεσθαι καὶ βουλευέσθαι.
- a. 31 σοῦσθε: ἐπίρρημα παρακελεύσεως.
- b. σὺν παντεῦσι] ὠπλισμένοι.
- gl. 32 θωρακεῖα] τὰς ἐπάλξεις τῶν τειχῶν.
- b. σέλμασιν] τοῖς ἐπιβήμασι· κατεχρήσατο δέ.
- b. 34 ἐπηλύδων] τῶν πολεμίων.
- b. 35 εὖ τελεῖ θεός] καλὰ θεὸς παρέχει.
- a. 37 μὴ ματᾶν] μὴ μάτην ὀρμήσαι.
- a. 43 ἐς μελάνδ(ε)τον: τὸ μελανισθὲν τῷ αἵματι· ἢ τὸ ἐκ μελαινῶν βυρσῶν περιβεβλημένον. οὕτως δὲ θύοντες ἐπάνω τῶν ἀσπίδων ἐμαντεύοντο. τὸ μελάνδετον δὲ καλῶς ἂν ἐπὶ ξίφους ῥηθείη, ἐπὶ δὲ σάκουσ παρέλκει τὸ δετον ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ κεκαινεφές τὸ νέφος.

10 The two notes (a) are written as one and with an error, viz. τὴν βλάστησιν τοῦ Διός, which I emend. Enger's σώματος for Διός has no probability. For *τοῦ ἰδίου see schol. 937 (b) and 1066.

12 The text is corrupt. ἀνδρῶν conceals either ἀδρὸν (= πολὺν) or ἀδρῶντα (a second interpretation of ἀλδαίνοντα). For the corruption (which is naturally very frequent) cf. MSS at Ar. *Ran.* 1099, Ath. 473 D, 496 A etc. and *inf.* 580. νῦν may either express time (i.e. *chrḗ nūn*), or may be the regular scholiastic word in the sense "ἀλδαίνοντα here means αὖξαντα, ἀδρῶντα." Cf. 108, 241.

13 Dindorf added <ἦ>, but in that case we must omit the breathing-sign upon ὦραν and leave the form non-committal. I prefer to insert <ἦ ὦραν>. The gl. was subsequently obliterated.

17 (a) πέδων m. The note is, of course, inaccurate for classical Greek.

18 (gl.) The gloss perhaps rather represents the corrupt προσδοκοῦσα (recc.).

20 (a) πρόθυμον m, corr. rec.

22 (gl.) An ignorant note, unless e.g. παρατηρουμένοις stood in his text.

25 (b) οὐκ ἐμπύρ συρόμενος m: ἐμπύροις is due to m¹ and χρώμενος to schol. rec. Headlam suggests ἐμπνευσμένος. (a) ἐπέβαλεν m, corr. rec.

43 Apparently two different notes are combined, the second beginning at τὸ μελάνδετον. m has τῷ δετον, corr. rec.

- b. 47 λαπάξιν] ἐκκενώσειν, ἀπὸ τοῦ λαπάθου.
a. 49 μνημεῖα: περόνας ἢ τρίχας ἢ τι τοιοῦτον.
a. μνημεῖα κ.τ.λ.] ἔθος δὲ ἦν τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τοῖς οἰκεῖοις πέμπειν σημεῖα, ἢ περόνας ἢ ταινίας ἢ βοστρύχους ἢ τι τοιοῦτον. τὸ δὲ ἔστεφον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπλήρουν. πρὸς ἄρμα δὲ Ἀδράστου, ἐπεὶ Ἀμφιάρεος αὐτοῖς ἐμαντεύσατο μόνον Ἀδραστον σωθήσεσθαι.
a. 50 πρὸς ἄρμ' Ἀδράστου] τοῦτο δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἔλαβεν, ὅτι ἐσώθη Ἀδραστος· ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἤδεσαν ὅτι διαφεύξεται;
b. Ἀδράστου] τοῦτον γὰρ ἔφασκεν ὁ μάντις σωθήσεσθαι μόνον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου.
gl. ἔστεφον] ἐπλήρουν.
b. 51 οἶκτος δ'...] οὐκ ἦν ἔλεος διὰ τῆς γλώττης αὐτῶν προῖων ἀποθληνῶν τὴν ὁρμήν.
a. 54 καὶ τῶνδε πύστις: μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ταῦτα γνώσῃ τῇ πείρᾳ. <ἦ> ἢ περὶ τούτων ἀκοή οὐ βραδέως γέγονεν. ταχὺ γὰρ ἤγγελα.
b. τῶνδε πύστις...] ἢ γνώσις οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν πλησιάζεται.
a. 55 κληρουμένους δ' ἔλ(ειπον): κληροῦς γὰρ ποιησάμενοι πρὸς μίαν πόλιν ἐδέξαντο οἱ ἐπτά λοχαγεῖται.
gl. 58 τάγευσαι] τάξον.
b. 60 ἀργηστής] λευκός.
a. 62 ὥστε ναὸς] ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν πλοίων.
b. κεδνός] ἀσφαλής, βέβαιος.
b. 63 καταγίλσαι] καταπνεῦσαι σφοδρῶς.
a. 64 κύμα] πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπήγαγεν τὸ κύμα· παρακεκινδυνευμένους δὲ εἶπεν κύμα χερσαίων.
b. 65 καιρὸν ὅστις κ.τ.λ.] τούτεστι μὴ ἐκπέστης τοῦ δέοντος καιροῦ.
gl. 66 ἡμεροσκόπον] φύλακα ἀπλῶς.
gl. 66 sq. πιστὸν κ.τ.λ.] ἀσφαλῶς φυλάξω.
b. 70 Ἀρά τ'] ἐτι τὰ νῦν δι' αὐτῆς τελειοῦται.
gl. 72 ἐκθαινίσσητε] ἐκριζώσητε.
b. 72 sq. Ἑλλάδος φθόγγον κ.τ.λ.] ἀντὶ <τοῦ> οὐ βάρβαρον οὔσαν ἀλλ' Ἑλληνίδα καὶ αὐτήν.
b. 73 φθόγγον χέουσιν...] γρ. καὶ ὄλβον ρέοντα καὶ δόμους.
b. 75 ἱγυίοις κ.τ.λ.] μὴ ὑπέξεσθαι ἱγυῖν δουλείας.
b. 76 ξινὰ δ'...] κοινωφελῇ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν νομίζω λέγειν.
a. 78 θρέματι φοβερά· θρηνῶ, βοῶ. εὐπτόητον δὲ ἡ τῶν παρθένων ἡλικία πρὸς φόβον, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς πολιορκίαν.
a. 79 μεθεῖται στρατός: οἷον ἀφείται ὁ ὄχλος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. οἷον ἡδὴ τὴν ὁρμήν ποιοῦνται ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι. ταῦτα δὲ φανταζόμεναι λέγουσιν ὡς ἀληθῆ. τὸ δὲ χ πρὸς τὴν διαφορὰν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. στρατόπεδον γὰρ καλεῖται τὸ ἐνδιαίτημα τοῦ στρατοῦ.
m¹b. 80 ρεῖ] ὁρμᾶ, χεῖται.
a. 80 sq. πρόδρομος ἱππότης: πολλὺς ἐμπροσθεν λαὸς ἱππότης· φαντάζονται δὲ ταῦτα πάντα. αἰθερία δὲ κόνις ἢ ἡλύγη ἢ αἰρομένη εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα.
b. 81 αἰθερία] ἢ μέχρι τοῦ αἰθέρος ἤκουσα.
a. 81 sq. πείθει φανείσ'...] καίτοι ἀφωνος οὔσα ἐναργής ἐστιν ὥσπερ ἄγγελος καὶ ἀληθής.
b. 82 ἀνανδος κ.τ.λ.] ἀφωνος μὲν οὔσα, σαφῶς δὲ ἀγγέλλουσα.

49—50. The first three notes are written as one, but should evidently be divided.

54 I have added <ἦ>: otherwise we must write as two distinct scholia.

55 ἕκαστος Weckl. for πρὸς. There may be a brachylogy 'with an eye to...'

66 An error: see comment.

73 i.e. (apparently) punctuating (with comma) at Ἑλλάδος and reading κῶλβον ρέοντα...

75 ὑπελθεῖν Weil. The sense is rather ὑπεισέλκειν.

79 A χ is written before the line in M.

80 sq. ἡ αὐγὴ m, ἡ ἡλύγη Wecklein.

81 sq. In the MS this follows as one sentence after εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα (80 sq.). But at least <ἦ> καίτοι would be required.

- a. 83 †ελεδεμας κ.τ.λ.] καὶ τὰ τῆς γῆς δέ μου πεδία κατακτυπούμενα τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν ἰππων καὶ †τῶν ὀπλων ποιεῖ μου προσπελάζειν τὸν ἦχον τοῖς ὤσιν.
m¹extr. †ελεδεμας] ἐλεδεμας ἡ τὸ δέμας ἡμῶν τῷ φόβῳ λαμβάνουσα καὶ ταράττουσα. ἡ ἐλεδεμνάς ἡ ἐλούσα ἀπὸ τῶν δειμνίων.
m¹b. †τί χρίμπτεται βοᾷ] τινὲς ὥτ' ἰχρίμπτεται βοᾷ.
a. 84 βρέμει δ'] ἡχέῃ δέ, φησί, τρόπον ποταμῶν τὰ πεδία τῆς γῆς μου.
gl. 85 ὀροτύπου] τοῦ καὶ ὄρη ῥηγνύντος.
gl. 87 ἀλεύσατε] ἀποστήσατε.
m¹extr. ἀλεύσατε] φυγεῖν ποιήσατε.
b. 88 βοᾷ] μετὰ βοῆς.
m¹b. ὑπέρ] ὑπεράνω.
a. 93 πότερα δῆτ' ἐγώ· πότερον πρόσφυγες τῶν πατρῶων ξοάνων γενώμεθα ἢ ἄλλο τι πράξομεν;
a. 94 εὐεδροὶ· ἐπ' ἀγαθῶν ἰδρυμένοι. ἡ ἐπὶ τῶν ιδίων, φησί, καθεδρῶν καθεζόμενοι.
a. 95 ἀκμάζει· καιρὸς ἤκει. οἷον ἀκμῆς καὶ οὐλαβίας χρῆζει τὰ πράγματα. πρὸς ἀλλήλας δὲ ταῦτά φασι.
b. 96 τί μέλλομεν κ.τ.λ.] τί ἐστῶτες στενάζομεν καὶ οὐχ ἰκετεύομεν;
a. 97 ἀκούει· ἡ οὐκ ἀ(κούει·): ἐπεὶ ἀγνώτες εἰσι, τοῦτό φασιν· ἄρα φανταζόμεθα ἢ ἀληθῶς ἀκούομεν;
a. 98 (1) πέπλων καὶ στε(φάνων): πότε στέφη ῥίψομεν ἢ πέπλους ἐπὶ γῆς ἢ νῦν, τραπέισαι ἐπὶ λιτανείαν τὴν περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως;
a. (2) πέπλων] παρετίθεσαν γὰρ καὶ πέπλους.
a. (3) πέπλων] ἐνέδουν γὰρ καὶ πέπλους τὰ ἀγάλματα. "Ομηρος· "πέπλον ὅστις τοι χαριέστατος."
b. 99 †ἀμφίλιταν] τὴν περὶ ἡμῶν λιτανείαν. ἡ πολυπαράκλητον.
a. 100 (1) κτύπον δέδορκα· μετήγαγε τὰς αἰσθήσεις πρὸς τὸ ἐναργέστερον, ὡς τὸ "ἦκουσας ὁ κόραξ οἷος ἦλθ' ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ;"
a. (2) δέδορκα] ἐναργέστερον.
a. (3) ὁ μέντοι ὁκτάσημος ῥυθμὸς οὗτος πολὺς ἐστίν ἐν θρηνηδίᾳ καὶ ἐπιτιγῆδειος πρὸς θρήνους καὶ στεναγμούς· ἔστι δὲ δοχμικά. ὁμοιον τὸ "πόλεμος αἶρεται πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ θεοῦς" παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν "Ορνισιν" ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ "ἐγὼ δ' οὔτε σοι πυρὸς ἀνήψα φῶς νόμιμον ἐν γάμοις."
a. 102 (1) παλαίχθων Ἀρης· ἐκ πολλοῦ κληρωσάμενος τήνδε τὴν γῆν· τιμᾶται γὰρ παρὰ Θηβαίοις ὁ Ἀρης, καὶ Ἀρειον τεῖχος καὶ Ἀρητιάς κρήνη παρὰ αὐτοῖς· Ἀττικῶς δὲ τῇ κλητικῇ ὦ Ἀρης.
(2) οἱ δὲ γρ. ὦ Ἀρη. ἱερὰ δὲ ἡ Θήβη τοῦ Ἀρεως ἄνωθεν. ἔστιν οὖν παλαίχθων ὁ παλαί τὴν γῆν κατέχων.

83 (a) The schol. may have supplied γᾶς from the adj. ἐμάς, or he may have read *e.g.* ἐ ἐ γᾶς δ' ἐμάς. For καὶ τῶν ὀπλων Weil suggests καὶ ταῖς ὀπλαῖς, but there may here be a different interpretation of ὀπλόκτυπα, viz. ἡ ἐκ τῶν ὀπλων, and this should perhaps be read.

84 ἔχει *m*, ἡχέῃ *m¹*.

93 γενόμεθα *m*, γενησόμεθα Weckl., but γενώμεθα is nearer and the union of *delib.* subj. and fut. ind. is frequent enough.

94 ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ Victorius.

96 ἐστῶτες disregards the gender. Such laxity is not rare in scholl.: cf. schol. *Cho.* 1022 and *inf.* 665, 679, 741.

98 (1) The schol. read πόντ' ἢ νῦν. See comment. (2) παρετίθεσαν, *i.e.* 'they used to...' (in antiquity). (3) viz. *Il.* 6. 271. The MS has all these three notes as one.

100 a (1) ὀρεοῦ *m*; see *Ar. Pac.* 1125. a (2) In the MS this is inserted in the text of the last note, viz. ὡς τὸ ἐναργέστερον "ἦκουσας κ.τ.λ." a (3) Though written in continuation of a (1), this note plainly belongs to v. 98. δοχμικά *m¹*. The reference in Aristoph. is to *Av.* 1189 and in Eurip. to *Phoen.* 344.

102 It should be manifest that separate notes have been written as one. οὖν in scholia is often not inferential, but summary (in exposition). Cf. 109 (2). For Ἀττικῶς cf. *inf.* 858.

- b. 104 ἐπιδ' ἐπιδε] ἡθικὸν τὸ δις ἀναφωνῆσαι· δαίλιαν γὰρ ἐμφαίνουσι διὰ τούτου.
- b. 105 ἂν ποτ'...] ἦν ποτε ἔθου εὐ πεφιλημένην.
- b. 107 παρθένων] σαφὲς ἐνταῦθα ὅτι ἐκ παρθένων ἐστὶν ὁ χορός. ἴδετε...] ἐπίδετε, φησὶν, ἡμᾶς ἰκετευούσας τρόπον δούλων· ἰκετεύομεν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ εἰς δουλείαν ἀχθῆναι.
- gl. 108 λόχων] νῦν τὸ πληθος.
- b. 109 (1) δοχμολόφων· τῶν ἐπινευόντων τοὺς λόφους· ἐν γὰρ τῇ κινήσει συμβαίνει πλαγιάζεσθαι τοὺς λόφους. ἢ τῶν κορυθαιόλων· Ὅμηρος· "κορυθαίολος Ἐκτωρ." τὸ γὰρ κινούμενον κράνος δόχμιον τῇδε κἀκεῖσε γίνεται. ἢ δὲ κίνησις κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἐμπράκτου.
- a. 109 (2) δοχμολόφων οὖν τῶν ἐπινευόντων τοῖς λόφοις.
- a. 110 (1) καχλάζει· ταῖς πνοαῖς.
- (2) καχλάζει κ.τ.λ.] τῶν ἀνδρῶν καχλάζει ὥσπερ κύμα. καχλάζει δὲ οὐ βορέου ἢ νότου πνοῇ ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ Ἄρεως.
- gl. 111 παντελές] πάντων ἔχων τέλος.
- b. 112 πάντως ἀρηξόν] πάντως + καὶ ἡμῖν βοήθησον, ὥστε μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἄλωσιν γενέσθαι.
- a. 114 φόβος δ' Ἀρηίων· λείπει ἢ ὑπό. ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρηίων ὅπλων φόβος ταρασσεῖ.
- a. 115 διαδέτοι γενύων· οἷον προφωνοῦσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς γένυσι τῶν ἵππων χαλινοί.
- a. 116 κινύρονται φόνον] θρηνοῦσιν ἡμῶν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν.
- m¹gl. 117 πρέποντες] ὑπερέχοντες.
- a. 118 δορυσσοῖς· ταῖς διὰ τῶν δοράτων σωζούσαις πανοπλίαις.
- b. 119 δορ. σαγαῖς] πολεμικαῖς πανοπλίαις.
- m¹gl. 119 ἐβδόμῃς] ἐπτά.
- gl. 119 πάλῳ κ.τ.λ.] λαχμῶ λαχόντες τὰς πύλας.
- a. 120 σύ τ', ὦ Διογεν(ές): σύ τε, ὦ κράτος ἐν πολέμοις Ἀθηναῖ. ὑπὸ δὲ αγωνίας οὐχ ἕνα θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦνται, ὥς παρθένοι. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ δοχμικά ἐστιν καὶ ἴσα, ἐάν τις αὐτὰ ὀκτάσημῳ βαλῇ. κυρίως δὲ εἶπον βαλῇ· ῥυθμοὶ γὰρ εἰσι· βαίνονται δὲ οἱ ῥυθμοί, διαιρεῖται δὲ τὰ μέτρα, οὐχὶ βαίνεται.
- a. 122 ὃ θ' ἵππιος· καὶ σύ, ὦ Πόσειδον, ὅς ἀνάσσεις ἐπὶ θήρᾳ ἰχθύων.
- b. 123 Ποσειδᾶν] τιμᾶται παρὰ Θηβαίους ὁ Ποσειδῶν.
- m¹extr. 123 ἰχθυόβδῳ μ.] τῇ τοὺς ἰχθὺς τιτρωσκούσῃ τριαλῇ.
- a. 124 ἐπίλυσιν φ· πάλιν δις εἶπεν τὸ ἐπίλυσιν· τεταραγμένης δὲ ψυχῆς ταῦτα ἦθη καὶ ἐμφάσεως ἕνεκεν λεγόμενα.
- a. 126 κῆδεσθαι τ' ἐναργῶς· κηδεστῆς ἐναργῶς γενοῦ. Ἀρμονίαν γὰρ τὴν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἄρεως εἶχεν Κάδμος. φρόντισον ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐναργῶς.

105 The note seems peculiarly needless unless the schol. read τάν and thought necessary to explain it as relative.

107 These scholl. are written as one. The remark concerning the Chorus shows that the point was in dispute.

108 (gl.) For νῦν cf. schol. to 12.

110 In the MS the words run καχλάζει· ταῖς πνοαῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καχλάζει ὥσπερ κύμα; but we should divide as above. (1) explains the construction of πνοαῖς, (2) gives another view of the sequence.

112 Since καὶ has no discoverable point, it is probable that we should read πάντως <ἀρηξόν> καί..., καί being a regular scholastic way of saying 'id est...' (cf. 202, 856, 890).

114 See *inf.* 131.

115, 116 The order in the MS is confused, viz. διαδέτοι γενύων· θρηνοῦσιν... ἀναίρεσιν, οἷον προφ. κ.τ.λ.

120 ὀκτάσημῳ m and (in the second occurrence) βαίνει. The latter portion of the note is a choice example of pedantry.

124 φ=φόβον.

- gl. 129 θεοκλύτοις] μεγάλας, ὡς καὶ θεὸς ἀκούσειεν.
- a. 131 Δύκειος γενοῦ: πολέμιος· ὅλον ὥσπερ λύκος αὐτοῖς ἐφόρμησον ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμεῖς νῦν θρηνοῦμεν. οὕτω τινὲς τὸ Δύκειος. ἡ ἐπιβλαβὴς τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τῶν στόνων γενοῦ, ὅλον ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου.
- m¹extr. 133 †εὐ πυκάζου] εὐ πυκάζου ἀπὸ τοῦ πύκα τὸ ἐπιστημόνως.
- b. 134 εἰ] ἐπὶ ῥήγμα θαυμαστικόν.
- a. 137 (1) ἔλακον ἀξόνων: ἀκούω, φησί, στεναγμόν τῶν χνοῶν. λέγουσι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ι οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸ χνοῖαι.
- a. (2) ἔλακον ἀξόνων] παρὰ τὸ “μέγα δ’ ἔβραχε φήγινος ἄξων.” χνοῖαι δὲ τὰ ἀκραξόνια, περὶ δ’ αἱ χοινικίδες οἱ παραξονίται λεγόμενοι.
- b. 144 ἀκροβόλων] ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν πολέμῳ συμβολῆς προκατάρχεσθαι.
- m¹extr. λιθὰς] σύρροια λίθων.
- a. 145 ὦ φίλ’, ὦ Πόλι’, ὦ Πόλιν (λλων): ὦ φίλε Ἀπολλων καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Διόθεν πολεμόκραντον....
- a. 148 πολεμόκραντ(ον): ἐπεὶ οὐ μίαρὸς ὁ ἐν πολέμῳ φόνος, ἀγνόν τέλος ἔφη. ἐπεὶ οἱ πολέμους ἀποκτείναντες καθαροὶ εἰσι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ φίλους ἀνελόντες.
- m¹extr. Διόθεν τέλος] ὡς εἰ ἔλεγεν ἡ ἀπόβασις τοῦ πολέμου Διόθεν.
- m¹gl. τέλος] φόνος.
- m¹extr. 149 “Ὀγκα” παρὰ Φοῖνιξιν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ· καὶ ὁ Κάδμος γὰρ Φοῖνιξ.
- a. “Ὀγκα” Ὀγκα ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ Θηβαίους. ἐπεύχεται δὲ τὴν ἐπιχώριον Ἀθηνᾶν, ὡς ὁ Θετταλὸς “Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναίε,” καὶ ὁ Δύκειος “Κλυθὶ ἄναξ, ὅς που Δυκίης,” καὶ ὁ Ἴλιος “Ζεῦ Ἰδηθεν μεδέων.” Ὀγκαῖα Ἀθηνᾶ τιμᾶται παρὰ Θηβαίους, Ὀγκα δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Φοῖνιξιν. καὶ Ὀγκαῖαι πόλιν. μέμνηται καὶ Ἀντίμαχος καὶ Ῥιανός. Φοῖνιξ δὲ ἄνωθεν ὁ Κάδμος.
- m¹gl. πρὸ πόλεως] ἡ ἐσττηκυῖα.
- gl. 151 παναρκεῖς] κατὰ πάντα βοηθοί· τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον θεῶν.
- a. 155 †έτεροφώνῃ: τῷ μὴ βοιωτιάζοντι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, οὐκ εἶπεν βαρβαροφώνῃ. ἄλλως· τῷ ἔχοντι ἄνδρας ἐκ πολλῶν ἔθνων· Ὀμηρος· “ἄλλη δ’ ἄλλων γλῶσσσα.”
- a. 156 κλύετε πανδ(ικως): κλύετε ἡμῶν δικαίως εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνεχουσῶν τὰς χεῖρας. τοῦτο δὲ τὴν ἐκ ψυχῆς ἰκετείαν δηλοῖ. Ὀμηρος· “χεῖρας ἀνασχόντες.”
- b. 159 ἀμφιβάντες] παρὰ τὸ “ὅς Χρῦσιν ἀμφιβέβηκας.”
- a. 161 μέλειστε δ’ ἱερῶν δη(μίων): μελέτην ἔχετε τῶν ἱερῶν δημοσίων.
- gl. 163 φιλοθύτων κ.τ.λ.] τῶν ἐκ τῶν πανηγύρεων τελετῶν μνημονεύσατε.
- a. 165 ὑμᾶς ἐρωτῶ θρέμμα (τ’): εἰώθασιν οἱ ποιηταὶ δόγματα τινα εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἀκούοντων εἰσφέρειν. οὕτως καὶ ὁ Αἰσχύλος ἐνταῦθα εἰσάγει τὸν Ἑτεοκλέα ἀπαγορεύοντα μετὰ ἀπειλῆς μὴ ἀπάγειν τὸν ὄχλον εἰς δειλίαν, ὥστε διὰ φόβον αὐτοὺς φυγεῖν. ἀλόγοις δὲ ζῷοις παρέβαλεν τὰς παρθένους, ὅτι ἐν φαντασίᾳ γεγόνασι πρῶτον μὲν γυναικεῖα καὶ δειλῇ, δεύτερον δὲ οὐκ ἀληθεῖ. εἰσὶ γὰρ φαντασθαῖα ἀληθεῖς.

129 Scholiastic grammar requires no *ἀν* with potential opt. Cf. *Cho.* schol. 50, 503, and *inf.* 169, 221.

131 m has *οὐ* (i.e. the compendium) for *οὕτω*. The meaning is ‘so some explain Δύκειος.’ The subsequent *ἐπὶ* will not surprise anyone accustomed to scholl. with their indiscriminate *λέγει ἡ διὰ, κατὰ, σύν*, etc. Cf. 1001, 114.

137 m writes the two notes as one. The reference to Homer is *Il.* 5. 838. ἀκροξόνια m.

148 *οὐν* m, *οὐ* Dind. (but *οὐν οὐ* may be correct; cf. schol. to 102). Probably here again two notes have been written continuously.

149 (a). The Homeric references are to *Il.* 16. 233, 514, and 24. 308.

155 viz. *Il.* 2. 804.

156 viz. *Il.* 7. 347.

159 *Il.* 1. 37.

161 Qu. <τῶν> δημοσίων?

165 ἀγαθῇ m, ἀληθεῖ Robortello.

- b. 166 ἡ ταύτ'...] καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀναγνώστέον· ἡ ὡς ἐν ἐρωτήσῃ μετ' ἐπιτιμήσεως.
- gl. 167 πυργηρουμένῳ] ἔσω τειχῶν ὄντι.
- b. 169 λακάζειν: ἡχείν. ληκῶ, λακάζω κατὰ τροπὴν καὶ παραγωγὴν.
- a. σωφρόνων μισήμ(ατα): ταῦτα, τὸ προσπίπτειν τοῖς ξοάνοις καὶ βοᾶν. ταῦτα οὖν ἃ πράττετε μισήσειαν οἱ εὐ φρονούντες ἄνδρες.
- a. 170 γνώμη.
- gl. εὐεστοῖ] εὐδαιμονία, εὐετηρία.
- b. 172 οὐχ ὀμιλητὸν] οὐ καθεκτὴ.
- b. 173 δέισασα] ἐν θορύβοις.
- gl. 175 κάκην] δειλίαν.
- b. διερροθήσας] διὰ τοῦ θορύβου ἐμβεβλήκατε.
- a. 179 ἀνὴρ γυνή τε: νέος ἢ γέρον. ἀκαίρως δ' ἡ λέξις τὸ μεταίχμιον. καὶ δηλοῖ τὸν ἀληθῶς ὀργιζόμενον.—ἄλλως. κεινδύνονται τῷ Αἰσχύλῳ ἐνταῦθα τὸ μεταίχμιον. γένους γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς, μέσον ἄλλο εἶπεν. εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις λέγοι ὅτι ὀργιζόμενος οὕτως εἴρηκεν. ὡς καὶ παρὰ Δράκοντι τῷ νομοθέτῃ. ἐκείνος γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν φησί, καὶ ὄστρακον ἢ τὸ ἀποκτείνειν, καὶ ξύλον, καὶ σίδηρος, καὶ χαλκός, συνεκβάλλεσθαι.
- b. 181 λευστήρα κ.τ.λ.] τὸν ἐκ δήμου λευστήρα μόνον.
- b. 183 μὴ βλάβην τίθει] τοὺς πολλὰς δηλονότι θορυβοῦσα.
- b. 185 ἔδεις...] ἀπολογοῦνται διότι ἐθορύβησαν.
- m¹b. 187 sq. σύριγγες] σύριγγες τὰ ξύλα τὰ μέσον τοῦ περιφεροῦς ξύλου τοῦ τροχοῦ διαπεραιούμενα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ μέγα, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μικρότερον, ἄλλο δ' αὐτοῦ δευτέρου μικρότερον, λόγον τῶν αὐλῶν τῶν συρίγγων ἐπέχοντα.
- a. ἐλτροχοι: περὶ αἷς ἐλίσσονται οἱ τροχοί.
- gl. 189 †ἀύπνων] τῶν μὴ ἐώντων με ἡρεμεῖν.
- a. 193 μηχανὴν σωτη(ρίας): οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς μηχανὴν σωτηρίας περιούσαι τὴν πόλιν εὐρήσετε.
- m¹extr. 195 πρόδρομος] προτρέχουσα τῶν ἄλλων.
- b. ἀρχαία] βασιλικά, παρὰ τὴν ἀρχήν.
- m¹extr. 197 †νιφάδα] νιφάδα τὴν λίθων *.
- b. †νιφάδα] νιφάδα τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔθνος.
- b. 201 ἵν' ὑπερέχοιεν ἄλκην] ἵνα τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀλκὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἔχοιεν οἱ θεοί.
- a. 202 πύργον στέγειν εὐχ(εσθε): τοῦτο εὐχέσθε, διαμένειν ἡμῶν τὰ τεῖχη †ἀπλῶς, ὥστε τὸ δόρυ στέγειν καὶ ἀπέριγναι τοὺς πολεμίους.
- m¹extr. 203 ἀλλ' οὖν θεοὺς κ.τ.λ.] εἰς τὴν Τροίαν γὰρ τοιοῦτόν τι ἐφαίνετο.
- m¹gl. 204 λόγος] ἐστὶ.
- a. 205 μήποτ' ἐμὸν κατ' αἰῶ(να): μηδέποτε, φησίν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ βίου καταλείπειν τὴν πόλιν οἱ θεοί· εὐρὼν δὲ ὁ Αἰσχίλος παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ τὸ "θεῖον δύσονται ἀγῶνα"—παρὰ γοῦν τὸ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγείρεσθαι ἀγῶνα εἴρηκεν—τὴν οὖν τῶν θεῶν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συναγωγὴν πανήγυριν τραγικώτερον εἶπεν.

166 καθ' ὑπόκρισιν = 'sarcastically.' Cf. schol. to 567.

169 (a) ταῦτα τοῖς προσπίπτειν m, which I emend as above. For absence of αἶν with μισήσειαν cf. 129 (schol.), 221; and for οὖν 109 (schol.).

172, 173. In the MS these scholia run ἐν θορύβοις οὐ καθεκτὴ. Corr. *ed.

179 Several notes have been joined into one. For ἀκαίρως Weil reads ἀκύρως, but the sense is met by 'it is (in reality) out of place.' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν = 'to cover all the ground'; but there is no real similarity in the case, unless something has been omitted, e.g. <κἂν τι τούτων μέσον>. At the beginning of the note νέος ἢ γέρον is an attempt to explain τι τῶν μεταίχμιον.

187 τῶν αὐλῶν τῶν συρίγγων = 'the several pipes of the syrinx.'

193 παριούσαι m, corr. m¹.

197 (m¹) Weckl. thinks σύρροιαν is the word: cf. 144. (b) πλῆθος for ἔθνος schol. rec. Qu. νέφος? It should be noted that both scholl. had the accus. νιφάδα before them, or else we must suppose φη (φησί) to have fallen out of each.

202 ἀπλῶς m, ἀσφαλῶς schol. rec. Qu. ἀπῶτως?

205 I adopt Headlam's treatment of παρὰ γοῦν...εἴρηκεν as a parenthesis.

For παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ m has παρὸ τὸ Ὁ. The reference is to *Il.* 8. 298.

- δ. 208 ἀπτόμενον] γρ. τυφόμενον.
ἀπτόμενον] οἷον καίόμενον πολεμῶ πυρί.
- α. 210 πειθαρχία γάρ ἐστι τῆς εὐπρα(ξίας): πάνν λαμπρῶς ὁ Διοσχύλος τὴν πειθαρχίαν μητέρα τῆς εὐπραξίας ὠνόμασεν, ἐμφάνων ὅτι καλὸν ἐστὶ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν. πειθόμεναι γὰρ καὶ αἱ πόλεις τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἐστῶσιν. τινὲς δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐ πράσσειν. σωματοποιεῖ δὲ τὰ πράγματα.
πειθαρχία κ.τ.λ.] γνώμη.
- δ. 211 σωτήρος] λείπει Διός, γυνὴ Διὸς σωτήρος.
m¹extr. δ. σωτήρος] σωστικῆς.
γυνὴ σωτήρος] οἰκέως ἔχουσα πρὸς τὸ σώζεσθαι.
- α. 215 κριμναμεναν νεφέ(λαν): τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ἐαυτῷ μηχανήσασθαι καὶ βοηθῆσαι ὁ θεὸς ὀρθοῖ.
- δ. 216 σφάγια καὶ χ-] τὰ εἰς χρήσιν καὶ θυσίαν θύματα.
- δ. 218 σὺν δ' αὖ] τῇ γυναικί.
- δ. 219 διὰ θεῶν] λείπει δὲ ἐπικουρίαν.
- m¹extr. δ. 221 νέμεσις] ἡ ἀπὸ σοῦ μέμψις.
τίς τὰδε κ.τ.λ.] οὐδεὶς ταῦτα ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς ποιούσας μιστήσειεν.
- δ. 222 τιμᾶν κ.τ.λ.] τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς σώζοντας θεοὺς.
- m¹extr. δ. 225 ποταίνιον] πρόσφατον.
- δ. 226 sq. ἀκρόπολιν κ.τ.λ.] τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τίμιον ἔδος.
- δ. 228 sq. μὴ...ἀρπαλίζετε] μὴ ἀρπάσῃτε τὸ θρηνεῖν.
- δ. 230 τούτῳ γάρ...] ταῦτα νόμιμα Ἄρεως.
- δ. 232 μὴ νυν ἀκούουσ'...] κἂν ἀκούσης, προσποιουῖ μὴ ἀκούειν.
- δ. 233 στένει κ.τ.λ.] ὡς κυκλούντων τὴν πόλιν τῶν πολεμίων σίεται, φησίν, ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ.
- α. 237 ὦ ξυντέλεια: τὸ κοινὸν ἄθροισμα τῶν θεῶν, μεταφορικῶς. κυρίως γὰρ ἡ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄθροσις. τέλος γὰρ τὸ τάγμα. Ὁμηρος·
“ἔλθειν ἐς φυλάκων ἱερὸν τέλος.”
- α. 239 θεοὶ πολῖται: τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ πατρώους ἐπικαλοῦνται θεοὺς, μὴ εἰς δουλείαν ἐμπεσεῖν.
- δ. 240 αὕτῃ σὺ δούλοισ] θρηνοῦσα δήλον ὅτι καὶ κράζουσα σὺ ἡμᾶς δούλους ποιεῖς.
- δ. 241 βέλος] βέλος νυν τὸν πόλεμον. βέλος δὲ πᾶν τὸ βαλλόμενον.
- δ. 244 παλιντομεῖς] δυσφημεῖς καὶ τοὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐχομένη.
- δ. 245 ἀψυχία κ.τ.λ.] ὑπὸ φόβου συναρπαζομαι.
- δ. 246 τέλος] γρ. λόγον.
- α. 247 (1) λέγοις ἂν ὡς τάχ(ιστα): λέγε, φησί, ταχέως, καὶ ἐὰν δυνατόν ᾗ, γνῶσμαι σιγᾶν, ἢ ὑπακούειν.
(2) γνῶσμαι, φησίν, εἰ δυνατόν μοι ποιεῖν ἔστιν ὃ κελεύεις.
- δ. 249 σὺν ἄλλοις κ.τ.λ.] οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐσίγησεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φόβου.
- α. σιγῶ, σὺν ἄλλοις: ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, φησί, σιγῶ· σὺν ἄλλοις γὰρ τὸ εἰμαρμένον πέισομαι.

208 The two notes are written as one in the MS.

210 <ὑπακούουσαι> may have fallen out from καὶ <ὑπακούουσαι> αἱ πόλεις. Otherwise καὶ may possibly mean ‘as a case in point.’ I do not perceive the point of τινὲς...εὐ πράσσειν, placed here, as no other interpretation of εὐπραξίας would suggest itself. Perhaps σωτήρος was so explained and the note thus belongs to the next line. See the second schol. (δ) to 211.

215 The lemma sic.

218 i.e. τῇ γυναικί λέγει (φησί).

219 δι' ἐπικουρίαν m. Corr. *ed. This scholiastic δὲ is well-known.

221 (δ) The note is misplaced in the MS, being written after that to v. 222. For omission of ἂν cf. 129, 169. [Otherwise the note to 222 should not have been written to τιμᾶν, but as explanatory of τάδε (221). In this case the order would be correct.]

226 i.e. there is apposition.

228 τῷ Verrall, but schol. is supplying an object.

237 viz. II. 10. 56.

247 (1) and (2) The two notes are written as one.

- b. 250 τοῦτ' ἀντ' ἐκείνων] τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ προειρημένα ἐπαινῶ.
 a. τοῦτ' ἀντ' ἐκείνων: ἀνθ' ὧν ἄλλων δυσφήμων εἰρηκας τοῦτο μᾶλλον παρὰ σοῦ αἰρούμαι.
- a. 254 ὀλολυγμὸν ἱερὸν: δέστειλεν τὸν ὀλολυγμὸν τοῦ παιῶνος. ὥσπερ γὰρ μόνῃ τῇ Ἀθηνῇ, δαίμονι οὔσῃ πολεμικῇ, ὀλολύξουσιν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις θεοῖς παιωνίζουσιν· ὁ γοῦν ποιητὴς φησὶν ἐπὶ τῶν Τρωιάδων "αἱ δ' ὀλολυγὴ πάσαι Ἀθῆνῃ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον," καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων "αἱ δ' ὀλόλυξαν θυγατέρες τε νυοὶ τε". ἡ δὲ διάνοια ἀπλή. φησὶν οὕτως: "κάμοι" φησὶν "εὐχομένου ἀκούσασα." πῶς δέ, ἐπιφέρει. νικῆσας φησὶ τρόπαια ἀναθήσειν ταῖς τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ θυσίας ποιήσειν. "οὐ γὰρ ματαίας οὐδὲ γυναικείας εὐχάς ἐπιτελέσω. ἀλλὰ παρὰ ταῖς θυσίαις δεῖ σε ὀλολύξειν ὡς ἔθος Ἑλληνικόν."
- b. 255 θυστάδος] ἐνθουσιαστικῆς.
 a. θυστάδος: τῆς παρὰ ταῖς θυσίαις γινομένης, ἀφ' ἧς ἐνιότε καὶ ἡ βάκχη. σημαίνει γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν καθαρὰν ἐσθῆτα, ὡς παρ' Εὐρύπιδῃ. ἡ ἢ νενόμισται τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐν μάχαις. ἡ ὡς νενομισμένον Ἕλλησι παρὰ τὰς θυσίας ὀλολύξειν.
- a. 256 θάρσος φίλοις: τὸ γὰρ εὐχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς θάρσος ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς φίλοις, πολέμιον δὲ φόβον <λύει>· τὴν ὀλολυγὴν ἐξηγήσατο ἐν τῷ "λύουσα πολέμιον φόβον."
- b. λύουσα + πολεμίων φόβον] διὰ τῶν τοιούτων εὐχῶν λύουσα τὸν πολεμίων φόβον.
- a. 259 οὐδ' ἀπ' Ἰσμηνοῦ λέγω: ἀντὶ τοῦ σὺν τῷ Ἰσμηνῷ· κατὰ σχῆμα δὲ ἡ φωνή, οἷον λέγω ὅτι σὺν τῷ Ἰσμηνῷ. ἄλλως· καινῶς εἶπεν, οὐκ ἀριθμῶ τὸν Ἰσμηνόν, ὡς δήλου ὄντος ὅτι τιμᾶται καὶ ἐγγράφεται τοῖς τιμωμένοις.
- a. 260 εὐ ξυντυχόντων κ.τ.λ.] θῶ οὖν αὐτοῖς πᾶσι, τῶν πραγμάτων εὐτυχῶς ἀποβάντων.
- b. 262 sq. αἰμάσσοντας] λείπει ἡμᾶς, ἡμᾶς ἐπέυχομαι.
 a. 263 θήσιν τρόπαια: παρατηρητέον ὅτι οὐδέπω ἦν ἡ τῶν τροπαίων ὀνομασία κατὰ τὸν Ἑτεοκλέα· ὥστε ἀνεβίβασε τὰ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ὁ Διοχύλος.
- b. ἐσθήμασιν: <γρ.> ἐσθήματα.
 a. στέψω πρὸ ναῶν] ἀναθήσω πρὸ τῶν ναῶν τὰ λάφυρα.
- b. 267 ἀγρίοις ποιφύγμασιν] οἷον ἐκφοβήμασι τοῖς δυναμένοις ἐκπλήξαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας.
- b. 269 ἐπ'] ἡ ἐπὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐχθροῖς.
 a. ἐγὼ δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρας: ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν ἐμαντῷ ἄλλους σ', ὥστε + ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς

250 (a) δυσφήμως rec.

254 There has apparently been some confusion of order in compiling the scholion. The text itself is scarcely sound. For ὥσπερ Victorius writes καὶ, but the word may perhaps mean 'as it were,' 'almost' (ὡς εἰπεῖν). For αὐτοῖς Weckl. suggests αὐτὸς. I have thought of ἀσπίταις or ἀστικοῖς for αὐτοῖς τοῖς, but have not much confidence in the particular word.

ποιήσιν is due to Vict. (ποιεῖν m). In πῶς δέ the reference is to the manner of his prayer, as set forth in what follows. The passages of Homer are *Il.* 6. 301, *Od.* 3. 450.

255 (a) ἐν μάχαις explains βοῆς as the war-cry.

256 (a) The text of the schol. runs...τοῖς φίλοις. πολέμιον δὲ φόβον τὴν ὀλολυγὴν· ἐξηγήσατο κ.τ.λ. If this is correct it is clear that the writer of the first part did not read λύουσα πολέμιον φόβον, but e.g. θάρσος φίλοις κλύουσι, πολέμιον φόβον. In that case the latter part of the schol. comes from another hand. But I prefer to emend as above.

259 The second explanation, though absurd = 'the honour of Ismenus is so much presupposed that it need not be mentioned.' The writer seems to have read Ἰσμηνόν and to have misrendered ἀπὸ...λέγω.

260 This is written in the MS continuously with the preceding note.

263 (b) So I read for the unintelligible ἐσθήμασιν ἐσθήματα ἀναθήσω κ.τ.λ. [The notes are not certainly written as one in the MS.]

269 (a) The compendium for εἶναι (or perhaps γενέσθαι) was apparently misread as ἐστίν. Nevertheless the clause may be parenthetical.

ἔβδομος, ἀντιστάτας τοῖς πολεμίοις ποιήσομαι ταῖς ἑπτά πύλαις. σπεύσω ἐγὼ τάξει λοχαγούς πρὶν ἢ τὰ πράγματα κατεπέλξει, ὥστε δι' ἀγγέλων συχνῶν ἐξάγειν τὸ στράτευμα.

- b. 272 σπερχοὺς τε καὶ...] τοὺς συνεχεῖς <καλ> κατεπείγοντας τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἔξοδον.
- m¹gl. 273 φλέγειν] ἀνάπτεισθαι.
- b. 274 μέλει κ.τ.λ.] ὁ νοῦς· μέλει μοι, φησίν, ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Ἑτεοκλῆς, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν ἡμοῖ φόβος οὐκ ἡρεμεῖν με ποιεῖ καὶ ἡσυχάζειν.
- a. 275 γείτονες δὲ καρδ(ι)ας: αἱ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μέριμναι ἀνάπτουσι τὸν ἐν ἡμοῖ φόβον. ἡ καρδία μου, φησί, δέδοικε τὸν πολιορκοῦντα στρατὸν ὡς δράκοντα ὑπὲρ τῶν νεοσσῶν πελειάς.
- a. 279 (1) †λεχέων: τούτέστι, νεμομένων ἐπὶ τῆς καλιᾶς. ταύτην γὰρ λέχος εἶπεν. οἶον τῶν ἐν ὠρισμένῳ τόπῳ μενόντων καὶ μήπω δυναμένων ἵπτασθαι.
- δυσευνήτορας δὲ δυσευνήτους. πάντροφον δὲ τὴν πελειίδα φησίν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ δρῦα ἀπαξ τοῦ ἔτους τίκτει, ἡ δὲ περισσότερὰ αἰέ· διὸ ἀνάκειται τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ. περισσότερὰ δὲ εἴρηται ἢ περισσὰ ἐρώσα, πλεονάζοντος τοῦ τ κατὰ τὸ μέσον.
- (2) πάντρομος] διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ δράκοντος.
- m¹gl. 282 τοῖ μὲν] οἱ πολῖται.
- gl. 285 ἀμφιβόλοισιν] τῆς τύχης δηλονότι.
- a. ἀμφιβόλοισιν: πάντοθεν βαλλομένοις· ἡ ἀμφοτέρωθεν.
- a. 286 λαπτουσιν: μετὰ βλάβης βάλλουσιν ἐπιτέμποντες τοῖς πολῖταις μου τὴν ὀκρίσεσσαν χερμάδα.
- b. 290 Καδμογενῇ] ἀπὸ Κάδμου γὰρ οἱ Θηβαῖοι.
- a. 291 ποῖον δ' ἀμείψασθε γαῖας πέδ(ον): ἀντὶ τοῦ ποῖον οἰκήσετε δάπεδον ἐντεῦθεν μεταστάντες; εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ξοανηφόροις Σοφοκλέους ὡς οἱ θεοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰλίου φέρουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰ ἐαυτῶν ξόανα, εἰδότες ὅτι ἀλίσκεται. εἰάν ταύτην, φησί, τὴν γῆν προδῶτε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ποῖαν βελτίονα αὐτῆς εὐρήσετε;
- b. 292 †ἄρειον πέδιον προεῖρηται.
- a. 293 τὰν βαθύχθο(ν'): οἶον τὴν εὐγειον ταύτην καταλείψαντες εἰς τίνα χωρήσετε;
- a. 296 Ποσειδῶν ὁ γαιήοχ(ος): ἡ ὅτι τῆς ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας δεσπότης Ποσειδῶν, ἡ ὅτι ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ ὄμβροι, ἀφ' ὧν οἱ χεῖμαρροι.
- m¹b. 298 Τηθύος τε παῖδες] ποταμοί, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ.
- a. 299 πρὸς τὰδ', ὧ πολιοῦχ(οι): ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ ταῦτα. πρὸς ταῦτα γάρ, ὧ πολῖται θεοί, τοῖς μὲν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους Ἀχαιοὶ ἀτὴν ἐμποιήσατε, ὥστε αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅπλα ρῖψαι. τούτου δὲ γενομένου πρὸς ὑμῶν πάνν ἂν ὑμνοῖσθε παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν.
- m¹b. 305 πόλεως ῥύτορες] φύλακες τῆς πόλεως.
- a. 306 εὐεδροί τε: εὐεδροὶ στάθητε συναπτέον τῷ ποῖον ἀμείψασθε γαῖας πέδον.
- a. 307 ὀξύγοις λιτ(αῖσιν): διὰ τὰς ὀξυθρηνήτους λιτὰς ἡμῶν.
- m¹gl. 308 πόλιν] τήνδ'.
- m¹extr. ὠγγυ(αν) ἀπ' Ὠγύγου βασιλεύοντος ἐκεῖ.
- gl. 309 δορὸς ἄγγραν] διὰ δόρατος ἀγρευθεῖσαν.
- gl. 310 ψαφαρᾶ] ἀσθενεῖ, ἐλαφρᾶ.
- b. 314 εἰ] διέκοψεν τὸν λόγον τῷ θρήνῳ.

272 I have added <καλ>.

279 οἶον τὸν ἐν... m. In the MS (1) and (2) are utterly confounded by the compiler, who writes *δυσευνήτορας δὲ δυσευνήτους, διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ δράκοντος· πάντροφον δὲ κ.τ.λ.* I have made the rearrangement above.

285 (gl.) Written in the MS to τί γένωμαι; (284).

291 ἀμείψασθε m, but corrected.

292 Headlam suggests that the notion had been commented upon in a lost note (c.g. at v. 102). I am inclined to suggest the reading *ἄρειον πέδιον: προαιρετόν* (i.e. *προαιρετέ*). Even *ἄρειον: πλέον προαιρετόν* would be tolerable in a scholion.

306 τὸ m, τῷ Wecklein.

- a. 315 ἰππηδὸν πλοκάμων: ἰππηδὸν ἄγεσθαι, † ὑπὸ ἰππέων σύρεσθαι τῶν πλοκάμων.
m¹gl. ἰππηδὸν] μετὰ ἀνάγκης· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἵπποι ἀνάγκη τινὶ ἔπονται.
m¹b. 318 λαΐδος] λείας.
b. δαλλυμένας] πορθουμένας.
m¹b. μιξοθρόβου] ἐκ πάσης συμμιγοῦς ἡλικίας.
- a. 320 (1) κλαυτὸν δ' ἀρτιτρόπ(οις): εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦ τ ἀρτιτρόποις, ταῖς νεωστὶ τραπέσαις τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας καὶ ἡβησάσαις· εἰ δὲ διὰ τοῦ δ ἀρτιδρόποις, ταῖς ἀρτι δρεπομέναις.
a. (2) ταῖς δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀκμήν, φησί, διακορευομέναις ἔσται κλαυθμός· ἢ ταῖς δὲ διαμειβούσαις τὴν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ὁδὸν ἔσται δάκρυα.
a. (3) ὠμοδρόπων: ὑπὸ τῶν ὠμῶς αὐτῶν δρεπομένων τὴν ἡβην πρὸ τῶν νομίμων γάμων.
b. 321 διαμειψαὶ κ.τ.λ.] διαδέξασθαι τὴν στέρησιν τῶν οἰκημάτων.
a. 323 (1) τί τὸν φθμε(νον): τί γὰρ δεῖ πολλὰ λέγειν; ὁ προτεθνηκώς εὐτυχῶς πράσσει πλέον τοῦ ζώντος.
a. (2) οἱ τελευτήσαντες, φησί, καὶ μὴ τοιαύτης πειραθέντες συμφορὰς ἀμεινον ἢ τῶν πρᾶττουσιν.
m¹gl. προ-] περισσεύει.
m¹b. 328 πυρφορεῖ] καίεται.
b. 329 καπνῷ χραίνεται] χαλεπώτερος γὰρ ὁ καπνὸς ἐν ταῖς πορθήσεσιν.
a. 330 λαοδάμας: κυρίως τὸ ἐπίθετον Ἀρεως εἰρηται.
b. 332 κορκορυγαὶ] ταραχαί. κекωμώδεται δὲ ἡ λέξις.
gl. 333 ὀρκάνα] φυλακή.
a. ὀρκάνη τὸ θηρευτικὸν δίκτυον, ὃ καὶ σαργάνη καλεῖται.
b. 334 πρὸς ἀνδρὸς δ'...] παρὰ τὸ Ὀμηρικὸν "ἄνθρωπος δ' ἄνδρ' ἔδνοπάλιζεν."
a. 335 βλαχαὶ δ' αἵματ(έεςσαι): ἐπὶ τῶν ἄσθημα φθεγγομένων νέων τὴν βληχὴν ἔθηκεν. † ὥσπερ, φησί, τὰ νεογνὰ οὐδέπω τὴν φωνὴν ἔναρθρον ἔχοντα ἀπαγόμενα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων αἰμᾶσσεται, ὥστε αὐτὰ ἀναρθρον φωνὴν καὶ ὥσπερ προβατῶδη προτεσθαι· τὸ δ' ἐξῆς βλαχαὶ βρέμονται.
a. 338 (1) ὁμαίμονες: συγγενεῖς· Ἕλληνες γὰρ πάντες.
a. (2) ὁμαίμονες] οἷον μετὰ αἵματος γινόμεναι. ἡ τῶν ὁμαιμόνων καὶ συγγενῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς γένους.
m¹extr. 339 ξυμβολεῖ] συναντᾷ.
gl. 341 ἐξῆνομον] κοινωνόν.
gl. 341 sq. ἔχων...† λελημμένοι] λαβεῖν βουλόμενοι.
a. 342 οὔτε μείον οὐτ' ἴσον λ^ε: διὰ τούτου τοὺς πλεονέκτας ἐμφαίνει. ὁ γὰρ μήτε ἔλασσον αἰρούμενος μήτε τὸ ἴσον φαίνεται πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος.
a. 343 τί ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰκά(σαι): τί δεῖ ὑπονοῆσαι ἐκ τούτων ἡ πένθη καὶ συμφορὰς;
b. 345 ἀλγύνει] τὸν τυγχάνοντα.
m¹gl. αἰσ^{θς}.

315 I follow Paley in dividing the scholion into two parts. ὑπὸ ἰππέων should probably be either <ὥσπερ> ὑπὸ ἰππέων or else τρόπον ἵππων. See *m¹gl.*

320 a (2), i.e. κλαυτὸν may belong to the former notion, or may look to διαμειψαί. In a (3) the addition of ὑπὸ is quite in keeping with scholiastic notions of possible construction. Cf. 1001.

323 The notes are written as one. In (2) there is no need to write φασί. The subject is ὁ χορός. In *m¹gl.* I read περισσεύει for περισσά.

332 e.g. Ar. Lys. 491.

334 viz. II. 4. 472.

335 I should suggest ὥστε φησί ('so that he means...').

338 (1) and (2) appear as one schol. in the MS. Pauw keeps them as one by reading <ἡ> οἷον, but this leaves a repetition of the first part of the note by the third.

345 (*m¹gl.*) The abbreviation, written over κυρήσας, is taken by Vitelli as αἰσθη- τῶς. It might be the barbarous passive αἰσθανθείς (or αἰσθηθείς), explaining κυρήσας ('meeting the eye').

- a.* 346 πικρόν δ' ὄμμα θαλα(μῆδων): πικρά θέα τῶν παρθένων ἀποσπώ-
μένων ἐκ τῶν θαλάμων.
- gl.* 347 ἀκριτόφυρτος] ἀναμμιγμένη.
- gl.* 348 γᾶς δόσις] ὁ καρπός.
- m¹b.* οὔτιδανοῖς] ἀνευφράντοις: τὸ γὰρ γάνος δάνος οἱ Δωριεῖς.
- gl.* 349 ἐν ῥοθίοις] ὡς ἐπὶ ναυαγίοις.
- a.* (1) ἐν ῥοθίοισι φο(ρεῖται): ἐπειδὴ τὰ κύματα ἔσθ' ὅτε ὠφέλειαν
παρέχεται ταῖς πόλεσιν, διὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἄγεται—
τροπικῶς δὲ ῥόθια εἶπεν τὰ συνεχῆ κινήματα τῶν πολεμίων—
προσέθηκεν ἐπιτήδες τὸ οὔτιδανοῖς, οἷον ἀχρεοῖς.
- a.* (2) ῥοθίοισιν: ταῖς ὑβριστικαῖς κινήσεσι τῶν πολεμίων· τούτους γὰρ
ῥόθια φησίν†, ἐπειδὴ πολεμοῦσιν. τὰ γὰρ κύματα ἐπωφελῆ εἰσιν·
δι' αὐτῶν γὰρ ὁ πλοῦς τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν κομίζων ταῖς πόλεσιν.
- b.* 351 sq. δηώδεις δὲ κ.τ.λ.] μεταστᾶσαι εἰς δουλείαν οἴσουσι τὴν τῶν
πολεμίων εὐνήν.
- m¹b.* εὐνὰν] ἔξουσιν.
- b.* 352 sq. ὡς... ὑπερτέρου] ὡς τοῦ πολέμου κρατήσαντος.
- m¹b.* 354 ἐλπίς] φόβος.
- gl.* νύκτερον τέλος] ἀντὶ τοῦ νύκτα, περίφραστικῶς.
- m¹b.* 355 ἐπίρροθον] αὐξητικόν.
- m¹b.* 357 πευθῶ] ἀγγελίαν.
- a.* 358 χνόας ποδ(ων): μεταφορικῶς εἶπεν τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ποδῶν. ἄλλως· τὸ
συνεχὲς κίνημα τῶν ποδῶν παραβόλως χνόας εἶπεν· τοῦ μέντοι
ἄξονος τὸ ἄκρον τὸ ἐντιθέμενον τῇ χοινικίδι χνόη καλεῖται.
- a.* 359 καὶ μὴν ἀναξ: καὶ μὴν αὐτὸς ὁ Ἑτεοκλῆς ἐπέγεται, ἀκουσόμενος τὰ
παρὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου λεγόμενα.
- a.* 360 εἰς ἀρτίκολλον] ὡς ταῦτα ἀρτίως ἀκουσόμενος, <τῇ> ὥστε κολλῆσαι
τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῖς ὡσὶν ἀκούσαντα.
- b.* ἀρτίκολλον] ἐν συναφῇ ἀρμόδιον· ἡ τὸν ἀρτίως κολλώμενον.
- m¹b.* ἀρτ. ἀγγέλου] ὡς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ὁμοῦ ἀγγέλλοντος νῦν.
- a.* 361 σπουδῇ δὲ καὶ τοῦδ': ἡ τούτου δὲ σπουδῇ οὕτω τέλος ἔχει ἀλλ'
ἐπέγεται· τὸ γὰρ ἀπρητισμένον καὶ τέλος ἔχει, μεθ' ὃ οὐκ ἄλλο
πρακτέον.
- b.* 362 λέγοιμ' ἂν... εἰδὼς εὐ λέγοιμί σοι ἂν.
- a.* 364 Τυδεὺς μὲν ἡδ(η): αἰδεσθεῖς τὰ Ὅμηρικὰ ἐγκώμια πρῶτον αὐτὸν
καταλέγει ὁ Αἰσχύλος.
- m¹b.* α'.
- b.* Προιτίσιν] Προιτίς ὀξυτόνως.
- b.* 367 λελιμμένος] ἐπιθυμῶν, παρὰ τὸ λίπτω.
- b.* 368 μεσημβριναῖς] τότε γὰρ μάλιστα μέμνηεν.
- m¹b.* 369 θείνει] τύπτει.
- m¹gl.* Οἰκλείδην] τὸν Ἀμφιάρεων.
- gl.* 370 σάλνειν] ἐκκλίνειν.
- b.* 371 τρεῖς... λόφους] νεωτερικόν τοῦτο, τοῦ κράνους ἢ τριλοφία.
- a.* 372 κράνους χαίτωμα: οἷον τῆς περικεφαλαίας τὸ χαίτωμα.
- gl.* 374 ὑπέρφρον] ὑπερήφανον.
- b.* 376 ἐν μέσῳ σάκει] ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοῦ σάκους.
- b.* 377 πρέσβιστον ἄστρον] καὶ Πίνδαρος ἄστρον τὸν ἡλιόν φησι.
- m¹gl.* 378 ἀλύων] χαίρων.
- m¹gl.* σάγαις] πανοπλῆαις...

349 *a* (1) By marking τροπικῶς...πολεμίων as parenthesis the difficulty of this schol. is removed.

a (2) Qu. φησὶ <ποιεῖν>?

352 Qu. τῷ πολέμῳ? (τοῦ πολεμίου Heimsoeth).

359, 360 (*a*) These notes are written continuously as one. I have separated them, accepting Paley's emendation of the second (for ὥστε κολλῆσαι τῇ διανοίᾳ ἡ τοῖς...).

360 (*b*) τὸν... sc. λόγον.

362 Apparently meaning that εὐ is to be joined to λέγοιμι.

364 (*m¹b*) i.e. πρῶτος. See schol. to 410.

- a. 380 ἵππος χαλινών: οὕτως ἀσθμαίνει καὶ σπεύδει ὥς καὶ ἵππος πολεμιστῆς σάλπιγγος ἀκούων καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν πολέμου εἰργεται πρὸς τοῦ ἐπιβάτου.
- a. 382 τίν' ἀντιτάξεις: τίν' οὖν ἀντιτάξεις τῷ Τυδεΐ; τίς ἀξίος ἐστὶν προΐστασθαι τῆς ἐγγύτητος ταύτης;
- b. 383 φερέγγυος] ἀξιόπιστος ἐγγυητής.
- a. 385 οὐδ' ἔλκοποιὰ γίνε(ται): ταῦτα παρὰ Ἀλκαίου· οὐ τιτρώσκει τὰ ἐπίσημα ὅπλα οὐδὲ αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ δύναμιν ἔχει, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὁ φέρων αὐτὰ γένοιτο γενναῖος.
- m¹gl. οὐδ' ἔλκ.] ἤγουν οὐ τιτρώσκει....
- a. 387 καὶ νύκτα ταύτην ἣν λέ(γεις): ὁ νοῦς, ταύτην δὲ ἣν λέγεις εἶναι νύκτα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος, τάχα προμαντεύεται τῷ φοροῦντι ὅτι χωρήσει ὑπὸ νύκτα. ἐπιφέρει δὲ ὥσπερ ἐξηγούμενος "εἰ γὰρ θανόντι νύξ ἐπ' ὀμμασιν πέσοι."
- m¹b. τὰχ' ἂν κ.τ.λ.] "τὰχ' ἂν αὕτη ἡ νύξ" εἰπεῖν ὠφελεν· καίνως δὲ εἶπεν
- a. 389 ἡ ἀνοία: παροξυντόνως Ἀττικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνοία· διὰ δὲ τὸ μέτρον ἐξέτεινεν· ὁ δὲ νοῦς· τὰ ἐξ ἀνοίας τινῶν γεγόμενα τάχα τῶν κακῶν αὐτοῖς ἔσται σύμβολα.
- a. 393 καὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ] ὅτι φέρει ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος νύκτα καὶ τὴν πανσέληνον.
- a. 396 μάλ' εὐγενῇ τε καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύ(ν)ης: καλῶς ἀντέταξεν τὸν μὴ τοῖς ἡθεσιν αὐτοῦ συμφωνοῦντα, ἀλλ' ἀλλότριον.
- a. 397 ὑπερφύονας λόγους: ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπερηφάνους· οἷον οὔτε ὑπερήφανα λέγει ὡς ὁ Τυδεύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τοὺς ὑπερηφάνους.
- m¹b. 398 αἰσχροῶν] ἔργων.
- a. αἰσχροῶν γὰρ ἀργός: ἀργός ἐστι τῶν κακῶν λόγων, ἢ τῶν ἔργων· φιλεῖ δὲ τὸ μὴ εἶναι κακός, ἢ τῷ τρόπῳ ἢ, ὡς Ὀμηρος, ἀντὶ τοῦ δειλός.
- m¹gl. κακός] δειλός.
- m¹gl. 400 ρίξωμ'] τὸ γένος.
- a. ἐγχώριος: γνήσιος πολίτης ἐκ τῶν σπαρτῶν, οὐ τῶν μετὰ Κάδμου ἐπηλύδων.
- a. 401 ἔργον δ' ἐν κύ(βοις): ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ἄρειος κύβοις κρινεῖ αὐτοὺς ὁ πόλεμος.
- a. 402 Δίκη δ' ὀμαίμων: τὸ τῆς συγγενείας δίκαιον στέλλει αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν μάχην.
- b. 405 ὡς δικαίως...] ὅτι δικαίως προμάχεται τῆς πόλεως.
- b. 407 (1) μόρους ὑπὲρ φίλων] οὓς ποιοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων πολιτῶν οἱ Θηβαῖοι.
- (2) ὑπὲρ] ἡ ὑπὲρ δὲ περισσή.
- gl. 409 τούτῳ] τῷ Μελανίπῳ.
- m¹b. 410 β.

380 Qu. ἀκουσείων?

382 ἐγγύτητος may = 'neighbourhood' (*vicinitatis*), but Weckl. suspects it to have arisen from some confusion of *πύλης* and *ἐγγυητής*.

385 εἰάν ἢ ὁ (i.e. εανηιο) m, γένοιτο Wecklein. Dind. simply omits ὁ, Paley reads ἀνήρ ἢ.

387 (a) ὀμμασιν for ὀφθαλμοῖς proves the caution with which scholiastic evidence must be received.

(m¹b) καίνως *ed. The word is not legible. Either this or ἰδίως suits the sense. Weckl. gives καλῶς.

398 (a) λόγων ἢ τῶν ἔργων m, corr. *ed. (ἢ Weckl.).

401 i.e. he plainly reads Ἄρεως and explains ἔργον as ὁ πόλεμος.

407 It should be obvious that these two scholl. (written as one in the MS) are inconsistent with each other. The latter offers a good specimen of the scholiastic notion of classical style.

410 i.e. δεύτερος. The writer of this keeps marginal count of the seven. Cf.

- a. 411 γίγας ὅδ' ἄλλος: πάνν ῥητορικὸς ὁ Αἰσχύλος· ῥητορικὸν δὲ λέγω, ὅταν τοῖς ῥήτορσι λόγος ᾗτοι ἐπαινετικὸς ἢ ψεκτικὸς περὶ τινων δύο τοῦ μὲν α εἴπῃ ἐπαινον ἢ ψόγον, † παραλείπεται τοῦ ἐπαινοῦ. πανηγυρικὸν δὲ καὶ δριμύ περὶ τοῦ Τυδέως λέγων, οὐκ εἰπὼν ὅτι γίγας ἔστιν (ἢ) γίγασιν ὅμοιος, Καπανέα δὲ ἐγκωμιάζων καὶ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ, φησὶ "γίγας ὅδ' ἄλλος." φαίνεται οὖν ὅτι ἐνέλιπεν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Τυδέως εἰπεῖν ὅτι γίγας ἔστιν ἢ γίγασιν ὅμοιος.
- gl. τοῦ παρὸς] τοῦ Τυδέως.
- b. 412 μεῖζων] "Τυδεὺς τοι μικρὸς μὲν ξὺν δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητῆς."
- a. 415 οὐδὲ τὴν Διός: οὐδὲ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς σκηπτὸν εἰς γῆν κατενεχθέντα— ἢ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διὸς φιλονεικήσαντος—ἐμποδῶν γενέσθαι αὐτῷ λέγει.
- a. 419 ἔχει δὲ σῆμα: ἢ δὲ ἀσπίς αὐτοῦ σημεῖον ἔχει ἄνδρα γυμνὸν λαμπάδα βαστάζοντα διὰ χερῶν.
- λαμπὰς διὰ χερῶν...] ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ἀνθ' ὅπλου οὕσα ἢ λαμπάς.
- a. 424 καὶ τῷδε κέρδει κέρδ(ος): πρὸς τῷ μείναι τὸ νικήσαι· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι κέρδει κέρδος.
- a. 434 ἀνὴρ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀντιτέτακται· καὶ εἰ ἄγαν ἐστὶ μανιώδης τὸν λόγον ὁ Καπανεύς, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀκίνητος τῷ παραστήματι ἢ δύναμει τοῦ Πολυφόντου ἀνθέστηκεν μηδὲν δεδοικυῖα.
- gl. στόμαργος] ταχὺς εἰς τὸ λαλεῖν.
- a. 436 φερέγγυον φρουρή(μα): ἱκανὸς φρουρεῖν τὴν πατρίδα.
- gl. φερ. φρούρ.] ἀξιόμαχον πρὸς φυλακὴν.
- a. 437 Ἀρτέμιδος εὐνοίαισι: ὡς τοῦ Πολυφόντου ἱερώς ὄντος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. ἀφιέρωται δὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἢ τῶν Θηβαίων· διὰ τοῦτο οὖν οὕτως λέγει. εὐνοίαις οὖν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιούχων θεῶν.
- b. 440 κεραυνοῦ κ.τ.λ.] τὸ ἐκ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ βέλος.
- m¹extr. 441 πωλικῶν ἐδωλίων] παρθενικῶν καθεδρῶν.
- m¹gl. 443 ἐκλαπάξαι] ἐκβαλεῖν.
- a. 444 καὶ μὴν τὸν ἐντεῦθεν λα(χόντα): τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου κληρωθέντα· τρίτῳ γὰρ τῷ Ἑτεόκλῳ <ἐξῆλθεν> ὁ κληρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ κράνου, ἐν ᾧ περιστρέφαντες ἐκλήρουν.
- m¹b. 445 γ̄.
- b. 447 Ἠῆστορσι] οὕτω καλουμέναις.
- gl. 448 ἀμυκτῆρσιν] τοῖς χαλινοῖς.
- a. ἐν ἀμυκτῆρσιν: <ἀμυκτῆρες> οἱ κορυφιστῆρες, τὰ προμετωπίδια κυρίως. νῦν δὲ λέγει τοῖς χαλινοῖς, ἐν ᾧ ἢ τοὺς ἵππους θυμοῦ πλήρεις περὶ τοὺς χαλινούς ἀνακάμπτειν καὶ περιάγειν, ἥδη βουλομένους εἶναι πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις.
- b. 450 βάρβαρον τρόπον] ἀπηνῆ ἤχον. † ἢ ἐπεὶ ἢ σῦριγξ βοᾷ†.
- m¹extr. 452 σεσημάτισται] * * * ἔχει σημεῖα.

411 παρὰ τινων δύο m, corr. Dind. Later m has πᾶς ἔστιν γίγασιν ὅμοιος, corr. Heimsoeth. The portion still corrupt evidently contained παραλείπει δέ, and ἐπαινοῦ (without ἢ ψόγου) can hardly be correct. Either παραλείπει δέ τι τῷ ἐτέρῳ (or ἐπομένῳ) or παραλείπει δέ τι αὐτοῦ ἕως ἐπὶ τοῦ β̄ would give the sense.

412 *Il.* 5. 801.

419 I have divided two notes which had become joined.

437 The writer may have had access to the epic. οὕτως = 'in the way above.' The second οὖν is like that in schol. to 102. The second part (as printed above) is probably an independent note. The writer evidently read σὺν τ' ἄλλων θεῶν (of rec.).

444 ἐξῆλθεν add schol. rec. *ἐξῆλαθ' would be nearer to ἐπήδησεν.

448 (a) I have added <ἀμυκτῆρες>, which was easily lost (although see 665, 679, 741). Later m has πλήρης, corr. schol. rec.

450 The text is corrupt. Schol. rec. has ὥσει for ἐπεὶ, and this might suggest εἰώθε, but the error may be deeper. Perhaps the schol. considered the σῦριγξ a rude or barbarous instrument, and the true reading may be ἀπηνῆ ἤχον, ἢ εἰώθεν ἢ σῦριγξ βοᾷν. I had once thought of ἢ Περσικῇ σῦριγξ βοᾷ.

452 Probably an adj. has been obliterated answering to οὐ μικρὸν τρόπον (e.g. μεγαλοπρεπῆ).

- a. 454 *στείχει* πρὸς ἐχθρῶν πύργον: οὐκ εἶπεν πρὸς ποῖον πύργον· μεγάλως οὖν φησι πρὸς πάντα πύργον.
- a. 465 <καὶ δὲ ἄνδρε> καὶ πόλισμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδ(ος): τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸν ἐγγεγραμμένον τῇ ἀσπίδι, καὶ τὸ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος πόλισμα γραφέν.
- a. 467 *κόμπαί'* ἐπ' ἄλλῃ: λέγε ἄλλον κομπῶδη, μηδὲ ἀποκρύψῃ με <τι> τῶν ἀλαζονειῶν.
- m¹gl. 471 *νῦν*] αὐτοῦς.
- b. 472 *νεμέτωρ*] ὁ πᾶν διανεμῶν.
- m¹b. 473 δ.
- a. γείτονας πύλας ἔχων: ὧν εἶπεν. γείτονας οὖν πύλας <ἔχων>, ἐγγὺς ταύταις ἴστανται ἅμα βοῇ.
'Ογκας Ἀθάνας] τὰς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ὀγκαίας, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ αἱ πύλαι Ὀγκαίαι. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία αὕτη. Ἀγνῶρον ὁ Τύριος παῖδας ἔσχεν τρεῖς, Εὐρώπην, Κάδμον καὶ Κίλικα. τῆς δ' Εὐρώπης ὑπὸ Διὸς ἀρπασθείσης ὁ Φοῖνιξ ἀπέστειλεν ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ταύτης τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ εἰ μὴ εὗροιεν, προσέταξε μὴ ἐπανήκειν. ὁ οὖν Κάδμος ἰλθὼν εἰς Ἑλλάδα καὶ μὴ εὐρῶν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἦλθεν ἐρωτήσων ποῦ κατασταίῃ. ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἶπεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐξελθεῖν τῷ εὐρεθέντι ἀκολουθεῖν. εὐρέθη βοῦς· ἠκολούθει. ἦλθεν εἰς Θήβας, ὤλισθεν ἡ βοῦς, καὶ ὁ μὲν Κάδμος ἐκεῖ ὤκησεν, ἔθυσσε δὲ τὴν βοῦν Ἀθηνᾷ, καὶ τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ φωνή ταύτην ἐτίμησεν ἐκεῖ Ὀγκαν. ὅθεν οὕτως καὶ αἱ πύλαι ὠνομάσθησαν. ἀπὸ δὲ Κίλικος Κιλικία.
- b. 475 Ἰππομέδοντος σχήμα] περιφραστικῶς ὁ Ἰππομέδων, μέγας ὧν καὶ καλλιστον ἔχων σχήμα.
- a. 476 ἄλω δὲ πολλήν: ἄλως ἐστὶ κυρίως, ὅταν νέφη περὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἔκκαυθέντα λευκά φαίνηται καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ἡλίου γένηται. νῦν δὲ λέγει τὸν ῥοῖζον καὶ τὴν κίνησιν τὴν συνεχὴ τῆς ἀσπίδος· ἐφρίξα οὖν, φησί, κινήσαντος καὶ οὐ ψευδῇ λέγω. ὁ δὲ ποιήσας τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὰ σημεῖα αὐτῆς οὐκ ἦν, ὥς ἔοικεν, εὐτελής.
- m¹b. 478 ὁ σηματουργός] ὁ τὰ σημεῖα ἐγγράψας τῇ ἀσπίδι.
- a. 480 sq. Τυφῶν ἰέντα: ὥπασε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος τὸν Τυφῶνα ἀφίέντα διὰ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ πῦρ πνέοντος καπνὸν μέλανα τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ πυρός. αἰόλην δὲ τὴν εὐκίνητον καὶ ταχείαν. κάσιν δὲ εἶπεν, ἐπεὶ σύνεστι τῷ πυρὶ ὁ καπνός.
- b. 481 μέλαιναν] τῶν παραδόξων ἐν χαλκῷ λαμπρῷ δεῖξαι μέλαν.
- m¹extr. 482 κύτος] ἡ ἀσπίς.
περίδρομον] κυκλωθέν.
ὄφειν...προσηδᾶφισται] ἔχει ἐξωγραφημένους ὄφεις περιπεπλεγμένους.
- m¹gl. περίδρομον κύτος κύκλου] τὸ στρογγύλον τοῦ κύκλου.
- a. 482 sq. (i) περίδρομον κύτος: τὸ χώρημα τῆς ἀσπίδος. ἡ δὲ περιφέρεια τῆς ἀσπίδος κύκλῳ ὀφίων εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀντικρυς ὁρῶντων καὶ ἐμπεπλεγμένων τὰ τέλη ἔχει ἐγγεγραμμένα.
- 454 *μεγάλως* refers to οὐ μικρὸν τρόπον. Any fort which he attacked would fall.
- 465 It is evident that the scribe meant his lemma to include the words supplied, but after writing the first *καὶ* he proceeded from the second.
- 467 Either <τι> must be supplied or we must make two sentences, viz. *λέγε ἄλλον κομπῶδη· μηδὲ <ν> ἀποκρύψῃ*. Schol. rec. has *καὶ μηδέν*. m writes *ἀλαζονειῶν*.
- 473 m has *γείτονας οὖν πύλας ἐγγὺς ταύτας*. The writer thought it necessary to explain *παρίστανται* and the construction.
- 476 *ἐκκαυθέντα* m. *ἐκταθέντα* schol. rec. The right word may be still to seek. (Perhaps e.g. *ἐξαφθέντα*.)
- 480 *τὸν πῦρ πνέοντος* m.
- 481 Probably the compendium for *ἐστὶν* has fallen out after *παραδόξων*.
- 482 (m¹extr.) I have divided and ascribed the three notes, which in the MS are meaninglessly written as one.
- 482 sq. The three scholl. are written in the MS as one. The jumble is remarkable (...τὰ τέλη ἔχει ἐγγεγραμμένα πρὸς τὰ τέλη. ἡ ἀσπίς κ.τ.λ.). I have distributed them according to the sense. *ἐγγεγραμμένον* m, corr. rec.

- a. 482 sq. (2) περιδρόμον] πρὸς τὰ τέλη.
 a. (3) κύτος...κύκλου] ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ κοίλη πρὸς τῇ γαστρὶ τοῦ κατέχοντος αὐτὴν οὖσα.
 δ. ὀφειν] τοὺς γηγενεῖς δρακοντόποδας ἔγραψεν.
 m¹extr. 483 (1) κοιλογάστρος κύκλου] ὅλη γὰρ ἡ ἀσπίς περιφερὴς καὶ κοίλη.
 (2) προσηδάφισται] † προσυπεμφαίνεται.
 gl. 484 ἐνθεος] ἑμμανής.
 m¹extr. 490 δύσχιμον] δυσχείμερον.
 δ. 491 Ὑπέρβιος ὄνομα κύριον.
 m¹extr. 492 ἡρέθη] προεκρίθη.
 m¹extr. 492 sq. θέλων ἐξιστορῆσαι...] θέλων γινῶναι τὰ τῆς οἰκείας τύχης.
 a. 495 Ἑρμῆς δ'...] τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης Ἑρμῇ ἀναφέρουσιν.
 a. 497 sq. πολεμίου...θεοὺς] τοὺς θεοὺς <οὓς> ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσι φοροῦσιν.
 a. 500 σταδαῖος] ἐνιδρυνμένος.
 gl. 502 προσφίλεια] οἰκείωσις.
 a. 503 πρὸς τῶν κρατούντων] τοῦ κρατούντος ἐσμέν Διός, οὐ καὶ τὸ σημείον.
 m¹gl. 508 ἀντίτυπον] ἐναντίον.
 a. πέποιθα κ.τ.λ.] πιστεύω ἀπολείσθαι τὸν ἔχοντα ἐν τῷ σάκει τὸν ἔχθρὸν τοῦ Διὸς δαίμονα.
 m¹gl. 512 λάψεν] ῥίψεν.
 m¹b. 513 ε' Παρθενοπαῖος.
 gl. 520 καλλιπύρρον] καλλιπρόσωπον.
 a. ἀνδρόπαις ἀνὴρ] ὁ νεωστὶ εἰς ἄνδρας τελῶν, ἡ ὁ ἐν παιδικῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἀνδρείος. καλλιπύρρος δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐειδῆς, ἐπεὶ ἡ πρῶρα ὡς ὄψις ἐστὶ νέως.
 a. 522 (1) ὥρας] τῆς παιδικῆς.
 (2) † ταρφύσεις πεπυκνωμένη.
 a. 523 ὁ δ' ὦμον κ.τ.λ.] οὐ σύμφωνον τῇ κλήσει τῆς παρθένου τὸ φρόνημα ἔχων, ἀλλ' ὦμόν.
 a. 526 δνειδος] ἐπειδὴ Οἰδίπους ἐμίγη τῇ μητρὶ λύσας τὸ αἰνίγμα τῆς Σφιγγός.
 a. 534 Ἀρκάς] Ἀντίμαχος φησὶν Ἀργεῖον αὐτόν, οὐκ Ἀρκάδα.
 b. ὁ δὲ τοῖσδ'] τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἷον ἐγὼ εἶπον.
 a. 535 μέτοικος] ἀκούσιον φόνον δράσας ὁ Παρθενοπαῖος εἰς Ἄργος ἔφυγεν.
 a. 537 εἰ γὰρ τύχοιεν] εἴθε γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν τύχοιεν ἐπαξίως ὧν φρονοῦσιν ἀνοσίην καὶ ἀλαζονεύονται, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων κομπάσματα ἔχοντες.
 a. 541 ἄκομτος κ.τ.λ.] ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ σιωπᾶν μὲν οἶδεν, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ πολεμεῖν· περιφραστικῶς, πολεμικώτατός ἐστιν.
 a. 543 ὅς οὐκ ἑάσει...] ὅς τούτου τὸν κόμπον ἐφέξει τῶν πράξεων ἀποδέοντα μὴ ἔσω πυλὼν γενέσθαι.
 a. 545 θηρὸς κ.τ.λ.] τὸν φέροντα τὴν Σφίγγα.
 b. 546 μέμψεται κ.τ.λ.] ἡ ἀσπίς, ἡ ἡ Σφίγξ, βαλλομένη τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν δοράτων κρουσμῷ.
 b. 550 λόγος] ὁ λόγος ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὁ ἀλαζονικός.
 b. 551 τριχὸς...πλόκαμος] κατὰ περίφρασιν ἡ θρίξ.
 b. 552 μεγάλη...† κλύων] μέγαλα πράγματα ἀκούων.
 b. 554 τοῖσδ'] τοὺς πολεμίους.
 m¹b. 5.
 a. 556 Ἀμφιάρεω βίαν] Ἀμφιάραος Ὀϊκλέους τοῦ Μελάμποδος τοῦ Ἀμυθάονος τοῦ Κρηθέως τοῦ Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τοῦ Διὸς, μητρός δὲ Ὑπερμήστρας.
 b. 557 Ὁμολοῖσιν] ἀπὸ Ὁμολοΐδος τῆς θυγατρὸς Νιόβης.

482 sq. (δ) sc. ὁ σηματουργός.

483 Again the two notes are written continuously. For προσυπεμφαίνεται I would suggest προσενύφανται.

497 <οὓς> add. Schol. rec.

508 (a) Since the note seems only to explain the construction, it is possible that the original schol. had ...τὸ ἐχθρὸν τοῦ Διὸς δέμας.

522 (2) Perhaps (1) ταρφύς: ταρφέως· (2) πεπυκνωμένη.

534 (b) i.e. making an independent clause of ὁ δὲ τοῖσδ' ἀνὴρ.

- a. 559 ἀνδροφόντην] ἐπεί τοὺς Μέλανος ἀπέκτεινεν παῖδας Ἀλκάθου καὶ Δυκαυγέα.
- a. 561 Ἐρινύος κλητῆρα] ἐπειδὴ ἐπηράσατο Οἰδίπους μεθ' αἵματος διαείμασθαι αὐτοὺς τὴν βασιλείαν. ταύτην οὖν τὴν Ἐρινύν † ἐπιστίνει.
- gl. κλητῆρα] ὑπέρητην.
- b. πρόσπολον] ἱερέα.
- b. πρόσπολον φόνου] τὸν ἀξιοθάνατον· ἢ τὸν συμπράκτορα αὐτοῦ.
- gl. 564 ἐξυπτιάζων † ὄνομα] ἀναπτύσσων, ἐτυμολογῶν.
- a. 565 τοῦνομ' ἐνδατούμενος] εἰς δύο διαιρῶν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πολυνείκου, τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ νεῖκος.
- b. 567 ἢ τοῖον ἔργον] καθ' ὑπόκρισιν.
- a. 568 (1) λέγειν μεθυστεροῖς] τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς ὕστερον λέγειν ταῦτα καλὸν ἐστίν.
- (2) λέγειν] ὥστε περὶ σοῦ λέγεσθαι.
- a. 571 μητρός τε πηγὴν κ.τ.λ.] τὰ δάκρυα τῆς πατρίδος ποῖα παύσει τιμωρία;
- a. 574 τήνδε πλανῶ χθόνα] κεραυνῷ γὰρ σχισθεῖσα ἔλαβεν αὐτόν.
- a. 576 οὐκ ἄτιμον] οὐκ ἀγεννή. οὗτος γὰρ ἐκεῖ καταποθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ὕστερον μετὰ θάνατον ἐμάντευεν.
- b. 577 γρ. εὐκυκλον νέμων.
- a. 580 βαθείαν ἄλοκα...] βαθείαν ἔχων τὴν ἄλοκα τῆς φρενός, ἐξ ἧς ἀδρός φύεται λόγος. τοῦτο ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ ἀπεδέξατο.
- b. 582 ἀντηρέτας] τροπικῶς ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίας.
- a. 583 δεινὸς δς...] δυσκατέργαστος γὰρ ἐστίν ὅστις τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾷ.
- a. 584 ξυναλλάσσοντος] συνάγοντος· ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν τὰς συναλλαγὰς καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ποιουμένων.
- m¹gl. ὄρνιθος] τῆς τύχης ἢ τῆς μαντείας.
- a. 587 καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος] οὐκ ἄξιος κομίζεσθαι ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῆς.
- a. 588 ἄτης ἀρουρα] λύμης χωρίον· ἢ τῶν πονηρῶν φίλια.
- a. γνώμη.
- a. 594 ταῦτοῦ κυρήσας...] οἶον σὺν αὐτοῖς θηραθεῖς.
- b. 599 sqq. βία...τείνουσι] τοῖς ὁρῶσι τῇ βίᾳ.
- a. 600 sqq. πομπὴν τὴν μακράν...] ἐπὶ τὴν εἰς Ἀἰδὴν ἀποικίαν ἐλκυσθήσεται μολεῖν ἀπὸ τὴν ἐναντίαν τῇ εἰς Ἄργος.
- gl. 602 σφε] αὐτόν.
- a. 604 μὴδὲ προσβαλεῖν] ἀλλ' ὡς μάντις τὸ τέλος εἰδὼς οὐκ εἰς κίνδυνον αὐτόν καθήσκει.
- a. 605 εἰ καρπὸς ἔσται...] εἰ φύει ἀλήθειαν τὸ μάντευμα <καὶ> παρέπεται καρπός. εἰ ταῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μαντεῖαις τέλος ἐνι.
- b. 606 ἢ λέγειν] παραδιαφευκτικὸς ἀντὶ τοῦ καί, καὶ λέγειν τὰ καίρια.
- a. 607 Λασθένης βίαν] περιφραστικῶς τὸν Λασθένη τὸν Ἰσχυρόν.
- a. 614 τελείθ', ὡς...] ἐπιτελεῖτε ὅπως εὐτυχῇ, τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου κακὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπελθόντας τρέποντες.
- a. 616 πύργων δ' ἔκτοθεν...] ἀποβαλὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ζεὺς ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν διαφθεῖρειν κεραυνῷ ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις.
- m¹b. 618 ἢ ὁ Πολυνείκης.
- gl. 622 ἐπεξιακχάσας] ἐκβοήσας.
- a. ἀλώσιμον παιᾶν'...] ἐπινίκιον παιᾶνα ἐπεξαλαλάξας μετὰ λαχῆς. οὕτως καὶ ὁ Ἰακχος λέγεται παρὰ τὰς λαχὰς τῶν μουμένων.

559 Δυκαυγέα Butler.

561 (a) ἐπιστέλλει Paley.

(gl.) Though written over κλητῆρα, is better suited to πρόσπολον.

(b) The second note b is written to v. 563, where it has no meaning.

568 The text is sound, and only a proper division into two notes is required (so also Headlam).

580 I have written ἀδρός for ἀνδρός (m). Cf. schol. 12. The passage in Plato is 362 A.

600 sq. Construing τὴν μακράν πάλιν μολεῖν συγκαθελκυσθήσεται.

605 I have added <καὶ>.

616 διαφθερεῖ ἐν m.

622 (a) τὰς is added by m¹.

- b. 623 σοι ξυμφέρεσθαι] συστήναί σοι καὶ φονεύσαι, ἀποθανὼν ἐγγύς.
a. 626 sqq. τοιαῦτ' αὐτεῖ...] ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτῶν βοηθοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς
ἐπεύχεται παντελῶς τῇ βίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὁ Πόλυνείκης.
a. 629 εὐκυκλον] γρ. εὐθετον, ἢ ἢ εὐβάστακτον· θεῖναι γὰρ τὸ ἀναλαβεῖν
λέγουσιν Ἀττικοί· καὶ ὅπλα ἔθεντο ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνέλαβον.
a extr. σημεῖωσαι.
b. 631 τευχιστήν] ὀπλίτην.
b. 638 ἀνδρὶ τῷδε] ἀντὶ <τοῦ> ἐμοί.
κηρυκευμάτων] ὧν ἀπήγγελα.
a. 639 ναυκληρεῖν] περιέπειν, πεφροντικέαι.
a. 640 ὦ θεομανέες] ὦ θεοῖς ἐπιμαίνόμενε· ἐπιστρατεύῃ γὰρ πατρίδι καὶ
πατρώϊς θεοῖς.
gl. 644 τεκνωθῇ] αὐξηθῇ.
645 ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ κάρτα] πάνυ γὰρ τὸ <ὄνομα> ἐπώνυμον τῇ φιλονεικίᾳ.
a. 647 χρυσότευκτα γράμματα] οὐκ εἶπεν θεὸς ἢ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ τὰ χρυσᾶ
γράμματα.
b. 648 φλύοντα] φλυαροῦντα.
m¹gl. φοῖτω] μανία.
b. 651 φυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον] ἀντὶ τοῦ γεννηθέντα.
a. 653 ξυλλογῇ] οὐ γὰρ ἀθρόως φύεται, ἀλλὰ συλλέγεται κατ' ὀλίγον.
b. 654 † προσεῖδε καὶ κ.τ.λ.] εἶδεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐφίλησεν.
Δίκη κ.τ.λ.] ἀντὶ <τοῦ> οὐδὲ ἐν μιᾷ ἡλικίᾳ ἔπραξε τι δίκαιον.
a. 655 οὐδ' ἐν πατρώας... καὶ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ κακώσει τῆς πατρώας χώρας
ἐγγύς αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἡ Δίκη.
m¹gl. 656 νυν] αὐτήν.
a. 665 ὀργῇ] τὸν τρόπον.
τῷ κάκιστ' αὐδωμένῳ] τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου.
κάκιστ' αὐδωμένῳ] βλασφημούμενος.
b. αὐδωμένῳ] ὑπὸ σου.
gl. 667 ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν] † πολέμους ἀνελεῖν.
a. 667 sqq. αἷμα γὰρ καθάρσιον κ.τ.λ.] καθαρὸν τὸ αἷμα τῶν ἀλληλοκτονούν-
των ξένων ἐν πολέμοις, τὸ δ' ἀδελφοκτονεῖν ἀντικρὺς φονέων ἔργον.
ὑπερβατὸν δὲ ἔστιν, ἢ ἢ, αἷμα γὰρ καθαρσιν οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται, ὅταν
ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοκτόνοι γένωνται καὶ οὕτως αὐτῶν ὁ θάνατος γένηται.
gl. 668 ἑλληειναις.
b. 669 οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας...] διαπαντὸς † αἰσθήσεται τὸ μῖασμα τοῦτο.
a. 670 εἴπερ κακὸν φέ(ροι): εἰ ὅλως τις ἀτυχεῖ, καλὸν τὸ δίχα αἰσχύνῃς.
a. 671 (1) μόνον γὰρ κέρδος· ἡ εὐκλεία.
(2) μόνον γὰρ κέρδος κ.τ.λ.] ἐν κέρδους τὸ αὐτὸν ἐκδικῆσαι ἀδικούμενον.
ἐὰν δὲ ἀνεκδικητὸς ἀποθάνῃ, ἐνεκά γε τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν γενομένων κακῶν
καὶ αἰσχροῦν ἄδοξος.
m¹b. (1) μόνον γὰρ κέρδος] τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον τὸ ἐν κέρδους.
(2) ἔστω] τὸ φέρειν κακὸν δηλονότι.
(3) τότε κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρόν.
gl. 672 κακῶν] δειλῶν.
626 sqq. τοῦτων οὖν αὐτῶν m, corr. Kirchhoff. m read βίᾳ in his text of Aeschylus.
629 An ignorant note, and therefore small warrant for εὐθετον.
638 Written as one note in the MS.
645 I have added <ὄνομα>.
665 (a) The three notes (which I have separated) are written as one. βλασφη-
μούμενῳ schol. rec., but scholiasts sometimes take the nom. direct from a lexicon: cf.
679, 741.
667 πολέμους Wecklein. Qu. πολέμῳ or πολεμουντας? or read ἀναλαβεῖν?
667 sqq. καθάρσιον m for καθαρσιν, and αὐτοκτονες for αὐτοκτόνοι (Dind.).
The latter part of the note seems to imply that the writer strangely interpreted as
αἷμα γὰρ καθάρσιον—(ἀνδροῖν δ'...αὐτοκτόνος)—οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας κ.τ.λ.
668 Written to 669.
669 Qu. (ἀνα)νασθήσεται?
671 a (2) Qu. ἄδοξος <ἔσται> or ἀδοξήσει? (1) and (2) are written as one,
but they are evidently independent in origin.
m¹b (3) apparently means '(but) the course proposed is...'. Qu. τότε <δὲ>...?

- b. 677 ἔτω κ.τ.λ.] οἷον εὐστόχως χεῖμαξέσθω.
 a. ἔτω κατ' οὐρον: ἀπίτω κατ' εὐθείαν τοῦ Κωκυτοῦ κύμα—οὗτος δὲ ποταμὸς εἰς Ἄιδου, οὗ πορθμεὺς ὁ Χάρων—ἐπειδὴ πᾶν τὸ γένος τὸ Λαῖον κεκληρώται τούτῳ, ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μισθθέν· Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔστιν καθαρὸς καὶ ἀμίαντος καὶ μὴ κοινωνεῖν τῇ γυναικὶ παρήγγειλεν, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ παρήκουσαν καὶ <συν>εγένοντο ἀνόμως.
 a. 679 ὠμοδακῆς σ' ἄγαν: ἡ ἄλογος ἄγαν ἐπιθυμία παρορμῆ, ἡ πικρὸν τὸν καρπὸν ἔχουσα, εἰς τὸ αὐτοκτονεῖν τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀδίκου εὔκεν αἵματος, ἢ ἡ ὅτι μέλλουσιν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἀλλήλους ἀναιρεῖν.
 gl. 683 ἀκλαύστοις] ἀσυμπαθέσιν, ἀναλγήτοις.
 a. 684 λέγουσα κέρδος: κέρδος μοι ὑποτιθεμένη τὸ προτερησαί ἀποκτείναντα ἢ ὑστερησαί.
 a. 685 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ ποτὺ(νον): καλῶς γὰρ πράξας οὐ νομισθήσῃ φαῦλος. οὐ γὰρ ἡ τὴν φοβερὰν ἔχουσα αἰγίδα Ἑρινὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐκείνου εἰσεσιν, οὐ οἱ θεοὶ θυσίας προσδέχονται, ἀντὶ τοῦ καθαρὰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντας.
 b. 686 εὐ κυρήσας] εὐτυχήσας, εὐ πράξας.
 b. 687 δόμων] κατὰ τῶν δόμων τοῦ ὁσίου ἀνδρός.
 a. 690 χάρις δ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν: τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἡμῶν ἐν χάριτος μέρει λαμβάνουσιν· ἡ μετὰ θάνατον ἴσως εὐκλείας τευόμεθα. ἄλλως· μετὰ θάνατον, φησὶν, αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων θαυμάζονται.
 a. 691 τί οὖν...] τί οὖν οὐχὶ γενναῖον τι δράσαντες ἀποθανοῦμεθα, τὸν Πολυνείκη ὥς ἀσεβῆ ἀνελόντες, ἀλλὰ κολακεύομεν τὸν θάνατον καὶ οὐχὶ χωροῦμεν πρὸς αὐτόν;
 m¹extr. 692 παρέστανεν] ἐκείνος.
 m¹extr. 693 † ἀντροπαῖα] ἀνατρεπτικῶς.
 gl. 696 κατευγμᾶτα] αἱ ἀράι.
 a. 697 ἐνυπνίων κ.τ.λ.] ὥς τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις φαντασθεῖς, ὅτι δι' αἵματος αὐτῷ ἔσται ἡ τῶν χρημάτων διανομή.
 gl. 698 δατήριοι] μερίσται.
 a. 700 ὦν ἂν ἦ τις: ἀνύσιμα καὶ τελεσθῆναι δυνάμενα.
 gl. 701 ἐφ' ἐβδόμῃς] ἔνθα ὁ Πολυνείκης.
 b. 703 τιμῶ] τιμωρεῖται· ἡ ἐν ἐρωτήσῃ ὁ λόγος.
 a. 704 οὐκ ἄνδρ' ὀπλίτην(ν): ἐμὲ ὀπλίτην ὄντα οὐ χρὴ στέργειν τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔπος. οὐ χρὴ γὰρ ζητεῖν περὶ ἀγαθῆς ἢ κακῆς νίκης.
 a. 707 πέφρικα τὰν ὠλε(σίουκον): δέδοικα τὴν τοὺς οἴκους ἀφανίζουσαν θεὸν Ἑρινύν, οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν θεοὶς ὅμοιον· πᾶς γὰρ θεὸς ἀγαθοποιός.
 b. 708 οὐ θεοῖς ὅμοιον] θεοὶ γὰρ δοτῆρες ἑῶν.
 m¹b. 709 παναληθῆ κακόμαντιν] ἃ γὰρ νύκτωρ παρεκλεύσατο, καὶ γέγονε.
 a. παναληθῆ κακόμα(ντιν): τὴν ἐπὶ κακοῖς ἀληθεύουσαν. ἃ γὰρ εἶπεν νύκτωρ, ταῦτα ἐγένετο.
 b. 710 sq. εὐκταίαν...τελέσαι] ἣν ἐπηύξατο Οἰδίπους τελέσαι τὰς ἀράς.
 a. 713 παιδολέτωρ δ' ἔρις: ταῦτα παρορμῆ. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλωσίαις τὰ παῖδια ἀναίρεται. ὑποκοριστικῶς δὲ τὴν Ἑρινὺν Ἑριν εἶπεν.

677 By making a parenthesis the construction is cleared. The schol. makes κύμα the subject.

εἰς Ἄιδου is late Greek for ἐν Ἄιδου.

εἰγένοντο m, <συν>εγένοντο *ed., ἐγέναντο Wecklein.

679 The schol. here may be a congeries of separate notes, e.g. (1) ὠμοδακῆς ἄγαν ἡμερος] ἄλογος ἄγαν ἐπιθυμία, (2) ἐξοτρύνει] παρορμῆ, (3) πικρόκαρπον] ἡ πικρὸν τὸν καρπὸν ἔχουσα [a culling from the lexicon without regard to the case, cf. schol. to 665, 741], (4) ἀνδροκτασίαν τελεῖν] εἰς τὸ αὐτοκτονεῖν. But the whole distinctly suggests that σ' was absent and that πικρόκαρπος was read. m has εἰς ταῦτόν οὖν. I provisionally adopt Headlam's correction.

685 εἰσισιν m.

697—704 (a) The notes are written in the MS in the wrong order, viz. to 700, 704, 697.

713 ταῦτα παρορμῆ: i.e. the schol. supplies an object to ὀτρύνει.

a. 714 sqq. ξένος δὲ κλήρους ἐπινομά: ποιητικῶς πάνυ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀλοχύλος· τὸν γὰρ Χαλυβαϊκὸν καὶ Σκυθικὸν σίδηρόν φησι ταῦτα πράττειν. σισσωματοποιήκειν γὰρ τὸν σίδηρον, ὃν φησιν οὕτως ταῦτα κινεῖν κατὰ τῶν παίδων τῶν τὰ χρήματα δάσασθαι βουλομένων καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πολεμούντων. οὕτως οὖν, φησί, μερίζει τοῖς παισὶ τούτοις καὶ ὥσπερ ἀποκληροῖ οὐχὶ πεδία μεγάλα, ἀλλὰ παντελὺς μικρά, δυνάμενα μόνα αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα χωρῆσαι πεπτωκότα. ὅταν μέντοι αὐτοὺς κτάνωσι καὶ ἡ πατρώα αὐτῶν κόνις πῇ τὸ αἷμα, τίς ἂν τὸ μύσος αὐτῶν ἀποκαθάραι; ἢ, ὅταν ὁ ἕτερος ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτὸς ζήσῃ, τίς αὐτὸν καθάρῃ τοῦ μύσου;

a. (721) ἐπειδὴν κ.τ.λ.] ἔάν, φησίν, ἡ πατρία γῇ πῇ τὸ αὐτῶν αἷμα· ἔνθεν καὶ αὐτόχθονας φαμέν.

m¹gl. 714 ἐπινομά] μερ(ίξει).

m¹gl. 718 διαπήλας] ἐπικληρώσας.

b. διαπήλας ὅποσαν κ.τ.λ.] τάφου μοῖραν ἀπομερίσας αὐτοῖς.

m¹gl. 719 ἐπικεκληρωμένον.

b. 722 (1) αὐτοδάκτοι] αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς φονεῖσαντες.

(2) τῷ ἑαυτῶν σιδήρῳ ἑαυτοὺς τρώσαντες.

b. 725 τίς ἂν... τίς ἂν εὐρεθείη; τίς αὐτοὺς ἐκλύσει τοῦ τοιούτου μάσματος;

b. 728 παλαιγενή...παρβασίαν] τὴν παλαιὰν παράβασιν· παρέβη γὰρ τὸν χρησμόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

m¹gl. 729 ὠκύποινον] τὴν ὀξέως μετελθοῦσαν αὐτόν.

m¹b. 730 αἰῶνα] γενεάν.

b. αἰῶνα...τρίτον] Λαῖου, Οἰδίποδος, Ἑτεοκλέους.

m¹b. αἰῶνα...μένει] διὰ μέσου.

a. 731 Ἀπόλλωνος εὐτε Δαῖος: τὸ φιλάνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τούτου. ὅταν, φησίν, ὁ Ἀπόλλων τρίς εἴπῃ τῷ Λαῖῳ "μὴ σπείρε τέκνων ἄλοκα, ἐπεὶ κτενεῖ σε ὁ φύς," αὐτὸς δὲ παρωσάμενος τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντολάς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδονῶν αὐτοῦ κατακρατηθεὶς συνηλθεν τῇ Ἰοκάστη. τὸ δὲ ἐξῆς, εὐτε Δαῖος κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῷ φίλων ἡδονῶν· ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ τῆς γυναικός. κρεῖσσον γὰρ τὰ πάθη τῶν λογισμῶν.

b. 732 τρίς εἰπόντος] τὸ φιλάνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ τρίς ἐμφαίνει.

b. 734 σφῆξιν] σωθήσεται γὰρ οὕτως ἡ πόλις.

b. 735 ἐκ φίλων] οἷς ἐκινώσατο τὸν χρησμόν.

b. 740 ῥίζαν] ὑπερβατόν, σπείρας ῥίζαν αἰματούσαν.

a. 741 (1) ἔτλα, παρ' ἀνοία: ἔτλη δὲ ἀγνοία συναγαγεῖν τοὺς γάμους.

φρενώλης] ὁ τὰς φρένας βλαβεῖς.

(2) †ἀγνοία...φρενώλης] ἡ δὲ ἀγνοία, φησί, τὰς φρένας ἀπολλύουσα συνηγάγεν.

714 παῖδια for πεδία m, corr. m¹. Later ἀποκαθάρῃ m; I replace the optative (unless ἂν is to be omitted). ζήσῃ m for ζήσῃ. In the following clause καθάρῃ had perhaps better be left as deliberative. Otherwise it is easy to suggest καθαρεῖ.

719 (m¹gl.) Apparently for ἐπικεκληρωμένον ἐστίν, explaining ὅποσαν φθιμένοισιν κατέχειν.

721 (a) This note is written as one with the preceding.

722 I have divided the note into its two parts. The latter suggests a reading αὐτοκτόνοι σιδαροδάκτοι (see M).

725 It is very improbable that the schol. had before him τίς ἂν καθαρμὸς πόρος; He would find no place for his passive verb in this. His note means λείπει εὐρεθείη. He appears to be wrongly supplying the verb in τίς ἂν καθαρμὸς πόρος, τίς ἂν σφε κ.τ.λ. The second part of the note apparently implies λύσειεν.

729 Apparently meant for a reading ὀξύποινον.

731 μὴ σπείρε κ.τ.λ. = Eur. *Phoen.* 18. κρεῖσσω schol. rec. for κρεῖσσον.

741 The notes do not correspond either to our text or to that of the lemma (1) given by schol. In the MS the whole runs ἔτλη δὲ ἀγνοία συναγαγεῖν τοὺς γάμους. ὁ τὰς φρ. βλαβεῖς: ἡ δὲ ἀγνοία κ.τ.λ. I have distributed the portions. The gender of φρενώλης is ignored, the explanation being taken directly from a lexicon (cf. 96, 665, 679). I incline to think that the text to which the scholl. were first written was ἔτλα δ' ἄρ' ἀγνοία συνάγειν.

- gl. 742 νυμφίους] γάμους.
 a. 743 κακῶν δ' ὥσπερ θά(λασσα): τὰ κακὰ ὥσπερ θαλάσση ἔοικεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ Λαίου γέγονε, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ Οἰδίποδος, τὰ δὲ νῦν· ἅτινα βρέμει περὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς πόλεως.
 δ. 744 τὸ μὲν πίνον κ.τ.λ.] "πρὸ μὲν τ' ἄλλα, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα."
 a. τὸ μὲν πίνον: οὕτως λέγει, τὸ μὲν πίνει, τὸ δὲ διεγείρεται, τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ δ' ἀλκά: μεταξὺ δὲ ἡμῶν δι' ὀλίγου ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις τῆς ἡμετέρας, καὶ τὸ διάστημα ὁ πύργος ὁ διεργῶν ἐστίν.
 gl. 748 ἐν εὐρεῖ] ἐν πλατεί, ἐν μεταίχμιῳ.
 a. 751 τέλεια γὰρ παλαιφ(άτων): τὸ τέλεια ἀντὶ τοῦ τέλειαι· ὑφήκεν δὲ τὸ ἰ διὰ τὸ μέτρον.
 a. 752 (1) βαρεῖαι καταλλα(γαί): δυσχερὲς τὸ φιλιωθῆναι αὐτοὺς διὰ τὰς κατάρτας.
 a. (2) τὰ δ' ὁλοά: τὰ δὲ δεινὰ τελούμενα οὐ παρέρχεται ἡμῶν.
 m^{1b}. 753 οὐ παρέρχεται] οὐχ ἔσταιται.
 a. 754 (1) πρόπρημα δ' ἐκβολ(άν): ὅταν δὲ παχυνθῶσιν οἱ ἄνδρες τῷ ὀλβῳ, τότε ὄλου τοῦ φόρτου ἐκβολὴν ποιοῦνται· τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς Ἑτεοκλέα.
 (2) ἐκβολῶν δέ, τῶν ὑβριστῶν, οἷον δι' ἐκβολῆς ὑβρίζοντων.
 m^{1b}. 755 ἀλφηστᾶν] φρονίμων.
 δ. 757 τίν' ἀνδρῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] παρὰ τοῦτο οὖν <τὸ "ἦν"> Οἰδίπους τὸ πρῶτον εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ.
 a. 759 †πολύβοτός τ' αἰών: ὁ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐμβατευόμενος ἀνδρῶν. ἡ ὁ ἐπιπολὺ ἐκτεινόμενος.
 a. 760 ὅσον τότε Οἰδῖπον τίον: ὅσον θαυμασθῆναι καὶ δοξασθῆναι ἐποίησαν· καὶ Εὐριπίδης "<ἦν> Οἰδῖπους τὸ πρῶτον εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ." ἀναρπαξάνδραν δὲ τὴν ἀναρπάξασαν πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν.
 a. 761 ἀναρπαξάνδραν] μεταπλάσμος τοῦ ἀναρπάξανδρος.
 a. 762 κῆρ'] κακὴν μοῖραν.
 a. 763 (1) ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρτίφρων: ἐπεὶ ἔμφρων ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ συνήκεν δ' ἔπραξεν κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς. εὐδαίμων γὰρ ἦν κατὰ πάντα πρὸ τοῦ μαθεῖν τὸ μητρομίξιον.
 a. (2) δίδυμα κ.τ.λ.] δίδυμα δὲ κακὰ ἔφη τὸ τῶν δύο ὀφθαλμῶν στερηθῆναι· ἐν γὰρ κακὸν τὸ ἐνὸς στερηθῆναι, δύο δὲ τὸ ἀμφοτέρων· ἡ τοὺς περὶ Ἑτεοκλέα καὶ Πολυνείκη γεννήσας, οἱ ἦσαν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν κρείσσονες.
 (3) ὀμμάτων δ' ἐπλάγχθη ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐστερήθη τῶν κρειττόνων ὀμμάτων. λέγει δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἑτεοκλέα καὶ Πολυνείκην.
 gl. 768 πατροφόνῳ χερσὶ] τῇ τὸν πατέρα φονευσάσῃ χερσὶ.
 gl. 769 ἐπλάγχθη] ἐχωρίσθη.
 a. 771 ἐπικότους τροφάς: ἐπιβλαβεῖς δὲ ἐντολαὶ περὶ τροφῶν ἐφήκεν αὐτοῖς.

744 i.e. Hom. *Il.* 13. 799.

751 A good illustration of the scholiastic conception of possibilities in Greek.

752 a (2) τελούμενα represents textual *τελούμεν'* of m¹. If ἡμῶν is correct it depends on τὰ δεινὰ.

754 (1) and (2) are written as one note, but they are manifestly incompatible.

757 I supply <τὸ "ἦν">. Eur. *fr.* 157. Oberdick reads παρὰ τὸ "ἦν...", but the passage was written before Euripides.

759 The first part of the schol. was evidently first written to πολῦβας (and probably ἀγών), and the second to αἰών. Nothing could better illustrate the unintelligent method of the later scribes, who both write a note to a lemma to which it has no reference, and also jumble two or more incompatible notes in one.

760—762 These notes are written together, in the order 760, 762, 761. By μεταπλάσμος is meant that the nom. is not found in this fem. form.

763 a (1) μάθη m, μαθεῖν schol. rec.

(1), (2) and (3) are written continuously without distinction of lemma. In (3) the clumsy τῶν κρειττόνων ὀμμάτων = 'those better than eyes.' It is clear that the writer had no ἀπ' before him.

771 τροφάς m, but περὶ τροφῶν proves the causal gen. (with rec.).

- a. 773 καὶ σφε σιδαρωνόμῳ· καὶ τοῦτο ἐπηράσατο, διὰ σιδήρου αὐτοὺς τὴν οὐσίαν κτήσασθαι.
- b. 776 καμψίπους] ἡ κάμπτουσα τῶν κολαζομένων τοὺς πόδας· οἰονεὶ ἡ συμποδίζουσα καὶ μὴ ἔωσα φυγεῖν.
- a. 777 θαρσεῖτε, παῖδες· ἄγγελος ὁ καὶ πρότερον ἀπαγγέλλας περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀργείων ἐφόδου, οὗτος καὶ νῦν ἀπαγγέλλει τὴν ἀδελφοκτονίαν.
- b. παῖδες μητέρων] συγγενεῖς, ἡ δεῖλαι, ὑπὸ μητέρων ἀπλῶς τραφεῖσαι.
- gl. 779 κομπάσματα] τὰ παλαιὰ αὐτῶν κομπάσματα.
- a. 780 πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδίᾳ τε· ἀλληγορεῖ πάλιν, καὶ λέγει ὅτι πολλῶν προσβαλόντων τῇ πόλει οὐδεὶς εἰς αὐτὴν εἰσέπεισεν.
- b. 781 ἀντλον] τοῦ κύματος τὸ ὕδωρ.
- a. 785 sqq. (1) τὰς δ' ἐβδόμας· ἀξιοπίστως καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν πυλῶν εἰρηκεν· ἡ γὰρ ἐβδόμη, φησί, πύλη. ἐβδόμη γὰρ ἐγεννήθη Ἀπόλλων· πέπονθεν οὖν οὐχὶ αὐτὴ ἡ πύλη ἡ ἐβδόμη, ἀλλ' ὁ φυλάττων αὐτὴν Ἑτεοκλῆς.
- (2) κραίνων παλαιὰς κ.τ.λ.] ἵνα τὰ μαντεύματα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὰ Δαῖψ δοθέντα τέλος λάβῃ.
- b. ἐβδομαγέτης] ἐν ἐβδόμῃ γεννηθεῖς.
- b. 786 εἴλετ'] ἔσωσεν.
- b. 788 νεόκοτον] νεωστὶ κατεσκευασμένον.
- b. 793 μάντις εἰμί] προείπον γὰρ αὐτά.
- gl. 794 ἀμφιλέκτως] ἀμφιβόλως.
- a. 795 ἐκείβη κηλῶν· εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθον ὥστε καὶ φονευθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα·
- a. 798 αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλοῖ· ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἀναλίσκει τὸ τοῦ Οἰδίποδος γένος.
- m¹gl. 802 παμψησίαν] τὴν περιουσίαν.
- b. 803 ἔνταφῃ] ὅσον ἐνταφῆναι.
- b. 807 Ζεὺ καὶ...δαίμονες] ὁ τρόπος ἐξοχή· “Ζεὺ ἄλλοι τε θεοί.”
- a. 810 πρότερον χαῖρω· φρονίμως ὁ ποιητῆς μέσσην ὁδὸν ἔδραμεν· καὶ σωθείσης τῆς πόλεως αἶτοπον τὸ θρηνεῖν, καὶ “οὐχ ὅσῃ κταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσασθαι.”
- m¹b. ἐπολούζω] μετὰ χαρᾶς παιανίσω.
- b. 813 ἀτέκνους] ἐπὶ κακῷ τεχθέντας.
- m¹b. ἡ τοὺς μὴ τεκνοποιήσαντας.
- a. 814 οἱ δὴτ' ὀρθῶς· ὀρθῶς οὖν καὶ ἐπωνύμως Ἑτεοκλῆς καὶ Πολυνείκεις ἐκλήθησαν.
- a. 817 καὶ τελεία γένεος· καὶ τελουμένη ἐπὶ τῷ γένει τοῦ Οἰδίποδος ἀρά.
- gl. 819 περιπίπτει κρύος] περιπίπτει φόβος κακοῦ.
- a. 820 ἔτευξα τύμβω μέλος· τὸ ἐξῆς, κλύουσα αὐτοὺς δυσμόρως θανόντας ὑπὸ δорὸς ἀλλήλων ἐπιτυμβίδιον θρήνον ἔτευξα, ὡς Θυιάς.
- m¹b. τύμβω] ἐπιτάφιον.
- a. 823 ἡ δύσσορνος ἄδε· δυσσοινιστος γέγονεν αὐτοῖς ἡ συμφορὰ τῆς μάχης· ἐπὶ κακῷ συνήλθον εἰς μάχην.

777 ὁ ἀπαλῶς Victorius, but ‘entirely’ has its point.

785 In the MS note (2) is interpolated in (1) after πύλη and before ἐβδόμη γὰρ. I have divided the two scholl. as above. The gl. does not prove that the writer read ἐβδομαγενής. He quite as probably connected -γέτης with γίγνομαι.

788 This might suggest νεόκοπον.

795 Though τῷ βασιλεῖ might be suggested, the Chor. is primarily thinking of Eteocles.

803 ὅσον in place of ὅσην shows that the note refers to the supposed single word ἐνταφῆ.

807 i.e. Hom. II. 6. 476.

810 I have punctuated after ἔδραμεν. Not perceiving that καὶ...καὶ...=‘on the one hand...on the other...,’ Robortello adds <ἡγείται> after αἶτοπον. The Homeric passage is Od. 22. 412.

814 Ἑτεοκλῆς is an alteration from Ἑτεοκλείς. Probably the word is a late insertion into the note by one who did not understand the following καὶ.

820 The schol. supports a suggestion Θυιάς ἄτ', αὐτοσφαγείς (*ed.). See crit. n.

823 ἄδε (sic).

- a. 825 οὐδ' ἀπείπεν: οὐκ ἀπηγόρευσεν τὸ ποιῆσαι τὰ δεινὰ <τὰ> παρὰ Οἰδίποδος.
- b. 827 ἀπιστοὶ] ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐπέσθη Ἀπόλλωνι.
- a. 828 μέριμνα δ' ἀμφὶ πτό(λιυ): ἡ δὲ φροντίς, ἣν ἔσχεν ὁ Λαῖος περὶ τὴν μίξιν καὶ τὰ θεσπίσματα <τὰ> παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως οὐχ ἡσύχασεν· οὐκ ἀμβλύνεται, φησὶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὀξέως τελεῖται.
- m¹gl. 829 ἀμβλύνεται] ἀπρακτεῖ.
- b. 831 αἰακτά: θρηνητικά.
- b. 832 οὐ λόγῳ] ἀλλ' ἔργῳ.
- a. 833 τὰδ' αὐτόδηλα: αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα φανερά· ὁρᾷ ὁ χορὸς τὰ σώματα βασταζόμενα.
- gl. 835 προῦπτος] ὁμολογούμενος.
- a. 835 κακ' αὐτοφόνα: ἀλληλοκτόνοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο.
- a. 838 ἡ πόνου πόνων...] ἡ τὰ κακὰ ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν οἰκεῖ ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐστία καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις τούτοις.
- m¹gl. 841 πίτυλον] κτύπον.
- m¹gl. 842 μελάγκροκον] τὴν μέλαν λαΐφος ἔχουσαν.
- b. 843 θεωρίδα] τὴν διαγούσαν τοὺς νεκρούς.
- a. 843 ναυστόλον θεωρίδα: οὕτως· τὴν τοῦ Χάρωνος ναὺν θεωρίδα εἶπεν· κυρίως δὲ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἡ εἰς Δῆλον ἀπερχομένη. λέγει δέ, ὅτι ταύτην ὁδὸν θεωρικὴν ὥσπερ οἶδεν ὁ στόνος τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα. τὴν ἀντίλιον, ἣν μηδὲ ἥλιος ὁρᾷ, ἡ τὴν ἀναπνοήν. ἀγνή γὰρ ἡ εἰς Δῆλον ἀπιούσα. πάνδοκον δέ, ἐπεὶ πάντας δέχεται τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας.
- m¹gl. 845 τὰν ἀνάλιον] ἐφερμηνευτικόν.
- b. 847 (1) ἐπὶ πρᾶγος] ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τὴν συμφορὰν.
(2) αἰδ' αἱ ἀδελφαὶ τῶν βασιλέων.
- a. 852 ἡμᾶς δὲ δικῇ πρότ(ερον): δίκαιον ἡμᾶς προκατάρχεσθαι ὥς προακουσάσας, ὑπακούειν δὲ ἐκείνας.
- b. 855 ἐχθρὸν παιᾶν] ἔστι γὰρ καὶ παιὰν ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς.
- a. 856 ἰὼ δυσασαδελφότη(ται): ὁ δυσασαδελφότητα πασῶν παρθένων αἱ μίτρας κατὰ τὴν φορὰν ἐνδύονται. ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς μίτρας καὶ ζώνης νῦν στρόφιον εἶπεν.
- a. 858 στένομαι: ἀντὶ τοῦ στενῶν Ἀττικῶς. καὶ γὰρ ἰατρεύομαι καὶ ἀλειόσμαι φασίν.
- a. 859 μὴ 'κ φρενὸς κ.τ.λ.] ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ ψυχῆς θρηνῶ.
- b. 861 κακῶν ἀτρύμονες] ἐν κακοῖς ἀκμήτες.
- a. 862 πατρώους δόμους ἐλόντ(ες): αἵτιοι τῆς ἀλώσεως γενόμενοι· πορθήσαντες· ἐρήμους ποιήσαντες τῷ ξίφει.
- b. 868 ἥδη διήλλαχθε] τὴν ἴσῃν μοῖραν λαχόντες.

825 I have added <τὰ>. Kirchhoff writes ἡ ἀρὰ for παρὰ. Better perhaps <ἡ ἀρὰ ἡ> παρὰ to answer to πατρώθεν of the text.

828 I have added <τὰ>. καὶ τῆς πόλεως m, corr. Scrof.

843 (b) The explanation may refer generally to the context. Otherwise it might support νεκροστόλον (see Weckl. Appendix).

(a) A note very corruptly written. οὐ m, which I read as οὐ: otherwise ὅτι (i.e. σημειῶσαι ὅτι) Heimsoeth, νῦν Kirchhoff. θεωρητικὴν m, corr. Dind. In λέγει δὲ κ.τ.λ. the sense seems to be 'and he means, because the lament, as it were, knows this as a Theoric way, the way to Acheron' (i.e. γῶν κατ' οὐρον implies that the lamentation guided the way). This takes θεωρίδα of the road. ἀναπνοήν is corrupt. Perhaps ἀνάπλεων ('infected').

847 The MS makes the two notes into one. The schol. here made θρήνον depend on ᾗσιν, and punctuated after Ἰσμήνην.

856 μήτρας m (bis). I read φορὰν for φθορὰν (m) in the sense 'wear.' λύνονται m, corr. Heimsoeth.

858 To the later scholiast almost any unusual Graecitas was to be labelled Ἀττικῶς (sup. 102). The scholl. to 858 and 859 are written as one.

868 (b) If this note really belongs to this line it suggests ἰδόντ', ἴσῃ δὴ in the text (see crit. n.).

- a. 868 ἦδη διέλλαχθε: ἡ διαλλαγή ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀναιρέσει τῇ <διὰ> σιδήρου.
- a. 870 κάρτα δ' ἀληθῆ: τῷ ὄντι ἡ τοῦ Οἰδίποδος Ἐρινὺς ἐτελείωσε τὰς ἐκείνου ἀράς κατὰ τῶν παίδων.
- a. 872 δι' εὐωνύμων: τὸ ἐξῆς, διέλλαχθε δι' εὐωνύμων. τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνει ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον ἱσταμένοις.
- a. 874 (1) ὁμοσπλάγχων τε πλε(υρμάτων): οἷον διαμπὰξ ἀλλήλων τὰς πλευρὰς τρώσαντες. ἐκάτερος γὰρ τῶν μονομαχοῦντων τὸ ἀριστερὸν πλευρὸν τοῦ ἀντιπάλου τιτρώσκειν βούλεται.
(2) οἷον διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτῶν καθήκασιν οἱ ὁμόσπλαγχνοι.
- a. 878 διαγταίαν λέγεις †πλα(γάν): πληγὴν λέγεις διαμπὰξ γενομένην, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκῶν. ἀμφω γὰρ ἔχει κακῶς.
- a. 880 ἀναυδάτῳ μένει: ἀνηρῶνται ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἰσχυροῦ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀλαλήτῳ. ἀναυδάτῳ μένει] ἀκαθέκτῳ ὀργῇ.
- gl. 882 †διχοφρόνι] οὐχ ὁμοιοῦντες.
- b. 883 διήκει δὲ... ὁ τούτων στεναγμὸς ἦψατο καὶ τῆς πόλεως.
- a. 885 μένει †κτέανα τ' ἐπιγό(νοι): ἄλλοις ἔσται τὰ χρήματα δι' ἃ ἀπώλοντο. ἡ οὕτως, καὶ κτέανα ταῦτα, οἷον τὰ δνείδη, διήξει μέχρι τῶν ἐπιγόνων. κτέανα δὲ εἶπεν ὡς ἐπὶ οὐσίας, οἷον κληρονομήσουσι τῶν παθῶν οἱ παῖδες.
- a. 890 ἐξευκάρδιοι: ὀξύθυμοι ὄντες ἐμοιρήσαντο καὶ διενείμαντο τὰ κτήματα ὥστε ἴσον λαβεῖν. φησὶ δὲ τὰς ταφάς.
- a. 892 διαλλακτῆρι δ' οὐκ ἀμε(μφία): μέμφονται δὲ οἱ φίλοι αὐτῶν τὸν διαλλακτῆρα σιδήρον ὡς μηδετέρῳ χαρισάμενον.
- m¹b. οὐκ ἀμεμφία] ἀλλὰ μέμφεις.
- a. 897 τάχ' ἂν τις εἴποι: ὡς ἀνοήτως αὐτὸ εἰπούσης ἐρωτᾷ τίνες αὐτοὺς μένουσιν.
- b. 898 λαχα[αἱ σκαφαί. τὸ "φυτὸν ἀμφελάχαιεν."
- b. 899 †μάλ' ἀχάεσσα] λείπει τὸ προπομπά.
†μάλ' ἀχὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς] μάλ' ἤχῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς.
- m¹extr. a. 901 αὐτόστονος: ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν στόνον ἔχων. ὁ δὲ γόος, φησὶν, αὐτοπήμων ἔστιν, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ κακὰ ἔχων καὶ τὰ πολέμια <φρονῶν>. δαΐφρων δέ, δαΐζων τὰς φρένας <οὐ φιλογαθῆς>, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς χαίρων.
- gl. 903 δακρυχέων ἐκ φρενός] ἐκ βάθους θρηγνῶν.
- gl. 904 κλαιομένας... ἀνάκτοι] κλαίουσης τοὺς δύο βασιλεῖς.
- a. 906 πάρεστιν εἰπεῖν: πάρεστιν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τοῦτο εἰπεῖν. ὁ μὲν βασιλικῶς ἐβαλὼν τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὁ δὲ βασιλικῶς ἐπιστρατεύσας.
- b. 907 ὡς ἐρξάτην κ.τ.λ.] ἀντίοι γενομένοι εἰς τε Θηβαίους καὶ Ἀργεῖους.
- gl. 909 πολυφθόρους] μετὰ φθορᾶς ἐλθούσας.
- b. 910 δυσδαίμων] δυσδαίμων, ὅτι δν ἔτεκεν ἄνδρα ἔσχεν.

(a) I have added <διὰ>.

872 Wecklein reads ...δι' εὐωνύμων <τετυμμένοι>. But the schol. is only showing the connection, and uses the fewest words.

874 I have divided the note into two parts. The first evidently belongs to δι' εὐωνύμων κ.τ.λ. (2) καθέκασιν Weckl. (who also corrects αὐτῶν of m).

880 (b) Qu. ἀφθέγκτῳ?

897 ἀνοήτως may be scholastic for 'incomprehensibly.' Wecklein's αἰνιγματωδῶς is too remote. If emendation is required either οὐ νοητῶς or ἀνενοητῶς would be nearer.

898 i.e. Hom. Od. 24. 241.

899 (b) i.e. the word προπομπή.

901 The note is exceedingly confused in m, viz. καὶ τὰ πολέμια· δαΐφρων δέ, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς χαίρων. δαΐζων τὰς φρένας. The correction of the order is by Wecklein, who also adds <οὐ φιλογαθῆς>. I have added <φρονῶν>. The note thus contains two interpretations of δαΐφρων.

906 It seems as if this strange note was written to a construction παρ. (τούτο) εἰπεῖν ἐπ. ἀθλ., ὡς ἐρξάτην, i.e. 'they may both be called ἀνακτες in virtue of what they did (viz. ὁ μὲν β. κ.τ.λ.).'

907 It is tempting to suggest αἴτιοι.

- a. 917 ὁμόσποροι δῆτα καὶ πανῶλε(θροί): ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πανῶλεθροὶ γεγόνασιν, ἀλλήλους διατεμόντες ἐν μαινομένη ξιρδί πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς φιλονεικίας. ἀποθανόντων γὰρ πέπανται τὸ ἔχθος.
- a. 921 ἐν δὲ γαίᾳ ἱοά: ἡ ζωὴ αὐτῶν κέχυται ἐν τῇ φονορρύτῃ γῇ.
- b. 923 ὁμαιμοὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ.
- a. 924 (1) καὶ δ' εἰς' ὅμαι(μοί): ὄντως ἀδελφοὶ εἰσι ταῖς προαιρέσεσι τοιοῦτοι ὄντες.
- a. 924 (1) πικρὸς λυτῆρ νεκέ(ων): πόντιος, ὅτι οἱ Χάλυβες παράλιό εἰσιν. (2) ἔθνος γὰρ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ οἱ Χάλυβες, ὅθεν ὁ σίδηρος. πυρὸς δὲ συνθεῖς, ὅτι διὰ πυρὸς ἡ κατασκευή.
- a. 927 (1) κακὸς δατητάς: πικρὸς μεριστῆς ὁ σίδηρος τῶν χρημάτων. (2) ἀραῖα πατρός] ἐπειδὴ ἐπηράσατο διὰ ξιφῶν αὐτοὺς τὴν οὐσίαν νεύμασθαι.
- a. 932 γὰς πλοῦτος ἄβυσσος ἔσται: πολλὴ τῆς γῆς ἀφθονία ὑποκείται αὐτοῖς. ἡ οὕτως, ὑπὸ γῆς δὲ ὁ πολὺς πλοῦτος αὐτοῖς κέκρυπται, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν ἀφανείᾳ.
- m^{extr.} 933 πολλοῖς †ἐπανθήσαντες...] οἱ πολλὰ κακὰ ἰδόντες.
- a. 935 τελευτᾷ δ' αἰδ' ἐπηλά(λαξαν): ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τελευτῇ αὐτῶν αἱ ἀραὶ ἐπηλάλαξαν.
- b. 936 θρηνητικὸς χορὸς.
- m^{b.} 937 τὸν ὁξύν νόμον] τὸν ὄρθιον καὶ εἰς μάχην παρακλητικόν.
- a. 937 παντρόπῳ φυγᾷ γένους: οἶον οὐκ ἔτι φέροι τὰς συμφορὰς τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ δέδωκεν νῶτα τοῖς κακοῖς, τῆς δὲ αἵτης τρόπαιον ἔστηκεν.
- b. 938 γένους] τοῦ ἰδίου.
- gl. 941 παισθεῖς ἔπαισας] παταχθεῖς ἐπάταξας.
- a. 942 σὺ δ' ἔθανες: ἀνιέρθησαν οὕτως. ὁ πληγῆς ἐπλήγη, ὁ δὲ ἀποθανὼν ἀνελὼν τὸν ἕτερον ἀπέθανεν.
- a. 947 (1) ἴτω γόος, ἴτω δά(κρυα): ποτὲ πρὸς τοῦτον, ποτὲ πρὸς <τὸν> ἕτερον. (2) ἴτω: κοιμάσθω.
- a. 949 †προκείται κατακτάς] καὶ ὁ ἀνελὼν τὸν ἕτερον καὶ αὐτὸς προκείται, τουτέστι τίθησκειν.
- gl. 950 προκείται] δηλονότι νεκρός.
- a. 960 (1) ἀχέων τοῖων: τοῖς πάθεσιν ἀγχιστεύουσαι. (2) τὰ δ' ἐγγύθεν] ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἀλλότρια.
- m^{extr.} 961 ἀχέων] ἀχέω ἡγουν θρηνώ.
- a. 961 πέλας δ' αἰδ' ἀδε(λφαι): ἐγγὺς δὲ τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς αἱ ἀδελφαὶ ἔσμεν ὧν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί.
- b. 962 ἰὼ κ.τ.λ.] ἐφύμνιον.
- a. 963 Οἰδίπου σκιά: ὁ ἀσθενὴς Οἰδίπους· ὅτι δοκεῖ νῦν οὐδὲν ὑπάρχειν.
- a. 965 sqq. ἡέ ἡέ δυσθέατα: τοῦτο ὡς πρὸς Πολυνείκῃ. ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπανήκοντες ἐμοὶ τῇ ἐνταῦθα μινιάσῃ ἐδείξατε ὀδύνas.
- a. 969 οὐδ' ἔκειθ' ὡς κατέκτα(νεν): ὁ Ἑτεοκλῆς· πρῶτος γὰρ κατέκτανε τὸν Πολυνείκῃ.
- a. 970 σωθεῖς δὲ πνεῦμ' ἀπώλ(εσεν): σωθεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἀπώλεσεν τοῦ Ἑτεοκλέους τὸ πνεῦμα. ἡ τὸ αὐτοῦ· ὁ καὶ μᾶλλον.
- gl. 974 τάλανα παθὼν] τληνικὰ πεπονθός.

924 It is manifest that there are here two notes, the one explaining πόντιος, the other Πόντιος. (2) ἐκ πυρὸς Kirchhoff.

927 (1) and (2) Again two notes are united by m.

936 θρηνητικὸς m.

947—949 The three scholia are written as one.

960 (1) This note obviously belongs to ἀδελφαί of the next line (see M). Read πέλας δ' αἰδ' τοῖς πάθεσιν κ.τ.λ. The note on ἀχέων τοῖων has fallen out. Wecklein imagines that the schol. of m¹ implies that he read ἀχέω; but he is simply explaining the meaning of the verb.

965 A curious notion of the possibilities of the 2nd pers. plural.

970 τὸ αὐτοῦ m.

974 i.e. with the reading of recd.

- a. 976 δίνγρα: ζῶντα πῆματα.
 δίνγρα] χεόμενα καὶ πολλά. τριπάλτων δέ, σφοδρῶς πηδησάντων.
 b. 977 ἰὼ κ.τ.λ.] τὸ ἐφύμιον. ταῦτα δὲ λέγει ὡς βαρέως φέρων.
 a. 980 σὺ τοίνυν οἶσθα: σὺ οἶδας, ὦ Ἑτεόκλεις, τὴν Μοῖραν ὅσον δύναται διαβὰς αὐτήν.
 a. 981 σὺ δ' οὐδὲν ὕστερος: σὺ δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἔμαθες ἀντικρυς τὸν ἀδελφόν σου πολεμίσας.
 a. 983 ἀντηρέτας] ἀντηρέτης· ὀρθή ἐστιν. ἀντηρέτης τῶ Ἑτεοκλεί.
 a. 984 ὀλοά λέγειν: οὐ μόνον ταῦτα λέγειν ὀλοά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι. κεῖται γὰρ τὰ σώματα.
 b. 986 πόνος] ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐξημμένος.
 gl. 987 ἰὼ κακά] ἃ δι' ὑμᾶς ἔχομεν.
 b. 990 Ἑτεόκλεις ἀρχηγέτα.
 gl. 991 πολυπονώτατοι] ἐπιπονώτατοι. λείπει τὸ ἀδελφοί.
 a. πολυπονώτατοι] πολλοὺς πόνους πονήσαντες.
 gl. 992 δαιμονῶντες] λυσσῆσαντες.
 a. 993 πού...χθονός] εἰς ποῖον τῆς γῆς τόπον.
 b. 994 ὅπου τιμώτατον] ὅπου τιμώτατον μέρος.
 b. 995 πατρὶ πάρευνον] παρὰ τὴν εὐνὴν τοῦ πατρός.
 b. 996 δόξαντ' κ.τ.λ.] τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς προβούλοις ἀπαγγεῖλαι με χρή.
 a. 998 sqq. ἐπ' εὐναίᾳ] εὐφήμως τὸν τάφον εὐνὴν εἶπεν. ἔδοξεν οὖν τοῖς προβούλοις τῶν Θηβαίων τὸν Ἑτεοκλέα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ τάφου καταθάπτεσθαι.
 διὰ μέντοι τοῦ θάπτειν Ἑτεοκλέα ἀπαγορεύει καὶ μὴ θάπτεσθαι Πολυνεΐκην. γῆς δὲ κατασκαφᾶς εἶπεν οἷον τὰς κάτω σκαφάς. ἱερῶν πατρῶων] ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν πατρῶων ὅσῳ μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν ἀμέμπτως.
 b. 999 γῆς φίλαις κατασκαφαῖς] σκάπτοντας καὶ τάφον ποιοῦντας αὐτῷ φίλους.
 gl. 1000 ἐχθροὺς] εἰργων δηλονότι.
 b. 1001 ἱερῶν] λείπει ἢ ὑπὲρ· ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν.
 b. 1002 οὐπερ τοῖς νέοις...] παρὰ τὸ "εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι...."
 a. 1007 ἐμποδῶν] τῷ Πολυνεΐκει, ὥστε μὴ ἔλιν αὐτὸν τὴν πόλιν.
 a. 1008 ἄγος] ὄνειδος.
 b. 1014 μήτ' ὀξύμολποις...] μήτε μὴν ὀξύτατοις θρηϊνὸς τιμᾶν αὐτόν.
 a. 1016 τέλει] τῷ τάγματι.
 b. τέλει] πλήθει.
 b. 1024 ἀκοντι...+κακῶ] ἀδελφῷ δι' ἀνάγκην γεγονότι κακῶ.
 b. 1026 κοιλογάστορες] μεγαλογάστορες.

976 Two explanations are again combined. The first looks as if *e.g.* χλωρὰ was the real reading explained, though the lemma δίνγρα is taken from M.

977 λέγει sc. ὁ χορός. Weckl. proposes ταῦτα.

981 οὐ μετουπολὺ m.

983 *i.e.* ἀντηρέτας is not accus. plur.

996 Apparently to prevent some schoolboy from joining ἀπαγγέλλειν προβούλοις.

998 sqq. Several scholia are evidently confused in one. The last is easily separable. The sentence διὰ μέντοι τοῦ κ.τ.λ. is unintelligible as it stands. Heimsoeth's δίχα hardly mends matters. I suspect that a note on the true text ran ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ χθονός] διὰ μέντοι τοῦτο (or ταῦτό) θάπτειν Ἑτεοκλέα προαγορεύει, καὶ μὴ θ. Π.

999 Qu. φίλως?

1000 Since δηλονότι either=λείπει or (perhaps more rarely) explains (= '*i.e.*'), it is not clear what the note implies. Most probably στεγῶν was read in place of στυγῶν, and the schol. is supplying a governing participle.

1002 *i.e.* Hom. *Il.* 12. 243 and context. The scholiast is rather displaying his learning than explaining the text. The common element of thought is simply that 'his duty was clear whatever the result.' It is, however, just conceivable that he read ὁμφῆς in his MS (for μομφῆς).

1007 and 1008 m writes ὄνειδος τῷ Π. κ.τ.λ.: I have rearranged.

1014 Qu. ὀξύτόνους?

- gl. 1027 †πάσονται] γέουσονται.
 b. μὴ δοκησάτω] μὴ τοῦτο ἀρεσάτω.
 a. 1030 κόλπῳ φέρουσα...] τῷ τοῦ βυσσίνου πέπλου κόλπῳ τὴν γῆν παρα-
 κομίζουσα, ὡς ἐπιβάλλειν μέλλουσα, διὰ τὸ ὀρύττειν μὴ δύνασθαι.
 b. 1032 πάρεσται μηχανή...] παρῆσται μηχανή δι' ἧς αὐτὸν θάψω.
 b. 1035 τραχὺς γε...] τραχὺς ἔσται ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τοῦ πολέμου γενό-
 μενος.
 a. 1036 τράχυν'] λέγε πολλάκις "τραχὺς ἔσται ὁ δῆμος," ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐκ
 ἀναστελεῖς με θάψαι.
 b. 1038 τὰ τοῦδ'...] τὰ περὶ τῆς τιμῆς τούτου ὑπὸ θεῶν κέκριται.
 a. 1041 εἰς ἀπαντας...] ὑπὸ μόνου τοῦ Ἑτεοκλέους ἀδικηθεὶς πάντας ἐπολέ-
 μησε τοὺς Θηβαίους.
 b. 1044 αὐτόβουλος ἴσθ'] σὴ γνῶμη δ βούλει πράττει.
 a. 1045 φεῦ φεῦ: διαίρεται ὁ χορός, τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ Πολυνείκους τῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ
 Ἑτεοκλέους οὐσῶν. ὥσπερ δὲ μεμερίσται ὁ χορός, οὕτως καὶ αἱ
 ἀδελφαί· καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰσμήνη τῷ Ἑτεοκλεῖ ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ τῇ πόλει,
 ἡ δὲ Ἀντιγόνη τῷ Πολυνείκῃ.
 b. 1046 φθερσιγενεῖς] αἱ ἐπὶ τὸ φθεῖρειν γεγονυῖαι.
 gl. 1057 τίς ἂν οὖν...] τίς ἡμῶν ἐστὶ ταύτης τῆς γνῶμης;
 a. 1058 δράτω πόλις: δ βούλεται ποιέτω εἰς τοὺς κλαίοντας Πολυνείκη.
 gl. 1062 πόλις ἄλλως...] οὐ διόλου τὰ αὐτὰ δοκεῖ τῷ δήμῳ.
 a. 1064 ἡμεῖς δ' ἅμα: ἅμα τῷ Ἑτεοκλεῖ ἐκκομιζομένῳ ἐπόμεθα.
 a. 1066 μετὰ γὰρ μάκαρας: μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρέθηκεν
 ἰσχὺν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως: καὶ γὰρ ἐνίκησαν οἱ ἡμέτεροι πολῖται καὶ
 οὐκ εἶασε τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν οὕτως ὑπὸ χειμερινοῦ κύματος κατα-
 κλυσθῆναι πρὸς τῶν Ἀργείων· ἀκολουθῶς μέντοι τῷ κύματι καὶ τὸ
 κατακλυσθῆναι ἐπήνεγκεν.
 b. ἴσως μάκαρας θεῶν.

1036 ἀναστελῆς m. Qu. οὐ μὴ ἀναστελῆς?

1044 σὴ βουλὴ καὶ γνῶμη was first written, but corrected by the same hand.

1066 (a) It appears that the writer had before him a corrupt and unmetrical καὶ ἰδίαν (or ἰδίως) in place of καὶ Διὸς (see schol. to v. 10). He may also have had ᾠρεξε for ἤρυξε. The following note (b) shows also that something was wrong after μάκαρας, and its ἴσως conveys a suggestion. Διὸς was evidently obscurely written. It is possible that the original reading was Δίαν τ' ἰσχύν, which was corrupted to ἰδίαν in one text and explained by καὶ Διὸς in ours.

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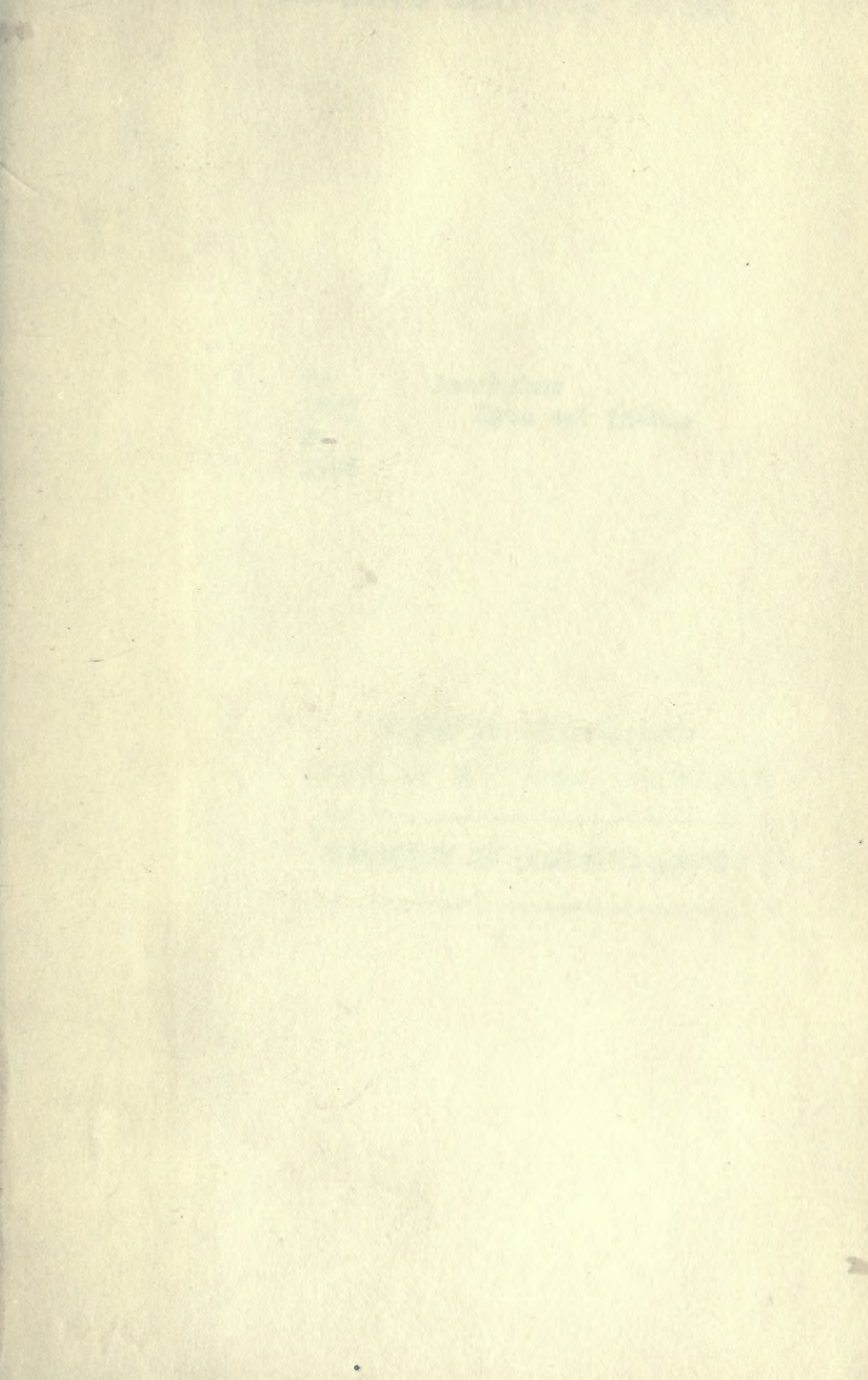
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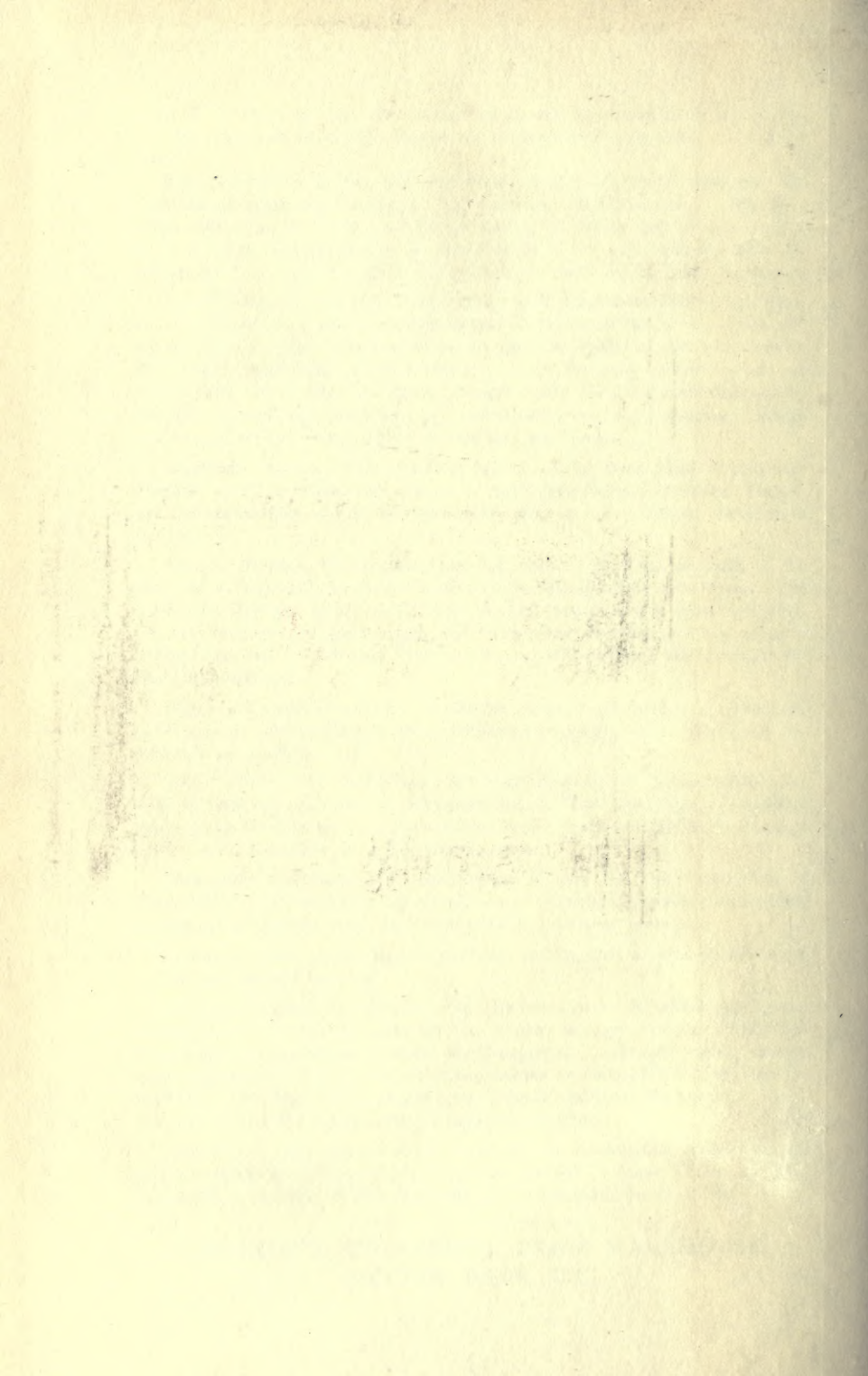
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